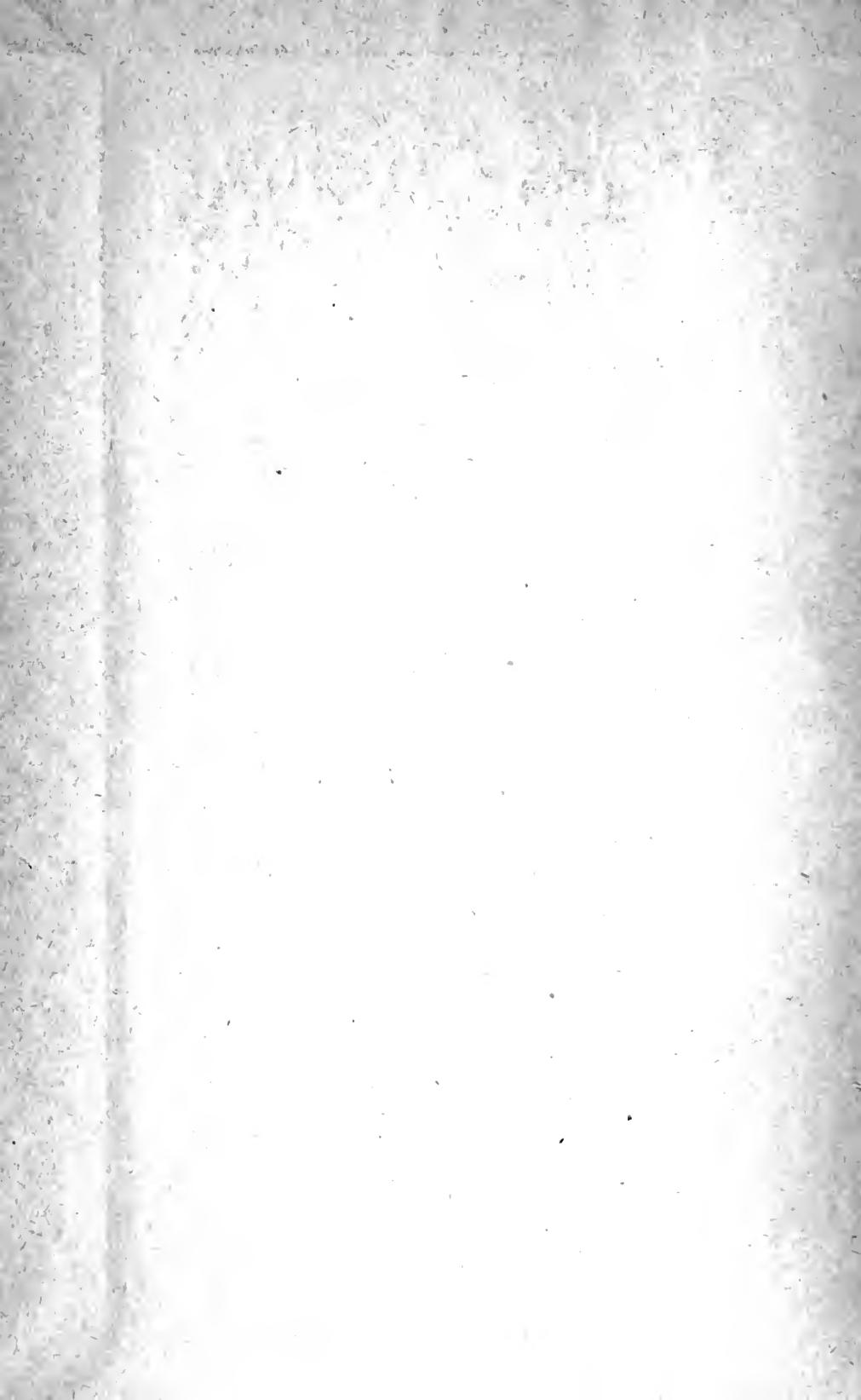


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# THE JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

GUSTAF E. KARSTEN AND JAMES MORGAN HART

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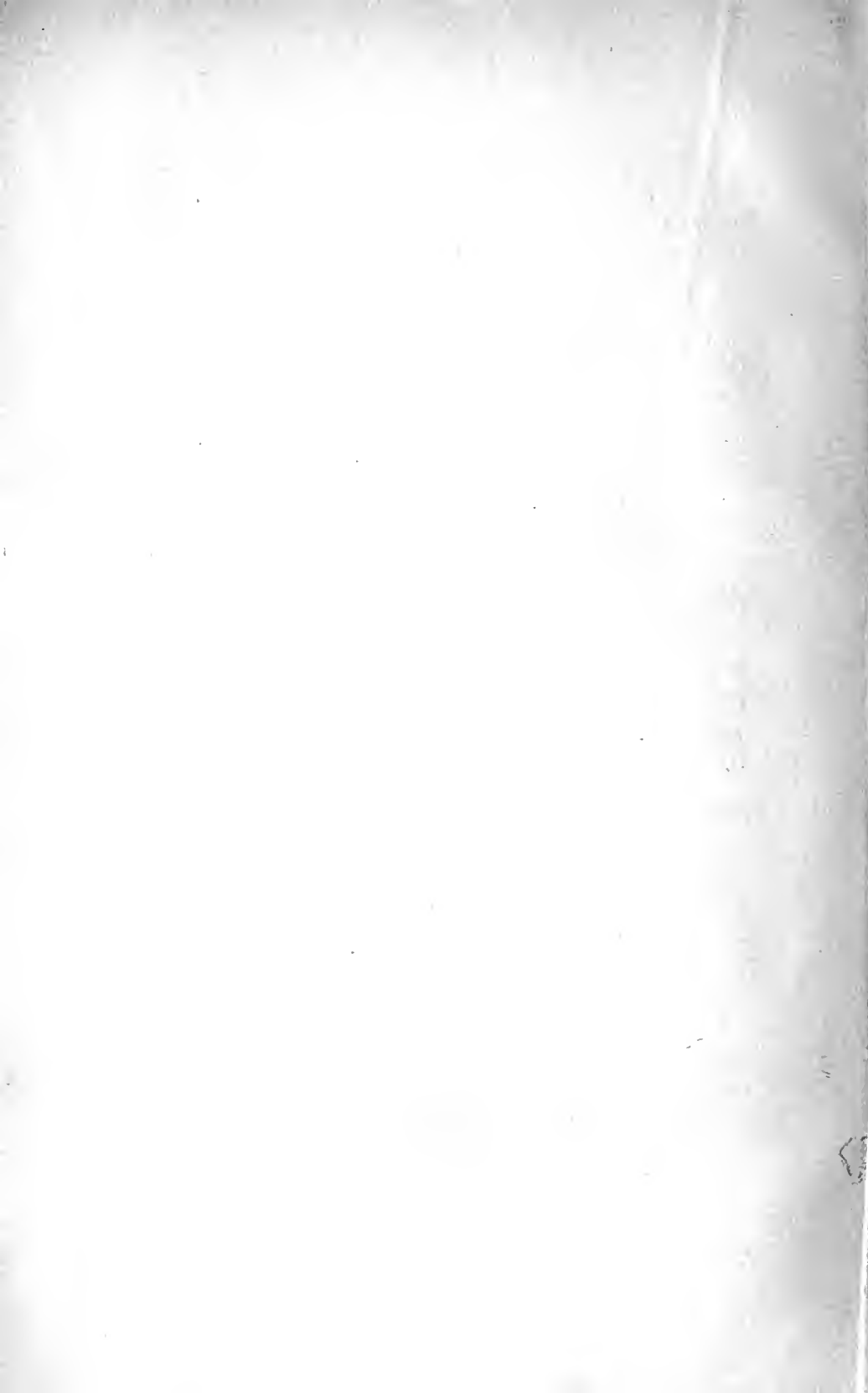
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## THE NATURALISTIC PLAYS OF GERHART HAUPTMANN.

THE recent naturalistic movement in European literature had already reached the high water mark, when it gained a foothold and quickly attained a high degree of perfection in Germany. It did not receive general recognition; but the foremost representative of the new style among the German authors, Gerhart Hauptmann, has, in spite of various digressions and the violent opposition which he met, always returned to naturalism and has above all others developed and perfected this new artistic form, especially in the domain of dramatic art. It was not during the last decades of the nineteenth century, that naturalism first made its appearance in literature, but naturalism is not always the same. In the first place all beginnings of artistic productivity must of necessity be naturalistic, since at that stage there are no aesthetic rules to guide the artist; also among nations which have already attained a high degree of artistic culture, we find not infrequently isolated individuals, who, indeed, possess the ability and the desire to create works of art, but who have either no access at all, or only insufficient access, to the store-houses of the past and whose works therefore are apt to be naturalistic. A striking instance of this sort is Jeremias Gotthelf, well known for his tales of Swiss country life. Lastly, we meet naturalism as a re-action against the rigid uniformity of empty and lifeless conventionality in art. To this latter class belongs the movement, which even at the present day has not yet completely died out. It differs, however, widely from all previous revolts of a similar character, and many deny to the naturalism of Zola and Hauptmann the name of art. Still naturalism is art, just as well as idealism or realism; whatever objections may be made to it. It would lead us too far, here to outline

the recent controversy between the naturalists and their opponents; things remain moreover unchanged, at least as far as an agreement between the contending parties is concerned. Hauptmann has not, himself, set forth any new theory of art, nor was he the originator of the naturalistic movement in Germany. He rather followed in the wake of Arno Holz and Johannes Schlaf; at the beginning of his career professing himself indirectly a supporter of their creed. Holz, the theorist of the naturalistic school, maintaining that our present system of aesthetics has been erected upon wrong foundations, and that it therefore is without any value whatsoever, has imposed upon himself the task of supplying the world with at least a basis for a new science of aesthetics, but has surely failed in the attempt. Permeated by the scientific spirit of the age, nothing short of the exactness of natural science will do for him, and accordingly he treats aesthetics as a social science. From the analysis of a single, and most simple case, he announces the following as the fundamental truth of aesthetics: 'Art has the tendency to be nature again. Art becomes nature to a degree determined by the conditions of reproduction and the manner in which they prevail in each specific case.' It is, according to him, the sole purpose of aesthetics to discover and formulate the natural laws or tendencies underlying all artistic activity, so that the artist through the knowledge thus obtained may be enabled to put himself into harmony with these natural tendencies, and so achieve a higher degree of perfection. The contention that art has the tendency to become nature again takes no account of the artist who consciously and intentionally idealises nature in his works; or we must regard, not only the fashion in art at that particular period, education and training of the artist, and the influence of his associates upon him, but above all the idiosyncracies of the artist, as conditions of reproduction. From the arguments of Holz it appears, moreover, that the most perfect likeness of a natural object should rank highest as a work of art. The artist, having once comprehended the intent of nature, should choose those materials, and

that method of forming them which will produce the most perfect result. Holz cannot deny to him the privilege of choosing any sort of material, and any manner of treatment whatsoever. But then a wax-figure of the degree of perfection now attainable would rank higher as work of art than a similar marble figure; for the former is beyond dispute nearer to nature than the latter. If we accept the views of Holz, we have no grounds on which to exclude photographs, moving pictures, and the like, from the realm of fine arts, no matter what the manner of their production. Holz tries to refute this argument by pointing out what effect it would have, if we should attach to a marble, or plaster of Paris statue a mustache of natural hair. But this argument is not at all to the point. Our objections to such a procedure result simply from the incongruity existing between the two materials in question, and the consequent disillusion. The fact is that any true work of art must contain something over and above external nature, something which has been born in the imagination of the artist.

The radical views and sweeping statements of Holz have certainly in no inconsiderable degree been the cause of the violent polemics directed against naturalism, and against Hauptmann, who, as mentioned before, subscribed at the beginning of his career indirectly to the views of Arno Holz. In the course of this discussion, many and serious charges have been preferred against naturalism in general, and the dramas of Hauptmann in particular. At the head stands the assertion that naturalism is nothing but an attempt to imitate nature, common reality, and therefore is not art at all. It is further maintained that the dramas of Hauptmann do not conform to the laws of dramatic unity, that they lack the proper distribution of guilt and retribution, or even entirely want these two elements; that they contain no immanent idea. Some assert that a catastrophe conditioned by the laws of nature, is not tragic, and that action resulting from the influence of environment is not dramatic. Others deny to Hauptmann psychological insight, and censure his dramas for lack of typi-

cal motives. Most frequent of all is the criticism that the poet represents with preference weak characters. Many of the terms commonly used in the discussions of literary art, are so old and time-worn, that they have faded in meaning. Often they are employed in a vague and hazy manner, and even if this be not the case, very few people interpret them alike. For this reason, and since the charges made against the art of Hauptmann apply in varying degree to nearly all of his dramas, it will be well to consider them one by one.

*Is naturalism art?* Stoekius<sup>1</sup> defines naturalism: 'as an attempt to imitate or reproduce nature, or common reality, i. e. nature as it presents itself to the scientist or ordinary man.' But nature appears certainly very differently to the ordinary man than it does to the scientist; it appears in one form to the physiologist, in another to the psychologist, in spite of the close relation of the two. However this may be, it is impossible to copy nature, the attempt to do it is useless; for nature is infinite, the work of man finite. An approximation to a faithful copy of nature would be an astonishing feat, especially in the drama, whether also art, we need not determine. But how about common reality? Often, after we have for years daily associated with a man, many of his acts are still incomprehensible to us, their motives lie hidden. In the drama on the other hand the 'Why' of every act is made clear. We may not approve of the motives which induce the respective character to act in a certain way, but we surely know them, if the playwright has been successful. And this the poet is to accomplish by presenting to us a faithful copy of real life?

A drama must represent to us, within the narrow limits of the stage and within a few stinging hours, characters in their essential nature. Any arbitrary segment, or several smaller segments from the life of a man would reveal to us, however, only a small portion of his character, even if so chosen as to

<sup>1</sup>Stoekius, A. *Naturalism in the Recent German Drama. With Special Reference to Gerhart Hauptmann.* (p. 2.) New York, 1903.

show us this man in unusually significant situations. It is quite evident that a poet could never solve the problem which confronts him by slavishly imitating reality. On the stage we have never anything more than an apparent copy of actual life, often not even that. The details of a drama are imitations of reality, but not the whole play. To select from the abundance of material which human life offers, to recombine what has been selected, so that it will make upon us the impression of a faithful copy of reality, this constitutes the art of the poet. In the first place, he must select from the multitude of characters which he might represent, a few whom he actually will put before us. Any person surpassing mediocrity in a good or an evil sense is the more suitable for representation, since we take a keener interest in unusual characters. It requires great ability on the part of the poet to arouse our interest for an average individual. Men endowed with great will power possess our sympathy in a higher degree than do weaklings. It does, however, not follow that a poet must limit himself to the representation of the former type. At least no such necessity results from the essential nature of the drama. The poet may also be permitted, if he choose to do so, to put before us a group of persons, without raising one or several above the rest. In such a case the different individuals must all possess, even though in a varying degree, the same significant traits of character; or the representation as a whole will be vague and indefinite. After the poet has selected his characters, he must make his choice among an almost unlimited number of actions, which in themselves have all the same value for the play. But the representation of action is not the end to be obtained; action is only a means to an end, and that action is of the most value to the poet, which reveals most of a given character.

*Unity of action* is consequently not an absolute necessity for a good drama. The claim for unity of action is insupportable, not because no such unity of action exists in real life, but because we can very well form a correct conception of a character from a number of single actions which are not united in any

way excepting in this that they all refer to the same individual. But it is certainly a serious defect in a drama, if through the action, or part of the action, an intense and tormenting expectancy is aroused, which ultimately is not satisfied. We are by no means adverse to the element of expectancy, on the contrary, we desire it; but intense expectancy and uncertainty easily become painful, if unusually prolonged, or if relief is made wholly impossible. This latter is exactly what happens, when we are dismissed from the play-house, with a weighty but unanswerable question tormenting our minds; for when the curtain drops after the last act, we depart forever from the characters and events of the play. Very few of us are inclined to furnish to such a question an answer by aid of our own imagination. The solution brought about by the poet may not meet our approval, we may even attack it, still we prefer it to no solution whatever. Since the action is only a means to an end, namely, the representation of character, it ought to be of the simplest kind possible, in order not to divert the attention of the spectator from the characters. A drama in which unusual complications and unexpected solutions play an important part, while the characters are sketched hastily or incorrectly, is without abiding worth. It is like a riddle; after we have found the solution it becomes indifferent to us, while a portrait of character possesses a permanent value. There is, then, nothing in the drama, which necessitates absolute unity of action, although a coherent composition is highly desirable. The unity of the characters must, on the other hand, not suffer in the least. The whole drama depends on it. Small defects we overlook; moreover, it can never be positively proved that in a certain play they exist, but if the poet commits a grave fault, if one of his characters becomes, so to speak, unfaithful to himself, he is no longer able to engage our interest and sympathy. Even the untrained observer feels in such a case very clearly, that the man who there on the stage laughs or weeps, rejoices or laments, does not obey the psychological laws, which govern all of us, that he is nothing but a puppet,



capable of speech. A radical and sudden change of character is not impossible; but in the drama it requires especially strong motivation. If such a change can in no way be made credible and comprehensible, it never should be put on the stage. A play with a skilful intrigue, or a spectacular piece passes, indeed, without objection on the part of the general public. Such plays satisfy certain desires, which are in themselves perfectly legitimate, as for instance the fondness for magnificent spectacles, or for the surprising; but dramatic art becomes then a simple accessory, while it ought to be the main purpose.

*Guilt and retribution.* Ever since the time of Aristotle it has been held that guilt is an essential element for any good tragedy. With the ancients guilt meant an offence against the gods, which not seldom was committed unwittingly. As the ethical views changed, the concept of guilt underwent a similar modification. Many of the world's greatest tragedies, however, do not contain a shadow of guilt in the true sense of the word. So critics and theorists have been obliged to give this term an entirely new meaning and interpret tragic guilt as a conflict with the unwritten laws of society, of custom; no matter what their moral import. Any one who deviates considerably from the common mass of humanity, or from the group of this mass to which he belongs, is almost bound to incur a tragic guilt sooner or later. By a series of mental gymnastics and hair-splitting arguments, guilt is then construed into all the master-pieces of dramatic art. There is nothing in the essential nature of the drama which makes guilt an absolutely necessary constituent, since it is indifferent, for the representation of a character, whether he suffers innocently or not. One of the arguments for tragic guilt maintains that the suffering of an absolutely innocent character would be unbearable to the spectator. Does an artificially construed guilt, detectable only by means of the most subtle theories, make it any more so? In real life we are in many instances unable to recognize a just distribution of guilt and retribution, but for that very reason, we are informed, do we desire it in the drama, to make up for

the apparent lack of it in real life. Our belief in a just and purposeful power, which guides the universe, might thereby be expressed, but, on the other hand, it would be a cowardly self-deception. We either deceive ourselves with regard to the apparent lack of justice and purpose in life, or with regard to the limited insight of our poor reason. But this would be entirely contrary to the purpose of dramatic art. It should not beguile us with imaginary creations, to make life more easily bearable to us; quite the contrary, it is to broaden our knowledge of life, to deepen our insight into human willing and feeling, and thereby enrich our own lives. It should make us more intensely conscious of the fact that we, too, are engaged in the struggle of life. For life is a struggle, not the struggle for mere existence, or the struggle of all against all, as some think, nor the struggle against sin; it is the ceaseless effort to free ourselves from the fetters, which hedge in our spirit; the striving for perfection. At least, this is what life ought to be. Every gain of knowledge through immediate perception signifies a growth of our being, a step upwards. But the simple comprehension of an abstract concept by means of the intellect does not possess this redeeming and ennobling virtue. Not until we have grasped a fact through our feeling, can we comprehend its full significance. This is especially true of the happenings of human life. In every one of us there slumbers an infinite number of possibilities. Some of them possess from the start more vitality, are more capable of development, than the rest; but our environment in early life plays an important part in determining which of these possibilities are to become actualities, which are to be suppressed. The latter, nevertheless, do not vanish from existence, some of them appear now and then plainly on the surface, others are seemingly hidden away forever. If we witness the manifestation of those possibilities in other persons, which are undeveloped in our own beings, a mysterious echo springs up within us, enabling us to understand the acts, the behavior of these persons. In real life the direct and indirect consequences, which such happenings

must have for us, largely determine our attitude towards them. If the same events are represented on the stage, these consequences are almost entirely eliminated, thereby we gain the largest possible freedom, to feel with the characters of the play, to comprehend the motives of their actions, to put ourselves unconsciously into their places. But even in this case there exists for every individual a more or less flexible boundary, beyond which he cannot go. When actions are represented on the stage, which are manifestations of those possibilities that are diametrically opposed to the very essence of our being, we can no longer feel with, and for the acting characters. Such traits of character so forcibly menace the existence and development of our own selves, that we assume the same attitude towards actions resulting from them, when represented on the stage, as we should in real life, with this essential difference, that we refrain from interfering with the course of events. It appears from this, that many things on the stage are still bearable, which we could not passively witness in real life. A drama, which represents nothing, except barely endurable actions, is of no value. We are in such a case neither able to understand the characters represented, through intuition, *i. e.*, through the emotions, nor does the play convey to us the abstract knowledge: such characters, such conditions exist; since we have nothing but the semblance of reality before us. The freer and nobler a man is, in the higher degree does he possess the capacity to feel with, and for others. To the old adage: 'To understand everything is to forgive everything' I can subscribe only if 'forgive' is not distorted to mean 'approve.' He, in whose character the menacing possibilities, manifested in the persons represented on the stage, form still a large, though not the predominating constituent, often turns with the more violence against these manifestations, because of the instinctive and correct feeling, that these possibilities might easily gain in him the upper hand and annihilate his present self.

*The immanent idea* we need to consider only very briefly. It is, in the end, nothing but a more or less sapient aphorism, as for

instance: 'Every sort of excess leads to destruction,' the idea embodied in Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena*; or one, known the world over, that of Goethe's *Faust*: 'Whoe'er aspires unweariedly is not beyond redeeming.' Every consistent drama contains necessarily some such idea. But Goethe surely did not write '*Faust*' for the purpose and with the intention of embodying this idea. The alleged fate of Doctor Faust called forth an echo in the poet, who was, if not as insatiable in enjoyment, certainly more eager in inquiry, than the legendary Doctor Faust; so Goethe's greatest work came into existence, and so, but only so, can one enjoy it—even without searching out the immanent idea.

A play written to demonstrate a certain hypothesis, or to make propaganda for or against certain views, customs, or institutions is very apt to fall short of its aim or be only of ephemeral value. A comedy of this sort will hold its own longer than a serious drama. I doubt whether three hundred years from now Ibsen's social dramas, powerful as they appear to us, will be appreciated as much as Moliere's *Tartuffe* or *Les Femmes Savantes* are, at the present time.

*The concept of the tragic* is a subject very much debated, very indefinite, and is variously defined. Volkelt<sup>1</sup> declares human greatness essential for producing the tragic effect. Human greatness he defines as a perceptible surpassing of the average in some one significant and valuable direction. Through this 'some one' his definition attains a praiseworthy breadth, loses, however, in precision. The terms 'significant' and 'valuable,' on which his whole definition really hinges, will hardly be interpreted alike by very many. His further arguments are much to the point, but do not furnish any positive standard. This lies in the nature of the case. To train the judgment is all that can be accomplished. He who does not prefer to repeat blindly the opinions of others must ultimately decide according to his own feeling, whether a drama is tragic or not. Elster<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Volkelt, J. *Asthetik des Tragischen*. (p. 65.) München, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Elster, E. *Prinzipien der Literaturwissenschaft*. Erster Band. (p. 282.) Halle, 1897.

finds, the tragic effect is produced by the contrast between expectation and outcome. Without just and great hope for happiness or success, even the most intense suffering is only piteous, he declares. Further on he holds, that only the destruction of extraordinary possessions and powers, both material and spiritual, will suffice to produce the tragic effect. The contrast between expectation and outcome as tragic element is present in many dramas, in which a destruction of extraordinary possessions does not occur. If, however, we make the destruction of such possessions and powers the basis of classification, the unspeakably sad fate of thousands is no longer tragic, but only piteous and lamentable. But what does it matter whether one calls a drama tragic or piteous, if only we can say that by it we have been touched to the quick? Most critics, moreover, censure Hauptmann's plays not so much because of lack of human greatness in the characters, but rather because the catastrophe is conditioned by the laws of nature and not by fate, and therefore fails to produce a tragic effect. Let us investigate the validity of this charge. The ancients were aware that there existed an intimate relation between the destinies of members of the same family, also that the fate of man was strongly influenced, if not wholly determined, by forces lying outside of his own being. As an explanation they offered the curse of the gods, which descended from the parents to the children and children's children, even down to the remotest offspring; and the inexorable decrees of fate. These views were not mere inventions of the poets, but deeply rooted in the belief of the masses. We have translated practically the same views into new terms, designating these forces, which are so potent in shaping our lives, as influence of environment and heredity. To the poet, however, we refuse the right to employ these motives in his plays in the same manner in which the ancients used fate and the curse of the gods, because determinism leaves no chance for the manifestation of the human will, it is alleged. It represents man as the resultant of definite and known natural forces. This assertion is far from

being correct; the respective natural forces are not known to us, at the most, they are theoretically knowable. From actual, positive, and complete knowledge we are still remote; whether we shall ever obtain it, is very doubtful. But even if we assume that we are already in possession of it, that we can positively determine the natural and, if you choose, purely mechanical forces, the resultant of which is the individual man, it would still not do away with the fact that we will, that from this willing, inner and outer conflicts result, and that all our actions and perceptions arouse in us emotions, for all of us approximately the same or very similar, and which manifest themselves in different individuals in a similar manner. We are, moreover, able to draw rather positive inferences from the behavior of others with regard to the emotions which stir them, and, to a certain extent, to participate in these emotions. The existing limitations I have already pointed out. That much, the most absolute materialist must admit, if he in his own consciousness is anything but a mere automaton. Schultze<sup>1</sup> insists that, aside from the influence of environment and heredity, an unknown quantity, "X," the personal equation of the psychologist, be taken into consideration. I fully agree with him, but am of the opinion that the existence or non-existence of this unknown quantity is of only subordinate importance as far as dramatic art is concerned. As already indicated, the personal equation exists also for the materialist, with this distinction, that he considers it possible to account for it without depriving it thereby of its individual character; in as much as all life is to him nothing but the inevitable result of the inter-action of mechanical forces. Whether this unknown quantity is knowable, or whether it will for ever defy the grasp of the human mind, with or without this quantity, it still remains true that we think, will, and feel. Even if these mental states were nothing but epi-phenomena, we all know from personal experience, that they are often painfully real facts of the individual conscious-

<sup>1</sup> Schultze, S. *Der Zeitgeist der modernen Litteratur Europas*. Einige Kapitel zur vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte. (p. 14.) Halle a. S., 1895.

ness. But a deterministic view is said to paralyze the human will. Certainly only the will of the weakling, and he will collapse under misfortune, whether he holds a fatalistic or deterministic view of the world; the strong individual on the other hand will be aroused to opposition by adversity. Laios sacrifices his son, Oedipus, without hesitation. The magnitude of the sacrifice proves the potency of his fear; the act in itself, however, implies that he doubts the absolute power of fate, otherwise the sacrifice of Oedipus would be meaningless. Laios, then, hopes to change his destiny, by opposing his own feeble will to the decree of fate. Similarly a determinist will struggle against the forces which threaten him, provided he is a strong character. He may more justly hope for victory than the fatalist, for the philosophy of the former teaches him that the simple ability to will and to act, the firm belief in his own power actually insures the success, even if his will were nothing but a must. The great mass of the people has, however, not yet comprehended the real significance of the deterministic doctrine. Many make use of it to excuse their weaknesses and faults, but no one ever rejects recognition and reward for his supposedly praiseworthy deeds on the basis, that they are nothing but the inevitable result of the inter-action of mechanical forces. If I had to choose between fatalism and determinism, I should decide without hesitation for the latter, for the ability to believe in his own power insures to the determinist at least partial success; even if he does not reach the goal, he cannot well arrive at the opposite extremity, as may so easily happen to the fatalist. It appears, then, that fatalism must needs have a more paralyzing effect upon the human will than determinism correctly understood.

The opponents of naturalism involuntarily furnish proof of what deep roots the conviction, that environment and heredity are potent factors in determining our destinies, has taken among the present generation, when they endeavor to explain the works of a naturalist by the descent and environment of the poet, and when they speak of the harmful influence such works have upon

the readers. These views are by no means new, but their corroboration through the discoveries of science gives them new value. The same science, however, has designated much of the abnormal as pathological; and, since the abnormal especially attracts the dramatist, poets have dared to use the pathological as motives for their plays. To this it is objected that the pathological is not typical enough to meet with general understanding. It seems to me it is frequent enough in our civilization, to make it to the average person a comprehensible and credible motive. It will be almost impossible to find a pathological phenomenon which stands more isolated than the rare fate of Oedipus or Hamlet. As long as a motive is credible and comprehensible, the tragic nature of the catastrophe resulting from it is not diminished, of whatever sort this motive may be. If the tragic element is lacking in the drama with a pathological motive, it is not because of the latter, but because of the nature of the characters represented. The destruction of a weakling will never produce a tragic effect, even if heaven and hell should conspire to destroy him. It is, I am inclined to think, a mistake to seek, for instance, in Ibsen's '*Ghosts*,' the tragic element in the ruin of Osvald Alving. But what of the fate of Fru Alving? To the most of us the suppositions of this play seem much more probable and credible than the motives of many classic tragedies; but the nature of the motives cannot possibly affect the tragic aspect of the resulting suffering. Fru Alving is compelled to marry an incorrigible debauchee without knowing his true character. When she discovers it, as she inevitably must, she flees for protection to the man whom she loves, of whose love she feels assured, and he, in the name of human and divine authority, leads her back to her husband. She sees no rescue for herself; but her only child, her son Osvald, she must protect. To remove him from the harmful influence of his own father, she consents to a complete separation from her son. Not to poison his soul, she hides from him the true character of his father, yes, creates in him the belief that his father is an ideal man. To save the



name 'Alving' from disgrace, she conceals her sufferings even from the eyes of those who are nearest to her. At last the hour of release approaches. Her husband dies, Oswald is recalled and arrives in apparently excellent health. In his happiness Fru Alving hopes now to find her reward; but just as she stretches out her hand after the costly prize, the phantom of her hope vanishes and horror and despair stare her in the face. Sad, piteous, but not tragic, because of the pathological motive! Well, it is useless to argue about the matter. By way of precaution I must state, that I, by no means, class Ibsen with the naturalists. I selected his *Ghosts* for the purpose of illustration, since this play is more typical as regards pathological motives than any play of Hauptmann.

*Dramatic action.* "A 'milieu-drama' is, strictly speaking, a contradiction in terms, because we can have no action and development of character in it. In such a drama there can be shown only the effect of the milieu upon the character; the character itself remains passive. The very idea of a 'milieu-drama' is anti-dramatic. In a drama the characters have a primary position. Dramatic action ought to start within the characters." These assertions, made by Stoekius,<sup>1</sup> I have found no where else in such positive and dogmatic form. A proof of the correctness of his views he does not offer, probably accepting that offered by some authority. I have never met a satisfactory proof and consider it, moreover, impossible to give one. From Lessing,<sup>2</sup> to whom Stoekius refers, he cannot get any support for his statements, excepting for the next to the last sentence. But just in the tragedy, Lessing considers the characters of secondary importance. "Dramatic action ought to start within the characters." Entirely independent of the influence of their surroundings? Impossible! All our actions are nothing but re-actions upon perceptions, which come from without. Our individual character determines only the manner and the degree of these re-actions. If we look closely, we find

<sup>1</sup> Stoekius. *op. cit.* (p. 23.)

<sup>2</sup> Lessing. *Dramaturgie.* (51. Stück.)

that just in the 'milieu-drama' the action starts within the character, more so than in any other drama. Under influence of the milieu, we cannot well understand anything else, than the gradual, continuous influence of the practically stable conditions of the environment upon the character. If, through this influence, the individual is incited to an unusual act, we have to seek the explanation of this act in the peculiar character of the person in question; much more so than in case of an exceptional act called forth by an exceptional stimulus. Each action is determined in the first place through the stimuli coming from without, and only secondly through the individuality of the acting character. Not so much the action itself, as rather its specific form and its magnitude are determined from within. It is probably from this consideration that Lessing assigns more importance to the characters in comedy than in tragedy, for in the former comparatively normal stimuli incite to unusual behavior, while in tragedy the stimuli are usually abnormal. Action starting purely from within does not exist. A drama consisting of an arbitrary succession of enormous deeds, of which it does not reveal, or at least suggest, the inner motives, is entirely inartistic. It is much easier to represent a murder than to show why it was committed. The 'Why' and the 'How' of an action and not the action itself are of chief interest. Any action which defies reasonably life-like representation, does not belong on the stage, for a drama must produce the strongest possible illusion; and a poorly represented action invariably causes a disillusion. There is no danger that we will ever forget that we are in a theater, as some seem to fear. Long recitals of heroic or monstrous deeds, such as we so frequently find in the Greek and French tragedy, are epic, not dramatic and do not properly belong upon the modern stage; for it is not the purpose of the drama to relate, but to represent and thereby make the event more real and life-like to us. Shakespeare's plays are comparatively free from epic passages and possess an abundance of action. The motives of these actions are more often suggested than revealed. But

the insight of this poet into human nature was so penetrating, the suggestions are so striking, the necessary amplification is so clearly before our eyes, that we can never go amiss. The abundance of action in Shakespeare's dramas finds its explanation in the eventful period, in which the poet lived and which preceded his birth. In those times it was the usual thing to sever the knot, nowadays we endeavor to untie it. Whether this change in attitude indicates advance or retrogression in the development of the human race, I dare not say.

Hauptmann's alleged lack of *psychological insight* is a far more serious charge than all the rest. Some insist that his characters are put together after the fashion of mosaic, and the poet is said to have admitted on a certain occasion, that this actually is his method of work. However this may be, the most of Hauptmann's more important characters are very consistent. If he did not conceive them by intuitive imagination, he must needs have composed them in accordance with his conscious or unconscious psychological insight. Without such insight, a poet can no more create a credible, *i. e.*, consistent character, than a blind man can create an ideal of feminine beauty from a number of models, each of which meets the artistic demands only with reference to some one part of the body.

Altogether incomprehensible to me is what Stoekius<sup>1</sup> says on this point. Here it is: 'Man is to Hauptmann, as to every naturalist, a mere natural object. He can reproduce any other object of nature just as really and truly after careful observation. He is no psychologist. Take, for instance, Fuhrmann Henschel. That character gives us an overwhelming impression of reality. And yet, in the drama we do not find any inner development of his character. Hauptmann has paid no attention to his psychological make-up, he does not represent any soul-battles of the unhappy man. Why, then, is this character so true to life in spite of that?' 'In *Die Weber* we find a similar defect in the second act. It is admirably shown

<sup>1</sup> (*op. cit.* p. 29 ff.)

how the old Baumert changes from an humble and timid creature to a rebel. But the change is shown only in its external physiological bearing. Not the smallest part in the chain of physiological causes and effects is omitted ; but the transformation is not shown psychologically.' Is there any other means of gaining insight into the processes of consciousness of another individual than the physiological evidence ? Certainly not. A normal individual very rarely analyzes the various states of his own consciousness, unless he happens to be psychologist or philosopher ; still more rarely does he announce the findings of such an analysis to others, allowing for the same exceptions as above. Nor is this necessary in order to learn his inner life. We are able to draw pretty positive conclusions from the behavior of a man, *i. e.* from physiological evidence, with reference to the accompanying psychological phenomena. In real life, this is often very difficult, since a multitude of details presents itself simultaneously to us. We know not what act will ultimately most interest us and are therefore not able to select and note those details which mark the incipient development of the action. In the drama the poet has selected for us, and as soon as we admit that the physiological chain is complete, we have also grasped the psychological parallel. If the representation makes upon us the impression of reality, it does so because it appears to us as the parallel of a consistent succession of psychological happenings. As long as we have not grasped the mental development, we have not the least right to declare that the representation of the physical, or physiological events makes an overwhelming impression of reality. It has been hitherto a frequent method of dramatic poets to put into the mouths of their characters an analysis of their own mental states. The dramatists probably resorted to this means, because it is much easier to give a verbal description of mental phenomena, than to represent them on the stage by means of the accompanying physiological and physical happenings ; or because the dramatists did not attribute to their public the ability to draw reliable inferences with regard to the psychological state of an individual from the external evidence.

• Now and then we meet with the assertion that it is, at any rate, not the task of the poet to show us the world as it really is, but as it appears to him. This is, however, idle talk. The world is for no one, whether he be a poet or not, by a hair's breadth otherwise, than it appears to him. Whether the poet ought to show us the world, not as it appears to him, but as he desires that it should be, is an entirely different proposition. An idealistic representation of life is just as legitimate as a realistic picture of it. The former has an elevating influence, provided we remember not, perhaps, that we are in a theatre, but that the respective representation willfully and knowingly idealizes real life. In a period in which poetic art offers only idealized pictures of the world, there exists great danger, especially for sensitive and highly imaginative individuals, of fleeing from the adversities of life into a land of dreams, and there seeking and finding a happiness, which makes them indifferent to the conditions of reality. But a permanent dreamer is a useless member of society, not only in the material sense, but also in the struggle of the race for spiritual growth. He who again and again intoxicates himself with imaginary deeds of virtues, soon loses the ability to act virtuously. Emotional states which are frequently produced, but not allowed to discharge themselves in a normal way, that is through action, soon lose their dynamic value.

Analysis of mental states and reflection are, in the idealistic drama, often the only means of representation, since the poet desires to represent things, which exist only as states of consciousness. On the other hand, it is the aim of the naturalist to represent the inner life only by means of the physiological phenomena, and he can only then make use of analysis and reflection, when they are strictly in keeping with the respective character. The naturalist makes larger demands on himself, on the actors, and on the public, than has been customary thus far. Knowledge, however, gained in this manner is of particular value, since we obtain it directly, *i. e.* through our feeling and not through the intellect. To be sure it often

happens that the poet is not understood by a large part of the public, or even by the entire public. The ability to perceive intuitively, that is through the emotions, varies greatly in degree and manner in different individuals, while there is less divergence in common every day perception through the intellect. It appears, then, that Hauptmann's method has misled many critics into questioning his psychological insight. But I repeat once more, if we declare that the physiological representation of a certain character is complete and produces an overwhelming impression of reality, we have consciously or unconsciously grasped the mental states, which find their manifestations in the physiological phenomena.

The lack of typical motives in Hauptmann's works has already been touched upon. It seems to me, all that we can justly demand of any motive, is, that it should be intelligible, probable, credible. The cause of the suffering may be ever so rare, if we are only able to enter into the resulting emotions.

*The weakness of Hauptmann's characters.* It is unfortunately true, that our poet represents seemingly with preference weak individuals. The causes of it lie in Hauptmann's character and the conditions of the times. In our present society a firm will, decisive and bold action, have become somewhat rare. We endeavor continually to lessen friction between members of the same social groups, or between those of different social groups; we try to avoid open conflicts, hold peace conferences, and the like. Now and then we still meet an individual, who strives openly and directly towards his goal, but the most prefer the round-about way, if thereby they can avoid interference with others and on the part of others. All sorts of euphemistic terms have been invented for this method, as adaptability, diplomacy, business capacity, etc. The German system of education and government has perhaps a tendency to crush out individuality, to transform each one into a model citizen. But in direct opposition to this tendency stands the almost stubborn courage of conviction, so characteristic of the German people. In all walks of life there are to be found

strong personalities, people willing to make any sacrifice rather than renounce their convictions, or act against their principles. It is therefore not due to the scarcity of strong-willed men, that Hauptmann is given to representing individuals lacking in will-power; nor does his pessimism wholly explain his preference. It may be attributed in part to the shy and highly emotional nature of the author, to which is also due the fact that Hauptmann is far more successful in representing women, and strong women at that, than in representing men. A study of his plays will easily convince us of this significant fact.

*The causes of naturalism* are by no means obscure and a short review of them will therefore suffice. Materialism, the scientific spirit and the social tendencies of our age, the reaction against the conventionality and the hollow idealism of the last generations, in short, the sum total of the conditions of the present and recent past is the soil from which naturalism has sprung. It is certainly a mistake to ascribe the origin of the naturalistic movement in Germany to a few literary men, who desired to make for themselves a name; it was deeply rooted in the life of the nation. The choice of subjects finds a similar explanation. For the materialist king and beggar are but two, although different, representatives of the same species. Science emphasizes the influence of environment and heredity upon the character, and the poet seeks those factors where they are most pronounced, that is in the lower and lowest classes of society. The social and philanthropic movements of our age have also brought the fourth estate to the foreground and to this must be added, in the present case, the morbid preference which Hauptmann has for the dark side of life. The realists of the middle of the last century have repeatedly treated similar subjects, but in an essentially different manner. Hauptmann is much more relentless in the presentation of the repelling and strives for strict objectivity.—It must be remembered that objectivity is a relative term.—He avoids putting an analysis of their inner life into the mouths of his characters and uses reflection only then, when it is in keeping with the character

and the situation. He does this even at the risk of not being understood. All actions which cannot be represented in an approximately lifelike way, he banishes from his plays. With regard to the scenery, Hauptmann often makes strong demands. Even the perfected stage-technique of the present time, cannot always satisfy these demands.

While I am of the opinion that many of the charges preferred against naturalism and against Hauptmann are ill-founded, and that naturalism cannot be disposed of by denying to it the name of art, I desire in no way to advocate its cause. The movement is, moreover, already a thing of the past, but it has exerted a very important influence upon German literature, and has left behind it a permanent impression. Many of the dramatic productions of the last ten years have been strongly affected by naturalism. In my subsequent analysis I shall not again refer in detail to disputed points which have been considered in the preceding paragraphs.

*Promethidenloos.* The year 1885 designates in the history of German literature the outbreak of the recent 'Storm and Stress.' The same year Hauptmann made his first appearance before the public with a poem, which bore the pretentious title *Promethidenloos*. It was modeled after Byron's *Childe Harold*, but, unfortunately, it possessed none of the merits of this great master-piece. Hauptmann soon came to this conclusion himself and withdrew the poem from print a few months after its publication. He even had those copies destroyed which were still in the hands of the publisher and the book-dealers.

*Promethidenloos* was in every respect a true product of the 'Storm and Stress.' The very character of the dedication to the 'Seven,' probably then the most intimate friends of Hauptmann, betrays this. The following is a somewhat free translation :

'What we have felt, what we desired,  
Our duty is to tell.  
The veins of time are filled with gold  
Instead of blood, glowing and bold,  
As yours and mine does swell.



Joined hand in hand firmly abide  
 And feel you are one whole.  
 That one the path, on which you stride,  
 That one the glowing, surging tide,  
 Which fills your every soul.  
 For light and truth, rise blood with might  
 And throb my heart so hot.  
 Thou courage proud of battle and fight  
 Desert, desert us not !'

These few lines are the keynote of the whole poem, which is a striking embodiment of the radical, high-soaring idealism, the overbearing self-esteem and the exaggerated notions of the mission and importance of a poet, then prevalent among the German literary youth.

In thirteen songs of very unequal length the poet relates to us his experiences on a journey to Italy in the year 1883, hiding himself under the transparent disguise of a youth named Selin, like Childe Harold, a pilgrim. The poem is invaluable as a self-confession of the author and as a literary document of the times, for much which it contains is not peculiar to Hauptmann, but rather to the period of which *Promethidenloos* is a product. The author's hatred of the school, which has profited him little or nothing, his altruism, his keen interest in social problems, especially in that of the fallen woman, all this we find in the epic ; and also Hauptmann's more personal characteristics, his doctrinarianism, his sincerity, energy and will-power. Its artistic value is very small, the few bold figures of speech and happy phrases which it contains cannot atone for the lack of concreteness and clearness, and the rhetorical bombast of its often labored verses. It is therefore no wonder that at the time of its appearance *Promethidenloos* passed almost unnoticed.

*Before Sunrise.* Not until four years later did Hauptmann again choose to face the public, this time with a drama, which bore the title *Before Sunrise*. It can hardly be doubted, that the poet thereby wished to predict the dawn of a new day in the realm of literary, especially dramatic, art. As far as

Hauptmann himself is concerned, this day has turned out somewhat dark and gloomy; though, no other dramatic author has thus far rendered its light still more obscure through some great, poetic deed.

The works of Zola, Tolstoi and Ibsen had in the meanwhile exerted their influence upon Hauptmann; Bjarne P. Holmsen's (Arno Holz and Johannes Schlaf) *Papa Hamlet* and other sketches had furnished a model for a new literary style, from which Hauptmann derived many suggestions. The poet dedicated the first edition of *Before Sunrise* to the author of *Papa Hamlet*, as an expression of his gratitude for the decisive suggestions received. In his drama he first applied in a measure the method of Holz and Schlaf to dramatic art, and so it happened that the beginning of the naturalistic drama was dated from the appearance of *Before Sunrise*; although this work does not essentially differ from the works of the older school, excepting in the choice of subject and the liberal use of colloquial language and of dialect.

It is a sad picture, which the poet unfolds before our eyes. Helene Krause, the younger of the two daughters of the farmer Krause, has been brought up in the Moravian colony Herrnhut, at the wish of her deceased mother; but has returned to her parental home in Witzdorf. The conditions, which exist there at the time of her return, are horrible. Her father, an embruted drunkard, who, like the most of his neighbors, has suddenly become rich through the coal discovered beneath his soil, spends day and night at the village inn. His second wife entertains adulterous relations with an idiotic young farmer, Wilhelm Kahl, whom she wishes to join in marriage with her step-daughter, Helene. But she also tries to play the lady, and in her ridiculous conceit has engaged for herself a companion, Frau Spiller by name, a sycophant of the worst kind. Krause's older daughter, the wife of an engineer, Hoffmann, is, at the time of the play, likewise at home to await her delivery, and her husband is, of course, with her. Hoffmann is a shrewd, unscrupulous rascal. He has married the wealthy farmer's

daughter for the sake of her money only, after having forced a rival into suicide, and has even managed to reap the rewards of the latter's industrial undertakings. With the farmers of Witzdorf he has, when they were all intoxicated, concluded an ingenious contract, through which he has monopolized the sale of the coal from their mines and he is now well on the way toward becoming a millionaire. His wife is addicted to strong drink and their first child has become the victim of an unnatural craving for alcohol at the tender age of three. But Hoffmann takes life philosophically and hopes to find consolation for the shortcomings of his wife through his youthful, pretty sister-in-law. Helene naturally detests the thought of marrying Wilhelm Kahl, although she does not yet know of his improper relations to her step-mother. The attentions and courtesies of Hoffmann she readily receives, because of her loneliness. There is not a single young man in all Witzdorf, who could be a suitable companion for her; nothing but rich, stupid, drunken land-owners, and poor, uncultured, envious miners. Hoffmann possesses, at least, polish, and his baseness Helene has not yet discovered.

Into these conditions comes unexpectedly at the very beginning of the play a stranger, Alfred Loth, a former schoolmate of Hoffmann, a social dreamer, and, just at present, reformer and apostle of total abstinence. He comes to Witzdorf to study the economical condition of the miners and write a monograph on the result of his investigations: but is naive enough to claim hospitality from Hoffmann, on the ground of their former acquaintance, although he has learned that the good man has become a capitalist and unscrupulous oppressor of the working people. Alfred Loth has read his Darwin, and not in vain, hence he has decided to marry only a woman of unquestionably sound stock, that is, to govern his choice ultimately by strictly scientific principles. Alcohol he considers the worst enemy of the human race; his arguments he substantiates by quoting Bunge. He also demands that the woman, who should love him, should make a confession to him

on her own accord. Such ideas he expounds, half an hour after his arrival, as table-talk. That all those sitting with him at supper, with the exception of Helene, are habitual drunkards, our doctrinaire does not even suspect in spite of the clearest indications. He also mentions a brutish, old drunkard, whom he has seen in the village inn and when, amidst the embarrassment of the others, Wilhelm Kahl with stupid laughter blurts out: 'Why, to be sure, that was the old man,' Loth utterly fails to comprehend the remark.

Upon Helene he makes a deep impression and shows, on his part, a condescending interest in her. He explains to her his lofty programme, which embraces nothing less than the salvation of all mankind. Sensibly enough he does not expect that his ideals will be realized during his life-time, and since, 'so to speak, he could seat himself at the table only as the last of all,' he has renounced all earthly bliss. Helene takes everything he says at its face value, and however ridiculous this theorist may be, he rises head and shoulders above all others, with whom the girl has come in contact. No wonder that the inexperienced creature yearning for love, becomes at once enamoured of him. She has accidentally discovered the licentiousness of her step-mother, and the sensuality of Hoffmann's feeling for her. The old Krause would be brute enough to defile his own daughter, instead of protecting her. Helene suddenly realizes that she is sinking deeper and deeper into the mire. Loth appears to her as an ideal man and, knowing his views she courageously confesses to him her affection, as he is about to leave, so that she may not lose him. The passion of the self-denying, rational Loth is immediately kindled; a quite touching, but also quite sentimental love scene follows, and the two agree to leave Witzdorf together at once. In the midst of her bliss, Helene is troubled by the fear, that her hope may come to naught. Loth has not yet discovered that her father is a demented drunkard, in spite of various circumstances and remarks which seem unmistakably to indicate this. Helene's avowal of the humiliating fact is delayed by her natural shame

and finally prevented by the approaching delivery of her sister. On account of this event, Doctor Schimmelpfennig comes into the house of Krause and there meets Loth. The doctor is an old university chum of Loth and, like the latter, a confirmed Darwinist. As soon as he realizes how matters stand between Loth and Helene he informs his friend fully of the state of affairs existing in the Krause family and Loth sacrifices his young love without hesitation. He writes a short note, annulling the engagement just concluded, and then departs without seeing Helene again. When the poor girl discovers and reads the note, she is seized with despair, snatches up a hunting-knife and rushes into an adjoining room. A servant girl, who soon after enters this room in search of Helene, comes quickly out again screaming frantically. From the hall one hears the drunken bawling of the old Krause, who has just returned from the inn where he has spent the night. So ends the play.

There is but one attractive character in the whole drama, Helene Krause. From the little we learn about her mother, we must conclude that she was a gentle, meek woman and her daughter has inherited much from her. Helene's education in the peaceful, pietistic colony of Herrnhut, far remote from the affairs of the world, has unfortunately not strengthened her for the battle of life; hence it is not surprising, that, with gloomy resignation, she accepts the conditions, which she finds, upon her return to the house of her father. Her passive suffering is entirely in keeping with her character, and the training which she has received. The latter also explains her leaning towards sentimentality. When we consider her loneliness, the hopeless conditions of her surroundings, and the preponderance of the emotional in her being, we find the unusual confession of her love, and her last, despairing deed not at all unnatural. Bartels<sup>1</sup> is of the opinion, if Helene were a really healthy being, she would not have collapsed under the comparatively light blow of fortune. Of a self-relying, resolute, young

<sup>1</sup> Bartels, A. *Gerhart Hauptmann.* Weimar, 1897 (p. 46.)

woman we certainly should presuppose this. Helene, however, does not belong to this class, and I doubt very much whether we ought to designate indiscriminately as mentally and morally unhealthy, all those, who are not equal to the adversities of life. Helene does nothing to help herself and merely wonders at the hateful, sullen looks of the miners, without ever divining the cause; for energy and penetration are not her strong points. But Hauptmann has well understood how to show us her kindness to the poor. In the fourth act—a subdivision of the five acts into scenes does not exist—the poor wife of the coachman steals away with a pottle of milk, when one of the servant girls calls after her: ‘Be quick! Someone is coming,’ but another girl adds reassuringly: ‘Never mind. It is only our miss.’ The poet has here skilfully, in an entirely concrete manner, characterized Helene, and his method is certainly artistic, in spite of the fact that the little scene has no direct bearing on the plot. The similar introduction of the imbecile Hopslabaer, however, is out of place, since it serves only to characterize a minor figure of the play, Wilhelm Kahl. It is, to be sure, very significant of the latter, that he interrupts with his idiotic jokes the report of Frau Spiller about his rival Loth; but for the drama this circumstance is meaningless, especially since Kahl, after this occurrence, practically disappears from the play. The whole is nothing but a naturalistic blunder. The dramatist must select and there is no other standard for his choice than the suitability of a certain detail for the representation of a given character, and the relative importance of the characters of the play in question. If the several characters of a drama vary greatly in importance, the minuteness of their representation ought to be proportional.

Alfred Loth, whom the poet evidently intended for the central figure of *Before Sunrise*, is essentially a failure. He ought to know, that, with an investigation of the conditions of the miners from his, *i. e.* from the socialistic point of view, he renders a very undesirable service to the capitalists; how can he make himself comfortable in the house of the man whom

his pamphlet will harm most? It borders on stupidity, that he, in addition to this, even requests Hoffmann's assistance in these investigations. His friend takes this for impudence, but it is merely incapacity to comprehend the real significance of the situation. One of the first things Loth does after his arrival is to borrow a sum of money from Hoffmann, apparently only for the purpose, that he may tear the check a few hours later with lofty indifference. The whole scene savors strongly of 'von Trast-Saarberg,' the rodomontade count in Sudermann's *Honor* (Ehre). What sort of a descriptive work Loth would produce, we may infer from his utter inability to interpret correctly, what he sees in the house of the Krauses. But there are such abstract and blind enthusiasts. That he impresses Helene, is quite natural, also that he so readily responds to her love; but his ultimate course of action is entirely inconsistent with his character. Through the first four acts Loth appears as a rather radical idealist, in the last act he is an absolute rationalist. The natural thing for Loth 'number one' would be to marry the girl, despite the fact that her nearest relatives are incorrigible inebriates; the more so, since she herself had not fallen a victim to this vice. To renounce her and, at the same time, rescue her from her misery lies, of course, beyond the power of this dreamy reformer; but his sudden resolution to break off the engagement stands in direct contradiction with all we know of him.

It seems to me the evolutionist got the better of the poet in this instance. Hauptmann wished to represent the baneful influence of alcoholism, and to produce thereby a tragic effect. To this end the sacrifice of Helene was necessary, and this could only be brought about through the unfeeling, cowardly action of Alfred Loth. The resulting consequences have been disastrous to the drama. Landsberg<sup>1</sup> is of the opinion that Loth must either marry Helene or seek, together with her, liberty in death. Landsberg has been enchanted by Ibsen's

<sup>1</sup> Landsberg, H. *Los von Hauptmann.* Berlin, 1900 (p. 27.)

heroes and he sees in the great Norse playwright the Messiah of dramatic art. But this liberty found in death is a very questionable thing. In a drama it is usually nothing but a makeshift and a confession that the respective persons are neither able to endure the existing conditions, nor find a solution for the conflict tormenting them. In very rare instances, voluntary self-inflicted death may be the only possible outcome, but it is, and always will be, a desperate means of solution. Landsberg is apparently a materialist, but however this may be, two possibilities exist; either the individual consciousness suffers no interruption at the hour of physical death, *i. e.*, we do not lose our identity; or the individual consciousness is destroyed, the 'Ego' ceases to be. In the first case there can be no freedom, no escape from the consequences of the past; in the second we have only 'non-existence,' which, of course, is not identical with freedom. For Loth there exists no need of making an immediate test, of his own free will, as to which of the two it will be. To bring about such a solution would be arbitrary in the extreme. We are to overcome the difficulties which may beset us, not to avoid them by deserting the ranks; and this we demand also of the characters of a drama. Woerner<sup>1</sup> holds that Loth's character is not really inconsistent, that 'here, as often in real life, the self-confident moralist is stronger only in his teachings than is his devout listener,' (Helene). This is true, but one of the main points of Loth's programme is the uplifting of the race, through selective breeding—for this is really what it amounts to—and because of this he sacrifices Helene, in order that he may not be unfaithful to his principles. As far as his theory is concerned, there lies no inconsistency in his decision. But if these principles are so inviolably sacred to him, he should not recklessly rush into the 'blind alley.' In the first four acts of the drama it becomes very evident that sentiment largely determines his actions; he preaches reason, but obeys his heart. In the last

<sup>1</sup> Woerner, U. C., *Gerhart Hauptmann*. 2. Aufl. Berlin, 1901 (p. 8.)



act, however, he suddenly turns out an unbending rationalist, and in this lies the inconsistency.

Of the remaining persons of the play, Hoffmann is best drawn, but he possesses not a single lovable characteristic, nor is he deep, and we may hence spare ourselves the trouble of an analysis. Helene very soon recognizes of what sort is the feeling with which Hoffmann regards her; else she might with his assistance have recovered from the cruel blow, to be, however, only the more surely and rapidly ruined by him. Her fate would seem inevitable, if only Loth's action resulted necessarily from his character. The old farm-laborer, Bleibst, is a very realistic representation of his type, likewise Wilhelm Kahl is credible. Frau Krause and the cringing Frau Spiller are somewhat exaggerated. Schlenther<sup>1</sup> and also Mahn<sup>2</sup> find that Doctor Schimmelpfennig resembles Doctor Relling in Ibsen's *Wild Duck*; but this can hardly be said. Relling knowingly and intentionally leads the people to self-deception, in order to make life more bearable to them, and he sincerely wishes that 'the devil would take Gregors Werle with his ideal demands.' Schimmelpfennig, on the contrary, is a relentless champion of Darwinism and the truth. Whether or not the people perish from it, evidently matters very little to him. He is on the whole rather shadowy and, next to Loth, the worst drawn character of the play.

Hauptmann has termed *Before Sunrise* a social drama and thereby he, no doubt, wishes to indicate that the conditions represented in the play are, at least to some extent, typical; but this is not the case. There is nowhere so degenerate a community as this Witzdorf is represented to be; the poet has exaggerated to prove his point. I am convinced, that, in the whole Giant Mountains, not a single farmer could be found whose horses and even cows are fed from mangers of marble

<sup>1</sup> Schlenther P. *Gerhart Hauptmann. Sein Lebensgang und seine Dichtung.* 4. Auflage. Berlin, 1898 (p. 92.)

<sup>2</sup> Mahn, P. *Gerhart Hauptmann und der moderne Realismus.* Berlin, 1894 (p. 9.)

and racks of German silver, although Helene assures Loth that there are several of these in Witzdorf alone. But even if we take everything that is said about this village for truth, the abnormal conditions of this place should not furnish material for a social drama. The poet has moreover shown us nothing but the household of the Krauses. The miners, the degenerate landowners never appear on the stage, and even when spoken of, it is only in the most general manner. But discussion of social problems and the breadth of the 'milieu' certainly do not suffice to make a social drama of a play.

With reference to the stage *Before Sunrise* has a number of merits: a clear, lively, although somewhat too lengthy exposition, very effective conclusions of the different acts, with the possible exception of the fourth act, and a plot which has been carried out with great consistency. On the other hand it has also a great blemish, namely, the inconsistency in the character of Alfred Loth. The play differs from the customary, modern drama in the choice of the subject, in the emphasis given to the representation of the secondary characters, in the unsparing, even exaggerated presentation of the repelling, and in the use of dialect and colloquial language. The last fact is, in itself, a merit of the drama, for the poet has succeeded in characterizing the different persons through the language which they use; and in indicating or suggesting, through pauses, repetitions, and the like, many a hidden psychological phenomenon. The dialect of the Giant Mountains, which the poet uses very freely, is unfortunately intelligible only to a comparatively small number of persons and moreover cannot be adequately represented on the printed page by the ordinary symbols of speech-sound. All this makes the play less comprehensible and so less effective for many.

When the poet wrote this work, he certainly thought in the first place of the reader. Otherwise the exhaustive stage directions of the play would be quite superfluous. Much that is contained in them, has no significance for the actual representation of the play whatever. For instance: 'It is the Farmer

Krause, *who, as usually, is the last one to leave the inn,* or 'He (Bleibst) lights a match on his leather trousers, to rekindle the short pipe, *which almost never comes out of his mouth,*' or 'This makes her appear to him so lovely, *that he wants to use the moment to embrace her.*' Such marginal notes by the poet, of which there are dozens in this play, cannot be represented. The same applies to the following and similar word-paintings intended to heighten the mood: 'Through the door-way one sees far-stretching cloverfields and level meadows, through them runs a meandering brook, the course of which is marked out by alders and willows. In the horizon a single mountain-cone. The larks have begun to sing and their unceasing warbling comes now from near by, now from a distance to the farm-yard.' Many of the peculiarities of Hauptmann originate in his desire to reach the reader or spectator more through the emotions than through the intellect, which is certainly a poetic method. On the stage it is not always sufficient and occasionally fails entirely.

*Before Sunrise* clearly shows the influence of foreign literature. Tolstoi's *Power of Darkness* has furnished the chief model; the general atmosphere of this play is the same as that pervading *Before Sunrise*. From a purely dramatic standpoint the former is far superior to the latter. In Tolstoi's drama crime results from crime with almost inevitable necessity, but this can by no means be said of Hauptmann's play. To be sure, Nikita, the main character of *The Power of Darkness*, also becomes inconsistent at the very close of the play, but the drama, as a whole, does not suffer so much from this defect, as does *Before Sunrise*, from the inconsistency in Loth's character. Hauptmann's play also reminds us of Zola's *L'assommoir* and *La terre*; particularly in the unsparing representation of the brutal and repelling. Ibsen's *Ghosts* may have encouraged the young author to embody his views on evolution in a drama, but these views themselves he had derived from a different source, as will be shown.

But while the influence of foreign authors is quite evident in

*Before Sunrise*, the essence of the play is Hauptmann's own property. Close observation of real life has been the chief source, and we shall in the course of our studies make the discovery, that Hauptmann is not successful, where reality does not furnish him the immediate model for his work. He is, then, not so much naturalist from choice, as rather from the necessity imposed upon him by the limitations of his talent.

When the mining industry in the Giant Mountains was still less developed than at present, it repeatedly happened that in a particular locality the impecunious owners of the sterile soil became suddenly rich without any effort on their own part, through the discovery of coal beneath their fields. This has resulted, with rare exceptions, in the degeneration of the respective individuals, and the young Hauptmann has had, no doubt, more than one opportunity to observe the deleterious effects of what would seem at first sight a blessing. These observations formed the nucleus of the play. But we have really in this drama two distinct classes opposed to, and contrasted with each other: the native element and the men of the world. The latter are represented by Alfred Loth, Doctor Schimmelpfennig, and the Engineer Hoffmann. Helene Krause cannot appropriately be classed with either group. Hoffmann is the prototype of an unscrupulous, cunning, unprincipled upstart, a figure not infrequently met with, and he needs no explanation. Loth and Schimmelpfennig are the outgrowth of the discussions of scientific and sociological questions, in which the author indulged, when at Jena and perhaps also at later periods. Loth in particular is more of a book than a man. But we must not identify him with the author, for Hauptmann could not well subscribe to some of Loth's statements, as for instance the following: 'They (Zola and Ibsen) are not poets at all, they are nothing but necessary evils, Fräulein Krause. I am really thirsty and demand from literary art a clear, refreshing draught.—I am not sick. What Zola and Ibsen dispense is medicine.'—Most of this so-called medicine is more pleasant to take than what Hauptmann has

to offer.—The author has, however, lent to the reformer Loth his own hatred for all sorts of vice and his doctrinarianism. By the uncalled-for sacrifice of Helene he, presumably, intended to show us Loth as a man of firm convictions and of great will-power. Doctor Schimmelpfennig is more of a rationalist than his enthusiastic friend, but there is nothing in him to convince us, that he actually stands entirely above the possibility of becoming entangled in matters, which he has theoretically condemned long ago, as for instance in matrimony; although he censures Loth for his weakness in this respect. No matter how we interpret the statements, which the author put into the mouths of these two characters, and no matter with which of them his sympathy chiefly rests, we must come to the conclusion that his views of the world are still very immature and too dogmatic, but we must admire the resoluteness with which he sacrifices everything to his conviction.

*Before Sunrise* appeared in print during the summer of 1889, and on October 20 of the same year it was put on the stage for the first time in the Lessing theater at Berlin by the 'Verein Freie Bühne.' The piece met with violent opposition and, at the same time, with unbounded admiration, though it deserved neither the one nor the other. The apostles of a new literary creed and their numerous disciples at once proclaimed Hauptmann to be their leader, and he still holds a leading position in spite of the fact, that many who helped to put him on the pedestal, have since tried to take him down.

*The Peace-Festival.* In less than a year, a second play followed, which the author dedicated to Theodor Fontane, the aged realist, who had endorsed Hauptmann's first drama as a work of considerable merit. The views concerning this second play are most conflicting; some pronounce it the best drama Hauptmann ever produced, others declare it to be the worst. If anything *The Peace-Festival* is still more gloomy than *Before Sunrise*. Determinism rules supreme in this piece, the human will is but a straw, the characters of the drama,

excepting two, act not as they *will* but as they *must*. And still, though they also are aware of this fact, they consider themselves responsible for their deeds. The action, the conflict of the play takes place entirely within the persons and Hauptmann deemed it advisable to refer, on the title page, to Lessing's view with regard to this sort of action, as expressed in his *Discussions of the Fable*.

It is on a Christmas eve. We have to follow the poet to a lonely country-house, lying on the outskirts of the village Erkner, a suburb of Berlin. In a large, uncomfortable hall, paved with flagstone, Frau Doctor Scholz and her unbidden guest, Frau Buchner, are busy decorating a Christmas tree. The former is a woman of forty-six, but appears much older; continually complains and whines, and makes life miserable for herself and others. Frau Buchner is entirely the opposite; she possesses an indomitable optimism, is of a cheerful and helpful disposition, and appears youthful by the side of Frau Scholz, although the difference in their age is only four years. Presently Auguste Scholz comes home from a Christmas celebration for the poor of the village. She is only twenty-nine, but already the worst of old maids: nervous, quarrelsome, peevish, discontented, and the poet makes haste to establish once more the equilibrium by introducing Ida Buchner, twenty, blooming, kind, and always cheerful. Frau Buchner and her daughter have come, much to the discomfort of Frau Scholz and Auguste, to establish peace and harmony in the home of Doctor Scholz. This home has been shattered for many years, a real family-life indeed has never existed here. Doctor Scholz is a well-educated man, has travelled far and wide, he has even been in Japan. At thirty-eight, he married a poor girl of sixteen, from mere fancy, and brought her to the lonely country-house. There they have lived together for thirty years, children have been born to them, but Doctor Scholz soon entirely withdrew from his family, devoting himself to his studies and keeping strictly to his own apartments on the second floor of the spacious house. There are three children

in this strange family. Auguste, the oldest, and two sons, Robert and Wilhelm, now twenty-eight and twenty-six respectively. Doctor Scholz never concerned himself about his daughter, but the boys he had tried to fill with knowledge long before they outgrew their knee-trousers. Ten hours they had to spend daily at their books, although they resisted vigorously such treatment, biting and scratching the old Friebe, the factotum of the doctor, whenever he was ordered to drag them up-stairs to their study-room. The mother always took the part of the boys, and finally the doctor became disgusted and decided to let the brats grow up without training. For five years they were left entirely to themselves, just during the period of approaching adolescence, and, as a result, fell into all sorts of vices. At last Doctor Scholz, troubled by his awakened conscience, sent the boys to a private school, a sort of reformatory, in spite of the mother's opposition. From there they ran away, as might have been expected, and an attempt to send the younger one, Wilhelm, to America also failed. From that time they have made their own way through the world. Robert found a position in a factory, as clerk and composer of sensational advertisements; Wilhelm became a musician. Although living at odds with their father, they now and then visit their home. On such an occasion Wilhelm brings with him an acquaintance, like himself a musician, and Frau Scholz plays duets with the stranger day after day. Thereby the jealousy of the husband is aroused, and he expresses his suspicions to the servants of the house. Wilhelm overhears such a conversation and in his anger forgets himself so far as to beat his father. On the same day father and son leave the house and Frau Scholz and her daughter have since lived alone. The older son, Robert, pays every Christmas a short visit home and this year has come as usually. Nothing has been heard of Doctor Scholz since his departure, which is now six years ago, nor has Wilhelm kept up since then any connection with the members of his family. He has always suffered from remorse and has lived without

happiness or hope, until he met Ida Buchner, and quickly won her love. Ida is the only child of Frau Buchner, who herself regards the attractive young man with somewhat more than maternal affection. When she learns that family troubles are the cause of Wilhelm's depression, which does not fully yield even to her daughter's love, she resolves to set matters aright, and, supported by Ida, does not rest until Wilhelm consents to revisit his paternal home at the present Christmas time, to regain the peace of his soul. Frau Buchner and Ida have come a few days before in order to put the Scholzes in a mood of reconciliation, and smooth the way for Wilhelm, in which undertaking they are, however, not very successful.

Robert, who has become a cynic, tells Frau Buchner without provocation straight to her face, that he is unable to comprehend how she can endure the life at the home of the Scholzes, but she is too simple and meek to take offense at this. When Robert declares that, if his father is not quite so indifferent to him as to any fool, it is, because he is, in a sense, the product of his father's folly, Frau Buchner is indeed at the end of her wit. Still, to a new, personal insult, which Robert inflicts upon her, she only replies: 'Robert, I know that I have a special mission. That protects me like a charm. From the bottom of my heart: you have not insulted me.' Almost too much lack of temper!—Nevertheless even this fails to make an impression upon the confirmed cynic, and we can foresee that the intended reconciliation, the peace-festival, will be thwarted by the behavior of this fellow.

While all, Robert excepted, with widely different feelings, to be sure, await the arrival of Wilhelm, in stumbles Doctor Scholz. He comes home, because he instinctively feels that the hour of his death is near at hand. His behavior, his utterances, plainly indicate that he suffers from the delusion that everybody is conspiring to persecute him; insanity of persecution, as the psychologists call this mental disease. That Frau Scholz, the uncultured, worried, scared, little woman, fails to interpret these symptoms correctly, cannot surprise us. All



the others have withdrawn to leave husband and wife to themselves, since they are meeting again for the first time after so long a period. Frau Scholz begins where she left off six years ago, *i. e.*, by making complaining reproaches. Scholz is not inclined to defend himself. 'Upon guilt follows atonement, upon sin follows punishment,' he declares mysteriously. But he soon cuts short the conversation, going to his apartments, where his old, trusty servant Friebe supplies him liberally with wine, cognac and cigars. Mother and daughter are little pleased with the return of Doctor Scholz. Auguste declares it is just as if someone had returned from the grave—most people would rather not have their relatives return from there, after so long an absence—and Frau Scholz laments that her husband will soon be through with the wine and the cigars, and that she, in her old days, will have to suffer from his whims. Before the two have yet recovered from their surprise, or rather consternation, Wilhelm arrives. When he, alone with Ida, enters the house of his father, the scene of his wretched childhood, and of his offence, he collapses in hopeless despair, overcome by his recollections. Frau Buchner and Ida try to re-establish his self-confidence and even then do not abandon him, when he makes a sort of general confession and relates what has happened between him and his father—which Frau Buchner, at least, has already learned from the other members of the family—and how infamous a life he has formerly led. Urged by the two women, he at last resolves to ask his father's pardon. When father and son stand in each other's presence, Doctor Scholz at first shrinks back, his face expressing hatred and distrust, but as soon as he recognizes the intention of the repenting son, he tenderly and sincerely pardons him. Wilhelm collapses under the mental strain, but through the affectionate care of the old doctor, he is soon brought out of danger. All, even Robert, are deeply moved and it comes to an explanation and reconciliation between the brothers.

But the spirit of peace does not long prevail. The Buchners have arranged a rather child-like Christmas celebration with

tree and presents, which makes the Scholzes feel very uncomfortable, since they no longer possess the necessary simplicity and purity of heart, to surrender themselves to such impressions. Robert refuses in an insulting manner to accept a present from Ida—the reason we shall see later—and thereby irritates his brother. Still worse, when Ida sings a very simple Christmas song in an adjoining room, Robert begins to scoff. A quarrel ensues between him and Wilhelm, in which Auguste takes Robert's part. Doctor Scholz bids her to leave the room, and when Robert now interferes, he orders him out of the house. The mother, trying to shield the son, thoroughly arouses the anger of the aged man, and when Wilhelm attempts to appease him, his mania suddenly breaks forth. He fears Wilhelm will beat him, flees whining from him and finally collapses. Robert now leaves the house, but not without destroying, before he goes, the self-confidence and hopefulness of his brother. Wilhelm, as a result, renounces Ida, lest he make her unhappy by marrying her; but she will not give him up. The more rudely he repulses her, the more tenderly she pleads with him, until she finally conquers. Led by her he enters the adjoining room, where his father has just breathed his last sigh.

Hauptmann has very appropriately called this play a family catastrophe. These five people so closely connected by the ties of nature, forming one of those almost inseparable units, which we consider the very foundations of all our social institutions, cannot but inflict pain upon one another. They must do so, whether they choose to or not. At least the poet wishes to give us this impression and he has drawn his characters essentially true to life. Such families really do exist. If upon any one of the Scholzes falls a larger degree of guilt than upon the rest, this one is Doctor Scholz. This is neither the common opinion of the critics, nor does it seem to be the view of the poet. Of course he is still a confirmed evolutionist and tries to show that Doctor Scholz has become what he is, because his wife failed to understand him. It is quite evident that she

can never have been a spiritual companion to him, but this does not exonerate him. Scholz is a man of experience, culture, learning; and he out of his own initiative, chose for himself a mate. No one can censure the poor, young girl for accepting his proposal. Was it not the duty of the mature man to decide in advance whether or not this girl would be an acceptable life companion for him, or whether she would at least be susceptible to education? The difference in the age of the two is no positive reason for the failure they made of matrimony. On the contrary the youthfulness of the bride pre-supposes pliancy of character, and if Doctor Scholz still enjoyed only a reasonable degree of vitality, it lay largely in his power to shape the course of his married life. Although women mature, in every respect, earlier than do men, a girl of sixteen has not yet completed the development of her character, and much can be done to mould it. It does indeed indicate deplorable spiritual poverty, when Frau Scholz believes she is doing her share, if she provides her husband with nice, warm socks, palatable food, and so forth; but she has taste for music, and other elevated preferences might have been easily inculcated in her, if Scholz had been the proper man to do so. The methods, which he employed in educating his children, explain why he was unable to educate his child-wife. But granted he had been equal to the task, or even that he had made all reasonable effort and still had not been able to fashion her character, it would nevertheless have been incumbent on him to find a way in which to live enduringly with his family. The blame for all that has happened falls largely upon him, the cultured, educated, experienced, mature man, not upon the foolish young girl. It was unwise of the mother to take sides with her children against their father; 'Mother pulled at my left arm and father at my right arm,' Wilhelm relates. Very significant of the narrowness of the man is the fact, that he never troubled himself about the bringing up of his daughter. A once very popular, and still practised educational method, of which Doctor Scholz also makes use, was to

send unmanageable boys to America; simply to get rid of them and save the family name from possible disgrace.

Robert and Wilhelm understand splendidly how to explain why and how they have become what they are. The former is far better off than his brother in as much as he knows how to keep from himself, under ordinary circumstances, any annoying feelings, for he is a rationalist, that is, he has become such in the course of time. Wilhelm is predominantly emotional and therefore suffers horribly from the recollections of his past. We cannot hope much for him from the future, for he has inherited too much from his father. Utterances like this (in a stern, repelling tone) 'Let me alone, that you don't understand;' or this, (harsh and passionate) 'Yes, yes, yes! That is the same old story—I don't understand you, I don't understand you!—Mother and father, too, have spoken different languages all their lives. You don't understand me! You don't know me! etc.' addressed to his bride, make us fear the worst. There are also positive indications that he suffers from the same mania, which possesses his father. But this is a matter of course, for the author's ideas are still strongly colored by the various evolutionary theories, imbibed at Jena and elsewhere. Much for the future happiness of Wilhelm depends on whether or not material cares will be spared to him, in case he establishes a family; for he is, in spite of his idealism, not the man to rise above the material.

Ida's attitude is too self-sacrificing, but still credible; less so the indomitable optimism of Frau Buchner, even if we assume, that the fates have been hitherto most kind to her. Her own, more than maternal love for the young musician does not furnish an explanatory motive for her indefatigable endeavors. Through her strong affection for Wilhelm, Hauptmann has introduced a highly ambiguous motive into the play, which serves no purpose, for we know Frau Buchner too little, to form a correct estimate of the import of this affection.

The stage directions are still more copious in this piece than in *Before Sunrise* and hardly any more to the point, *i. e.*, direc-

tions, which the actor or stage manager actually may carry out, and not mere remarks of the author. Many are mere suggestions and seem like a rough sketch of the characters, made by the author more for his own use, than for the benefit of the reader, and so they do not belong in the finished play. It has indeed been stated, that in *The Peace-Festival* Hauptmann surrenders everything to the actors, but this is hardly the proper way of expressing it. Anything, which the actor, through his attitude, through gestures, play of the features, the masque, and so forth, can express, the poet need not express in the dramatic dialogue. He even ought not to express it, if he feels reasonably assured that the average spectator will get the point without the help of the dialogue. If the dialogue is to do it all, a phonograph will suffice to recite the play. However the author must be certain, that his stage directions not only stand on the paper, but that they can also be carried out. In *The Peace-Festival* Hauptmann makes great demands on the actors, and on the spectators as well.

The language of the play is still more colloquial, more abrupt, than that of *Before Sunrise*. It is often impossible to establish the logical connection between less important passages, and many will deem this a grave fault. Still, judging abstractly, it is none, for the language and mode of expression is under the given conditions entirely in harmony with the character of the persons, who use it. Just through the abruptness of their remarks we get a good picture of these people, and while we do not always comprehend the meaning and import of what they say, their characters are sharply defined. The play possesses very delicate psychological analysis, life-like representation and a consistent development of the plot.

Bulthaupt<sup>1</sup> acknowledges the last item to be true only as far as and including the reconciliation of father and son in the second act.—The play has but three acts and no subdivision into scenes.—The remaining part he declares, as I think, unjustly,

<sup>1</sup> Bulthaupt, H. *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels*. 4. Band. 3. Auflage. Oldenburg und Leipzig, 1902 (p. 489.)

to be inconsistent. The behavior of Robert is the vital point in this question. Robert has developed his cynicism as a means of self-protection from the emotions, which threatened his peace of mind. In the beginning he was certainly as emotional as Wilhelm, perhaps even more so, and just for this reason he had to invent a means of defence. He himself says: 'In former times I have had similar experiences—but as soon as I noticed, that those states were getting the better of me, I usually without hesitation turned my back upon them.' It is by no means rare, that a sensitive individual becomes a cynic.—We need only call to mind the case of Heinrich Heine.—On this particular occasion, that is, when Wilhelm begs and obtains his father's forgiveness, an unusual event has gotten the better of Robert, and what is the result? He himself describes it: 'I have again for the first time in years an ungovernable desire to spit upon myself.' Such a feeling nobody can endure long, and each one will try to rid himself of it after his own fashion. He, who is of a certain religious disposition, goes to the mourners' bench and repents, and possibly carries his head higher than ever afterwards, because it is written: 'that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.' Robert establishes his peace of mind in a different manner, namely, by withdrawing again as soon as possible behind his cynicism. Nothing could be more natural for him. Soon after a new temptation besets him. Ida offers him a present, a pipe, and he refuses brusquely to accept it. The author has clearly indicated that Robert is not indifferent towards Ida. Of whatever nature his affection may be, he cannot possibly win the girl and he therefore considers it wise not to accept a present from her. It would be too apt to spoil his humor, 'when he sits in his cozy little office, his back towards the stove, his legs crossed beneath the table' and then lights the pipe presented to him by Ida. From his point of view it would have been very foolish to accept the present. Still he might just as well have taken it and afterwards destroyed it. Oh yes! if only this were not

more difficult to do than to refuse it from the start. Robert's act is perfectly consistent with his character and philosophy. The simple, child-like Christmas song of Ida is indeed very little suited to the atmosphere of the place, but it is nevertheless pretty much in keeping with the previous behavior of the Buchners, and therefore we cannot reject it without also rejecting these two characters. Even serious men return on Christmas eve for a few hours to the simplicity of their childhood, and here we have to deal with two women, who are little else than big children. Ida certainly sings this Christmas carol not so much for its thought, as for the sake of the expression with which she can render it. She may have practised it for weeks, possibly under the direction of Wilhelm, and sings it now, although it is not suited to the occasion, or rather to the audience, because she has prepared no other. We could, moreover, introduce almost any other Christmas carol, less in the spirit of a child, instead of the one in question, without changing a single word of the dialogue. Robert does not want to give himself up to a sentimental mood, lest he should again feel 'a desire to spit upon himself;' and so he scoffs. That Wilhelm is offended at his brother's remarks, we should expect. Passionate as he is by disposition, he becomes, of course, unjust in his anger. The further development of affairs is entirely consistent. The final collapse of Doctor Scholz has been well enough prepared and motivated by the author to make it seem credible. To be sure the last act neither brings out a new side of any of the characters, nor does it furnish an acceptable conclusion. I find neither a grave inconsistency in the last part of the play, nor do I consider the development absolutely inevitable, that is, the brothers might have exercised a little more self-control during the few hours, in which they were thrown into each other's company. But if the different members of the family had staid together only a few days, some friction would have been sure to occur, and the final breakdown of Doctor Scholz was only a question of brief time, even without an unusual excitement to hasten it.

I have already indicated that, nevertheless, I am not satisfied with the conclusion. In *Before Sunrise* Loth and Helene had a perfect right to expect with reasonable certainty a happy life, should they have become husband and wife. It pleased the author to have it otherwise, to prove his proposition. On the other hand, there is strong and positive evidence that a fairly smooth course is only to be expected for Wilhelm Scholz and Ida Buchner under most favorable conditions. Hauptmann saves Wilhelm, the diseased, while he sacrifices the healthy Helene. Does he, going on the supposition that Helene was after all seriously tainted, wish to indicate that a woman may well redeem a man, but that a man cannot redeem a woman? Or has he in the interval between the appearance of the two plays come to see that the demand for absolute health on the part of both parents is untenable?

Both *Before Sunrise* and *The Peace-Festival* contain too much of what is barely endurable, to meet with our full sympathy. The counter-poise is not nearly strong enough to make us forget all the mere wretchedness. *The Peace-Festival* is the more typical of the two, despite the fact that it is only a family catastrophe, and has purely pathological motives. The Scholzes are more frequent in our nervous age than the Krauses. Society, however, may hope to recover from the evil of nervousness, since people begin to learn to use science not only to explain mental deterioration, but also to prevent and, as far as possible, cure it.

On the stage, *The Peace-Festival* has met with scant success, since it makes too great demands on both the actors and the spectators, as already mentioned. As far as the classic unities are concerned, the play is perfect; aside from the breadth of 'milieu.' The scene is, throughout, the large hall in Doctor Scholz's house, and the action could without crowding of events, or stretching of the imagination, take place in the space of time which is required to present the play on the stage.

*The Peace-Festival* is a rather weak imitation of Ibsen's *Ghosts*; not only with regard to the subject matter, but also in



the structure and technique of the play. In both these dramas heredity is the central idea, the plots of both are simple and the causes of the conflict lie in the far past. Ibsen's *Ghosts* also conforms strictly to the laws of unity of time, place and action. The particular phase of heredity dealt with in this drama is perhaps even more repelling than that of *The Peace-Festival*; but in the latter the general level is lower and the tragic element is therefore much weaker than in *Ghosts*. Some critics indeed maintain that the catastrophe is not in either of these dramas tragic at all.

*Lonely People.* With his third drama Hauptmann at last conquered the public stage; although the play held its place only for a short time, chiefly because it deals with somewhat problematic characters. It is, like *The Peace-Festival*, only a family catastrophe.

The locality is a villa on the Müggelsee in Friedrichshagen, near Berlin. There resides Johannes Vockerat, Doctor of Philosophy, together with his young wife Frau Käthe. He has, like his predecessor, 'doctor medicinae' Scholz, the misfortune not to be understood by his wife; but, worse still, no one else of those about him, takes any interest in the 'philosophic-critic-psycho-physiological work' with which he is wrestling at the time the play opens. Small wonder, if we consider the abstract nature of his pursuit, which is all Latin and Greek to common mortals. But why did not Vockerat take up his abode in a university town, since he feels the need of having someone with whom he may share his ideas. There he could easily have found people who would have taken an interest in his stupendous work. As things are he has become irritable and discouraged because of his spiritual isolation. Still all will take a turn for the better now, for a son has been born to him; and the parents of Johannes Vockerat, at least, expect that this event will bring about a wholesome change. This hope we can hardly share, judging from the behavior of Doctor Vockerat at the baptism of his infant son, with which event the play opens. The family, the pastor, and an intimate

friend of Vockerat, the painter, Braun, are about to sit down to the conventional luncheon, when a strange, young lady, Anna Mahr, makes her appearance in rather unceremonious manner. She is a German Russian, studying philosophy at Zürich, and passing through Berlin wishes to call upon the painter Braun, with whom she has become acquainted in Paris. Not finding him at his home, Anna Mahr makes bold to hunt him up, and here she is in quest of him. Of course, there are excuses, protests, an invitation to stay for luncheon, refusal on her part, urgent request by all, and her final consent. Doctor Vockerat recognizes in her at once his spiritual affinity. He leaves no stone unturned to have her stay at his house for some time, and she at last agrees. Soon Vockerat has eyes only for her, neglecting his young, patient, and unselfish wife. Frau Käthe has not yet completely recovered from child-birth, and now, seeing how matters are developing, she slowly pines away, and at the same time her mind begins to waver. When Anna Mahr feels that, with all but Johannes, she is no longer a welcome guest, she prepares to leave. But Vockerat will not have it and persuades her at the very station not to depart yet. Upon this the old Frau Vockerat, Johannes' mother, summons her husband per telegram, that he may bring his son back to a sense of duty; and moreover explains the situation candidly to Miss Mahr, begging her to depart for Käthe's sake. Anna Mahr does now leave after a passionate farewell from Johannes Vockerat; but the latter cannot endure the separation, and drowns himself in the Müggelsee. We are given to understand that Frau Käthe will not long survive the catastrophe. This is briefly the story of the play.

Its temporary success was due to its conventional form, and the circumstance that it stands on a higher level than the preceding two plays of Hauptmann. Landsberg<sup>1</sup> finds that *Lonely People* deals with the same motive as *The Peace-Festival*, but it moves in a higher sphere, saturated with

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 33.

inward nobility. He pronounces *Lonely People* the aristocratic counterpart of the preceding plebeian drama. Unfortunately Landsberg's judgment is based on external appearances. U. C. Woerner in her monograph about Gerhart Hauptmann very justly describes the language of Doctor Vockerat as uncultured. To be sure this fact alone would be no argument against his spiritual refinement, but it certainly betrays anything but inward dignity when he assures his wife of his faithfulness in such terms as: 'I am a knave, if I ever . . . ' or when he remarks: 'Those friends whom I could drive away from me . . . those friends, to speak frankly . . . they may go to the deuce.' The two old people are too narrow to be considered as representatives of this inward nobility, the painter Braun is lazily indifferent and *blasé*; thus only Frau Käthe and Anna Mahr remain. The former, as far as her intellect is concerned, not above the rest, is a very sympathetic figure. Anna Mahr may perhaps possess inward nobility, but unfortunately she has also many shortcomings. Woerner with good cause declares her to be unwomanly, certainly a serious defect. Even if this be unjust, Anna Mahr and Frau Käthe alone cannot lift the whole play into a loftier sphere. All the minor characters with the exception of the pastor are quite superfluous.

We direct our attention first to Doctor Johannes Vockerat. He is one of these twofold beings so often met with in periods of transition; or would it be better to say: periods of unrest; since the pendulum always seems to swing back again in this strife between intellect and emotions for supremacy. An advanced thinker, full of lofty ambitions, but without sufficient energy and will-power to realize them, in his emotional life still swayed by views of the past, which his reason scorns; and hemmed in by the rules of convention, which he dares not disregard; such he appears to us. His reason and emotions are continually at war with each other. Worst of all, he is absolutely selfish; everyone is to humor him, to adapt himself to his nature. The way in which he treats his young, con-

valescent wife is indeed brutal. As in the case of Doctor Scholz the question occurs to us: why did he marry Frau Käthe? Nothing is so repulsive to him as her patient, 'ma-donna-like' ways, which really are the very essence of her being. He, the psychologist, certainly should have become aware of them before his marriage. But to be sure he needed, above all, her money.—'For my nature I am not to blame,' is his ready excuse for his rudeness. His passion for Anna Mahr starts far too suddenly to be of a purely spiritual nature. Mahr<sup>1</sup> is polite enough to take Vockerat's word for it that, in spite of his affection for Anna Mahr, Vockerat does not cease to love his wife. Schlenther,<sup>2</sup> too, finds Vockerat's relations to Anna Mahr unobjectionable, because Platonic, and adduces such feeble arguments as the fact that they address each other to the very last as 'Herr Doktor' and 'Fräulein Anna.' Even if their relations are Platonic, the fact remains that he cruelly neglects his wife, who only recently has born him a son, and from whose estate he derives his income. But Vockerat's relations to Anna Mahr are by no means as ethereal, as the author would have us believe. After conversing with her for five minutes, he has already fathomed her whole being, and is convinced that Frau Käthe could learn much from her. Instead of showing special regard for the young mother, he compels her, much against her own will, to invite her very rival to her board and hearth. His selfish disregard for others is almost without bounds, and still his kind heart is declared to be his enemy. It requires faith to believe this. His sporadic, sentimental overflows really result from lack of will-power. Though he insists that, through his association with Anna Mahr, his love for Frau Käthe has become deeper, the only attention he has to bestow upon the latter is, at the most, an offending remark, as for instance: (with comic surprise) 'Why! Dear me! What a sight you are again! Pitiful! Just exactly like a sick chicken.' This is hardly a very delicate, affec-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 119 and 123.

tionate, and refined remark for a husband to make, to console his pining wife, who eats her heart away for him. Worse still Anna Mahr is standing by, a picture of health, her cheeks red from the crisp morning air, from which she has just come with the Doctor. When Frau Käthe comes to him with a letter from her banker, who inquires if he may sell some of her stocks, since they otherwise would be without money in the morning, he snaps at her: 'As soon as things have for once become somewhat clear in my mind—then you come—and grab right into it—with hands as clumsy as those of a teamster. . . . That thereby you destroy for me a whole chain of thought, linked together with infinite pain, that doesn't occur to you for a moment. . . . My work takes precedence. It comes in the first, second, and third place, and then the practical may come too, for ought I care.' Mahr finds greatness of character, energy, clearness, and high aims in Johannes Vockerat. Oh, for the lantern of Diogenes! Of course, he who believes Vockerat's high sounding phrases will have no difficulty in seeing all this, and still more in him. He may be aspiring, but his aspirations are vague and indefinite; nor has he any notion about the means by which to obtain his aims, and energy and perseverance he has least of all. His work makes no progress until Anna Mahr supplies the vital spark. Thinking seems, according to his own statement, to be a most laborious process with Johannes Vockerat. And he does not even possess self-confidence. When taking leave of Anna Mahr, he cries out: 'Whence am I to get faith in myself? Who assures me that I am not struggling for nought?'

He promises his father that he will rally his moral forces, he vows to Anna Mahr that he will bear the burden; but she is scarcely gone before he takes the fatal plunge. How is this possible, if he really does possess the qualities ascribed to him by Mahr? I fully agree with Woerner that there exists no reason for Vockerat to commit suicide, if we consider his love for Anna Mahr as Platonic. His nervousness and the provocation of the moment would then be the sole causes of his rash act.

Anna Mahr is not altogether a credible character. It has already been mentioned that Woerner declares her unwomanly. The way in which she introduces herself is indeed rather singular; still more so the resolution to prolong her stay after she has taken leave of the whole family and is on her way to the station, though she knows all but Johannes wish her to go. For her coming, a plausible motive could easily be found; but the fact that she unconcernedly remains where she is not a welcome guest could only be explained by her passion for Johannes Vockerat. Of what nature her affection for him is is hard to judge. But she confesses, herself: 'If it were possible for Käthe . . . to live . . . by the side of me—even then— . . . I could after all not trust myself. In me . . . in us there is something which we more feel than discern, which is hostile to these pure relations and which will overpower them in the course of time.' There is in addition the episode with the picture and the passionate farewell scene; neither of which appears especially Platonic. Even Anna Mahr herself conceives of purely spiritual relation between men and women only as a future possibility. She remarks: 'Let us assume . . . in a most general way . . . a new and perfect state is preconceived by someone. This state exists for the present only in sentiment . . . an exceedingly tender, young plant, which must be guarded with utmost care. . . . Do you not think so, too, Doctor?—That this plant should mature while we live we dare not hope. To transmit the germ to posterity, that we may be able to accomplish.' The ascetic spirit of Hauptmann is speaking out of this passage. He has left it to us to imagine the details of this superhuman state of affairs. Indeed Doctor Vockerat declares: 'Then the human, and not the animal part of our nature will predominate.' This is an admission that the animal in us will be present, though only in the second place. Vockerat's terminology is rather inaccurate, especially for a doctor of philosophy. Animal and human are neither contrasts nor complements. The former is an essential constituent of the latter; without it, we should cease to be

human. The contrasting and yet complementary parts of the concept *man* are body and mind, or soul, if you choose. No degree of elevations will rid man of his body, with its many needs and limitations, while here on earth. Whether the physical part of our being will ever be subordinated to the spiritual with the great mass of the people, may well be doubted; with the select few this subordination has already been accomplished, and it is not mere hopes alone with which we can console ourselves. The wisdom of Anna Mahr, too, is shallow and common-place, for instance her remark about the 'breath from the twentieth century;' as if there were to come an entirely new era in the history of mankind, just because we have completed another century according to our arbitrary reckoning; or that other remark regarding 'What Pope Leo the Tenth has said about the conscience.' It seems rather strange that the strong woman is more than passingly attracted by the effeminate Johannes Vockerat. For it certainly was the intention of the author that we should interpret Anna Mahr as a strong character. But neither she nor Johannes Vockerat seems to be swayed by elementary passions. The latter is plainly of the class of people, so detestable to Schiller, who do not possess stamina enough to be positively good or evil. Bulthaupt<sup>1</sup> assumes indeed that the two are overpowered by their passions. This is the most credible and obvious interpretation of the psychological problem with which we are dealing. But this brings Anna Mahr, too, down to the common level. She breaks the heart of Frau Käthe without the courage to maintain her conquest. Or did she fail to comprehend why Frau Käthe was pining away from day to day? A young women of twenty-four who possesses an academic education, and has travelled far and wide should possess more insight. From whatever point we consider Anna Mahr, she is far from the ideal woman.

Frau Käthe is very real and by no means as insignificant a little body as the author would have us believe. She is

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 496.

unselfish, warm-hearted, and yet practical. That she does not understand anything of her husband's pursuits is no reproach to her, nor does this give to him the right to sacrifice her. Because of her unassuming character, she allows herself to be persuaded that she is unworthy of her husband; the author condemns her, so to speak, out of her own mouth. But we reject her own testimony, since we know only too well that it results partially from her modesty, and partially from constant suggestion. Judged purely as a human being, she is far superior to Johannes Vockerat.

His strictly religious parents are of the opinion that the lack of belief in the young couple is the root of all their ills. Frau Vockerat, practical, kind, yet resolute, is surprisingly well drawn; the father, however, seems somewhat exaggerated, and is decidedly weaker than his spouse, which cannot greatly surprise us in a play of Hauptmann. In the last act the action of both parents appears highly improbable. When they, in a most agitated scene, have prevailed upon their son to return to the path of duty, they leave him immediately; apparently for no other reason than to give the author an opportunity to bring Doctor Vockerat once more alone face to face with Anna Mahr. His parents ought to know that promise and intention differ with him widely from execution, and that he needs someone in this crisis who by compulsion will supply a substitute for the lacking will-power. If Johannes were not left to himself in the critical moment, the passionate farewell scene would not be possible, and the catastrophe might be averted.

The painter Braun, radical in his views, but indolent and apathetic, cannot well win anyone's sympathy. Vockerat's attitude towards him seems indeed to indicate a change of view in the author. Radical demands are ever amiss, and Doctor Vockerat could only be commended, if he were given to compromising as Braun says he is. But he does not really strive to reconcile conflicting views; his actions are always prompted by momentary impulses and temporary moods, to be regretted, and repeated at the next occasion.



The influence of Ibsen's *Rosmersholm* upon *Lonely People* is unmistakable, but Hauptmann lags far behind his model. The mild, yet consistent and resolute Johannes Rosmer becomes the wavering, effeminate Johannes Vockerat, who is continually whining for 'a little bit of kindness;' the unscrupulous, shrewd, determined Rebekka West changes into an improbable young woman with academic training, advanced views, and lofty but vague aims; the depraved but ingenious Ulrich Brendel finds a counterpart in the apathetic painter Braun; Frau Käthe is Beate resurrected. In the construction of the plot Hauptmann has departed somewhat from his model.

While quite acceptable from a conventional point of view, *Lonely People* is really a step backwards; chiefly because of the weakness of the main character. The author has endeavored to convince us that Johannes Vockerat perishes because of the conflict between an old, narrow and unsympathetic view of the world, and a new, more liberal and aspiring one. Yet we take away with us the impression that he becomes the victim, not perchance of his ungovernable passion, but of his own indecision and utter lack of will-power, and this is hardly tragic. The silent, meek suffering of Frau Käthe appeals far more to us than the nervous fits of Doctor Vockerat. Anna Mahr will scarcely win our sympathies for the new woman.

*The Weavers.* We have seen that Hauptmann, in his first three dramas, departed from the old standards only in his choice of the subject, in the form of the dialogue, and in the importance given to the minor characters. In *The Weavers* he broke entirely with the traditions of the past, and created practically a new species of dramatic art. This piece does not even possess a main character which might be considered as the center of the whole. It is a 'milieu drama' pure and simple, a succession of independent scenes, which only, through the atmosphere common to all of them, and through the circumstance that they all serve a common purpose, appear as a whole. Each of the five acts has even a separate list of 'dramatis personae.' Ever changing like the pictures of a

kaleidoscope—to be sure, beauty we must dispense with—the disconnected scenes pass before our eyes. The different characters have each something distinct and individual, some of them we meet in all five acts; but while in one they are the central figures, in the others they are pushed into the background. The whole play, however, is pervaded by an almost indefinable something, an immaterial entity, the typical essence of the Silesian weaver population. Like a spectre, pale and with lustreless eyes it hovers above the different scenes, and unites them into a whole. It makes us even forget the lack of a coherent plot, at least while we are reading the play, or witnessing its performance. More than one critic has refused to recognize *The Weavers* as drama at all; but even if it be none, it still remains a work of art. To be sure, if excluded from the realm of the drama *The Weavers* cannot be placed in any of the existing categories, but even if we regard the piece as drama, it stands entirely alone and will probably not soon find a companion.

The time of the play is the fifth<sup>th</sup> decade of the nineteenth century, but its spirit is that of the present. We are to witness the appalling death-struggle of a small social group, the weaver population of the slope of the Owl Mountains (Eulengebirge), doomed by the change in the methods of production, the economical conditions, and the concentration of wealth and power. This struggle still goes on at the present day, unnoticed by the world at large, except at periods of extreme suffering, when the cry of the afflicted is heard beyond the narrow boundaries of their native district. It is such a spasmodic convulsion, which the author makes almost tangible for us in his play.

It is pay day. At Peterswaldau, in the large, general office of the manufacturer, Dreissiger, a crowd of people is waiting to deliver the goods they have woven, to receive their meager pay, and take with them material for another web. The men are dwarfed, stoop-shouldered, shrinking; the women feeble, care-worn, emaciated; we see also a number of sickly children

in the crowd who have come instead of their parents to deliver the goods. On the faces of all lies a despairing apprehension, a silent dread; the behavior of the people is cringing, servile, without a trace of self-respect. Behind the counter are the several clerks and the cashier. In the order of his arrival each one of the weavers presents his goods to Pfeifer, the head clerk. He inspects the quality of each piece with gauge and magnifying glass, and does not fail to find fault with each one. An apprentice then weighs the goods, and Pfeifer announces to the cashier the wages he is to pay—from twenty-five to thirty-five cents for three weeks of unceasing toil. To be sure the purchase power of our American dollar is greater in Germany than here at home, and was still more so sixty years ago; but it needs no argument to show that such wages are inadequate to supply even the most absolute needs of the people. One poor woman begs pitifully for a few cents in advance on the next web, and pleads that her husband is an invalid, and that she has a number of children to support; a weaver implores Pfeifer not to deduct this time the twelve cents, which he received on the last pay day in advance; but they speak to deaf ears. The clerks have become hardened to such scenes and make foul jokes about the wretchedness of the poor people. Pfeifer declares that he has no authority to grant any advance, or the like, and the proprietor is, of course, too busy to be accessible to his employées. With stupid resignation everyone takes his pay, until the turn of Bäcker, an unusually robust, young weaver comes. Thirty cents is the price accorded to him for eighteen days of hard work. Indignantly he declares that this is nothing but a beggarly gift, and when Pfeifer bids him be silent, he makes a contemptuous reply. Pfeifer becomes angry and calls Dreissiger, the proprietor, who appears quickly and, upon explanation, orders Bäcker to leave the office; but the latter defies even the authority of the almighty Dreissiger, and denounces him as an extortionist who uses his employees in such a manner 'that not even a few crumbling bones are left of a man, by the time he gets through with him.' This is not

the first time that Bäcker has made himself obnoxious. A few days before he with several other young fellows had passed the house of Dreissiger, singing the 'Weavers' song,' a complaint of their sufferings and an accusation of the wealthy manufacturers. Dreissiger decrees that he shall not get another lick of work in his factory, to which Bäcker replies that it does not matter to him, whether he starves to death at the wayside or at the loom. He is about to leave the office, when a boy of eight, who has come seven miles, or more, to deliver a heavy load of flannel, suddenly collapses. As the little fellow comes somewhat to himself under the care of those around him, he whispers: 'I'm hungry;'—this is the sole cause of his fainting. Dreissiger pales, but pretends not to have understood his words. He hurries the child into his private office and soon returns, telling the people that the whole affair meant nothing and that the boy is already on his feet again. The blame for the occurrence he puts upon the parents of the child, and finds it unpardonable; that they should have sent the little fellow so long a distance with so heavy a load. In future he will have to forbid the delivery of the goods by children. When anything happens to such a child the manufacturer is blamed for it, and he has troubles enough of his own. People know little of his sleepless nights and the immense risk he runs. At last he calls on those present to bear witness that he has always treated his employees most humanely. Of course, they, to a man, affirm it; the rebellious Bäcker has gone. Dreissiger announces that, on 'certain conditions,' he is going to employ two hundred more weavers to help the people of the district through the present crisis, even if he should lose money in doing so. When several appeal to him for a few cents in advance, he quickly withdraws, saying that this is Pfeifer's business, Pfeifer, who a few minutes ago declared, he had no authority in such matters; but he has authority enough and to spare to inform the weavers that these 'certain conditions' are a 15 % reduction of all wages.

In the second act the home of one of these weavers is

depicted. Huddled together in a little, low room are Frau Baumert, a complete invalid in middle life, her idiotic son, a lad of twenty, her two daughters, Emma and Bertha, twenty-two and fifteen respectively, and a boy of four, the illegitimate child of the older girl. The author describes with great minuteness the poverty of the place, the disproportionate appearance of the idiot, the rags, in which the old woman is bundled up, the scanty dress of the girls. It is at the sunset hour of a summer evening, but the people are still working. Frau Baumert and the lad are spooling, the girls weave. The head of the family had gone early in the forenoon to deliver the finished work, but has not yet returned. With trembling Frau Baumert thinks of the awful possibility, that her husband might have stopped at the village inn, but the girls feel assured that their father would not do this. A neighbor's wife comes in and begs for a handful of flour; she has not a bite to eat for her nine children and her husband lies ill. But the Baumerts have not even a crust in the house to give to their own boy, who clamors for bread, and the poor woman leaves again with a threat of suicide.

At last Baumert arrives and with him a young relative, Jäger by name, who has just been discharged from the army. Jäger has brought home with him a new suit of clothes, the enormous sum of ten dollars in cash, nay even a silver watch, and the poor weaver family cannot wonder enough at his success; especially since in his boyhood he was a regular good-for-nothing, that is, he had vitality enough to be unruly and play the truant, an uncommon thing with the children of the weavers. The girls now set about preparing the supper. Baumert has taken with him in the morning his little dog, and had it killed, that they might make a meal of it, rather than that it should starve to death. To kill the creature himself he did not have the heart. The old Ansoerge, who is the nominal owner of the hut, but is indebted for all that it is worth, comes in, too, at this point. He is a bachelor and lives with the family, having taken them as renters. Although he has no one

to provide for, he cannot manage to earn a living. Jäger produces a quart of liquor and sends for a second, when the bottle is empty. While the supper is being cooked the people carry on a general conversation. With brutal frankness Jäger asks Emma, who is the father of her child. The fifteen year old sister replies without embarrassment: 'Didn't you know the weaver Finger?' and the mother adds: 'We had given him lodging in our little room—they had but one—he really did intend to marry her, but unhappily he was already in the last stages of consumption. I warned my daughter often enough, but did she listen to me? Now he is dead and gone long since, and she must see how she can manage to bring up the boy.' Then Frau Baumert complains that she is paralyzed and that she has to suffer terribly. 'It is going bad with her. She cannot last much longer,' says the husband, and Bertha remarks: 'We have to dress her in the morning and undress her at night. We have to feed her like a little child.' All this is said in an indifferent, matter-of-fact way. The daughter does not blush, when her fall is discussed, nor does the mother feel offended at the seemingly heartless remarks of her husband and the children. Jäger declares that the dogs on the streets in the cities are better off than the poor weavers. He then goes on, boasting of his career as a soldier, and of his knowledge of the world. The rich are to blame for the existing misery and the only way to readjust matters is by rising in rebellion; for from the government no help can be expected.—The meat is done now and the old Baumert begins to eat it, out of the frying-pan, with his fingers. Chewing he explains: 'Two years ago I went to the Holy Communion for the last time. Soon after I sold my church clothes. With the money we bought a piece of pork and since then I haven't eaten any meat.'—Nor ought he to eat any now. His weak stomach cannot endure this unusual treat. He must leave the room and returns, weeping because he can not even enjoy what he gets by chance. The dog, namely, was not really his, it had only strayed to his house a few weeks before. A compassionate anger now boils

up in Jäger, he accuses the manufacturers of cruel extortion and then reads the already mentioned 'Weavers' song.' Baumert repeats every complaint, reiterates every charge and, partially through the influence of the liquor, works himself up to a state of frenzy, which also takes possession of the old Ansorge and Jäger. Psychologically the three men already constitute a mob, but one essential element is still lacking: the consciousness of irresistible power, which rises from mere numerical strength.

The wanting element is supplied in the next act. In the inn at Peterswaldau the landlord, a 'drummer,' and the village joiner are discussing the situation of the weavers. The stranger expresses his surprise at the display he has seen at the funeral of a poor weaver. Surely people, who can bear such expenses, cannot be on the point of starvation. But he is told that the clergy insist on pompous funerals, since on such occasions the contribution box yields a rich harvest. A rag-peddler has come in and joins in the conversation by suggesting that the high birth- and death-rate among the weaver population makes the business of the village joiner lucrative, for there must be coffins and some how they must be paid for. The peddler then gives a graphic description of the conditions existing among the weavers. He visits every house of the district and ought to know the true state of affairs; but the drummer objects that his tale does not tally with the reports, which, according to the newspapers, the officials sent by the government to look into the matter have made. No wonder! Those gentlemen never go beyond the main portion of the village, where the finest houses stand, lest they should soil their patent-leather shoes. In the meanwhile Jäger and a number of weavers have come in and Jäger at once orders two quarts of whisky. He can pay for it, just as well as any drummer. The stranger feels the taunt and rejoins. 'I beg your pardon, young man, you seem to do a prosperous business!'—'I cannot complain. I travel for a clothing house. I divide the profits with the manufacturer. The more hunger the weavers suffer, the better I am

off. The bigger their need, the larger my profits,' is the reply. Jäger with his loose tongue, his ready wit, and his self-confidence founded on ignorance, is the right man to instigate these wretched weavers to open violence. A few begin to sing the 'Weavers' song.' When the landlord objects, the blacksmith Wittig, who has just come in, remarks deridingly: 'Never mind! Just let them perform a little comedy; barking dogs don't bite.' Wittig is a revolutionary fanatic, Robespierre is his man, for him the weavers are much too tame. With stinging sarcasm he excites the crowd. An old weaver, a religious crank, is moved by the 'spirit' and begins to prophesy: 'Do ye not associate with the rich and the mighty. There lies a judgment in the air. The Lord Zebaoth. . .'

In the midst of the general tumult, in comes the village police. To-day his uniform commands little respect. Bäcker and Wittig at once begin to ridicule him. He makes haste to deliver his message; under severe penalty the magistrate forbids the singing of the 'Weavers' song.' 'He has no right to forbid us anything,' declares Wittig, and, at a sign from Bäcker, all begin to sing the obnoxious song.

The fourth act brings the climax. Dreissiger has company and is therefore the more exasperated by the derisive demonstrations of the weavers, who, in a body have marched from the inn to his house. While Dreissiger goes out to check the tumult, Pastor Kittelhaus—he and his wife are the only guests—discusses the uproar of the people with the 'candidatus theologiae' Weinhold, the tutor of Dreissiger's children. Weinhold, an idealistic youth, pleads the cause of the weavers, but Kittelhaus warns him not to meddle with things, which do not concern him. A pastor has to care for the immortal souls of the people, and not for their mortal bodies. Dreissiger returns, the tumult in the street increases, and the singing is heard in the room. The good pastor is shocked to find that even old men are in the crowd. 'They trample the law of God under foot. Will you still defend them?' (to Weinhold) and he, 'Certainly not, my dear pastor. That is, sir, *cum grano*



*salis.* After all, they are hungry, ignorant wretches. They express their dissatisfaction in their own way.' This is more than Dreissiger can endure; the young enthusiast is told to leave the house immediately. Now in comes the village magistrate in full uniform; Dreissiger has sent for him to obtain the official approval of his own somewhat arbitrary measures. He has, namely, ordered his dyers to catch one or the other of the ring-leaders of the mob, since the policeman is not able to make an arrest. Of course, the magistrate approves the measure and presently the policeman reports the arrest of Jäger, who is ushered in by five robust dyers. He is, however, quite at ease about his fate and replies with insolence to the questions of the magistrate. The pastor succeeds in making some impression upon Jäger by reminding him of the pains he has taken, to teach him to walk in the narrow path. But Jäger thinks they are even; he has done his share by putting a dollar into the contribution box, when he was confirmed.—A very fine touch! There are in those regions people at the present day, who believe that their pastor can dole out salvation to whom he pleases, and that they may buy it of him, if they only have the price.—Finally Jäger declares he has become a Quaker and no longer believes anything. From the street, shouts are heard, demanding the release of the prisoner; but they shall fool themselves, says the magistrate. Jäger is bound and led off, the magistrate and the police escorting him, with drawn sabres. Dreissiger and the pastor agree that the enthusiasts and philanthropists, by continually prattling about humanity, have incited the weavers to rebellion. The people have again and again been told, in what misery they live and at last they really believe it. But it is to be hoped that the present disturbances will ultimately benefit the manufacturers, that is, that the government will adopt measures to protect their industry from foreign competition.

In the meanwhile the mob has freed Jäger, beaten the magistrate and the police, and they even abuse the preacher, when he ventures to pass through the crowd, hoping to pacify

them by his presence. The mob is, of course, only heard, and its actions we learn from the remarks of those watching it from the windows. The infuriated people now demand that Pfeifer, the head clerk, be delivered up to them; he rushes to his master for protection. Johann, the coachman, has used his wits, and has, without orders, hitched his best team to the closed carriage; announcing this, he urges haste, since the people are about to lay siege to the rear gate of the yard. Frau Dreissiger becomes hysterical, falls on the neck of the coachman, and implores him in the most endearing terms to save her and her children; but Dreissiger takes matters more coolly, at least he does not forget to secure his valuables from the safe before he goes. Scarcely have all made their escape, when the front door gives way and the crowd rushes in. The curtain drops as the men are about to begin the work of general destruction, having recovered somewhat from the amazement caused by the unthought-of splendor of the mansion.

In the fifth act no further development takes places. It serves only to conclude the play with a powerful contrast. It is on the morning after the tumult in Peterswaldau; the scene is a weaver's cottage in the neighboring village of Langenbielau. The old Hilse, a faithful Christian, an old veteran and a loyal subject, has just finished his morning prayer in humble submission and in gratitude. Although he has not an abundance to be thankful for; although he is suffering extreme want like all the rest, he is meek and contented. When the rag-peddler Hornig comes in and relates what has happened the day before, and that the mob is on its way to this village, the old Hilse is amazed, and does not want to believe it; but his seven year old grand-daughter furnishes evidence. She comes in with a silver spoon, which she has picked up on the road to Peterswaldau. All the weaver children have silver spoons. The old man becomes furious, wants to beat the thievish grand-child, and orders his son Gottlieb to carry the spoon at once to the police-office. Gottlieb's faith is not so unshaken as that of his father; but he is meek enough to be easily restrained from

joining the rebels, who have now arrived, and call on every weaver to turn out to their support. His wife, however, catches the spirit of the mob, and rushes out. Gottlieb follows her in a frenzy, but not until a squad of soldiers, which has arrived, fires into the crowd.

The old Hilse: 'Gottlieb, Gottlieb!' Mother Hilse (blind): 'Where is Gottlieb?' The old Hilse: 'To the devil, he is.' Voice from without: 'Go away from the window, father Hilse.' (A stray bullet from the first volley has found its way into the house, and the soldiers make ready to fire again.)

Hilse: 'Not I! And if all of you get stark mad (speaking to his wife with growing ecstasy). Here my heavenly father has placed me. Isn't it so, mother? Here we will sit and do what's our duty, and if all the snow turns black.'

He begins to weave. A volley is fired. Fatally wounded the old man reels back and then falls forward upon the loom. Without, the frantic mob repulses the soldiers with a hail of stones.

I have given a rather detailed summary of the play to show what methods the author employs. If anything, they are concrete. The characters of this drama need not concern us, but by so much the more, the sources from which Hauptmann drew his material. In the lines, dedicating the play to his father, he says: 'Your stories about grandfather, who in his younger years, a poor weaver, sat at the loom like those depicted, have become the nucleus of my work.' This is then one source, certainly the one from which the poet drew his inspiration. For be the value of "The Weavers" as drama ever so small, the piece remains nevertheless a truly poetic production, and the author could never have created it without glowing inspiration. It requires more than mere literary skill, power of observation, and clever combination to write such a work. Nor can we demand that Hauptmann should have set forth all the concurring economical forces which brought about the rapid decay of the weaving industry. If he had attempted it, his play would have become a sort of handbook of social

economy, and a most incorrect representation of the time with which it deals. Before the middle of the nineteenth century there were few people who knew anything about economy, and of those surely none were to be found in Peterswaldau or Langenbielau. Hauptmann desired to show us the poor weavers, what they had suffered, and how they came to revolt. To understand them we must look upon the world with their eyes, not perchance with the eyes of John Stuart Mill. But while the author has not been guilty of exaggeration, it is very evident that he has no sympathy with the manufacturer and those who stand on his side. History is another source. From it Hauptmann has taken all the main facts and even some of the names in slightly changed form. Zwanziger has become Dreissiger, Dierig has become Dittrich, and so forth.—After the Wars of Liberation, Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed the *Holy Alliance*, the watch-word of which was reaction. The people, exhausted by the struggle against Napoleon, had too much to do with private affairs, to concern themselves about politics. A short-sighted, narrow-minded bureaucracy soon ruled supreme. The welfare of the masses was not a matter of concern to the officials, who considered it their sole duty to execute the existing laws; their sympathy was with the upper classes. The weaver population of the mountain districts in Central Silesia became quickly impoverished, when the manufacturers began to introduce machines and to substitute cotton for flax. The labor-saving machines made a large number of hands superfluous and the capitalists availed themselves of the opportunity to reduce the wages of the hand-weavers to mere alms. The manufacturers also formed rings to control the price of labor and some even established a truck-system, compelling their laborers to buy the necessities of life at the factory store. They reaped thereby large profits and began to live in luxury. The majority of them were themselves the descendants of poor weavers. Often the father had sat at the loom and earned a humble living, while the son, through shrewdness and unscrupulous methods, had amassed a small fortune, lived in a

mansion, and kept lackeys, coachman, horses, and carriages. This explains the cruel, greedy, and short-sighted extortion of these manufacturers, which perhaps has never been equaled by any member of the landed nobility in Germany; and also the intense hatred of the weavers against their oppressors. For such is human nature, that most men will endure the yoke of a master, whose authority has become sacred through its mere duration, with far more patience, than that of a man who has risen above them from their own ranks; on the other hand, newly acquired power is ever apt to be abused.

For the oppressed weavers there existed at that period no means of self-defense. The press was under strict censorship and the officialdom favored the manufacturers, the latter, moreover, did not really overstep the boundaries of the civil laws. But by and by the wretched conditions of the Silesian weavers became known beyond the confines of their native district, and aroused pity and severe comment on the methods of the manufacturers. When the weavers learned of the compassion which their sufferings excited everywhere, they became more keenly aware of how unworthy a life they led, and, with the sympathy of thousands to back them, they formed a delusive conception of their own power. In addition to all this the air was full of revolutionary ideas. So it came to an uproar in 1844, which centred about Peterswaldau and Langenbielau, two populous villages, having now 7500 and 16,000 inhabitants respectively. Two companies of soldiers sufficed to quell the outburst; the weavers hungered on, and still hunger.

Thus we have come to the third source, whence Hauptmann obtained the details and local characteristics of his drama; *i. e.*, the present, or very recent past. The conditions of the weavers have changed, but relatively they have become little better. In Peterswaldau and Langenbielau the obvious contrast between rich and poor has largely disappeared, but higher up in the mountains in the little, tumble-down huts, with their windows on the level with the ground, with doors, which a normal person cannot pass through without stooping, with their straw-

roofs, so low that one can easily reach them with the hand, there is still plenty of wretchedness. In the villages on the south-eastern slope of the Owl Mountains a hand-loom is even at the present day still to be found in operation in many homes of the working people, although the most of the weavers now earn their meager living in a factory. The habitations are crowded, men and women, young and old, the members of the family and often a boarder or two, sleep together in the same room. Intermarriage between individuals closely related by blood is very frequent. The race is dwarfed, birth and death rate are high, as is also the number of illegitimate children. We still find also the same lethargic indifference. Often a mother sees clearly what her daughter is to come to; but it is the common fate, and if she warns the girl, she does all that is in her power. The moral sense of these people has become greatly blunted. During the winter months—and the winters are long at that altitude—the people are often on the verge of starvation. During the winter from 1890–1891, if I remember correctly, there was a veritable famine in the county (Kreis) of Neurode; fortunately the increased ease of communication and the philanthropic spirit of the age did much to alleviate the suffering. It may seem strange, that the people do not leave the district and seek work elsewhere. A number indeed do so, but the general degeneracy of the people and their utter impecuniousness oblige the most of them to stay where they are; for they would never be able to compete with others not hampered by these disadvantages, as they should have to do, in case they should leave their homes. Only the most vigorous dare to take this step, thus leaving the weaklings behind. The strange attachment to the native soil, so common among mountaineers, is a less potent cause, which makes these people cling to the spot where they were born. We have then three main sources: early impressions fraught with sentiment, the historical accounts of the pitiful uprising of the weavers, and the conditions existing in those districts at the present day.

Hauptmann has been accused of having misrepresented

Dreissiger and his helpers; but the historical accounts hardly lend any support to this charge. If we bear in mind the descent of these manufacturers, we will be better able to understand their cruel greed, and will be less inclined to censure the poet for exaggeration. Still, some will say, though all this be true, Hauptmann ought to have represented the typical manufacturer and not have patterned his characters after these isolated instances; or, still better, he ought to have represented the manufacturer, not as he is, but as he ought to be—at the expense of the weavers, at the risk that these latter shall lose our sympathy, that is, in order to defeat his own purpose.

The psychological part of the play Hauptmann has handled with great skill; whether by virtue of intuition, or by dint of his knowledge of the psychology of the crowd, I dare not say. It is, for instance, a very fine touch that Luise Hilse is the first to disregard the warning of the old Hilse, not because he has less authority over her than over his son, but because she is a woman and therefore the more ready to obey her instincts unheeding of the dictates of reason. The third act of *The Weavers* is a fine study in crowd psychology, also parts of the second and the fifth. The objection that the weavers accomplish nothing, that we clearly foresee that they will go back to their looms and hunger, is very true; but I do not see why a poet should be under obligations to solve the problem which he puts before us, especially if this problem does not admit of an immediate, reasonable solution. Those, moving exclusively in the realm of ideas, would, no doubt, have found one; but it is a question whether it would have been acceptable or born with the power to convince. The different traits of character, rather than characters, which the author represents, are very striking. The sober-minded innkeeper Welzel, for example, and his silly-headed wife, who aids and abets in every possible manner the conceited notions of her pretty daughter, are well depicted, and remind us of the parents of Luise Millerin in Schiller's drama. Correct is also the action of the coachman, who uses his circumspection in the interests of his master, without wait-

ing for orders. In Germany the house-servants of the wealthy are, in fact, themselves a privileged class, do consider themselves so, and naturally identify their own interests with those of their masters.

*The Weavers* was published in January, 1892, in two editions, one written completely in dialect, the other a version approaching the modern High-German more closely. On February 26, 1893, the play was put on the stage by the 'Verein Freie Bühne,' but from the public theatres in Germany it was banished until 1894, the first public representation occurring on September 25th of the same year in Berlin. The sentiment for and against the drama was at first very strong. The Socialists hailed it as an attack upon the capitalists, and the opposing element condemned it as such. Hauptmann's attitude towards his own work was, however, not influenced by any political motives, but depended wholly on his strong personal sympathies, and, perhaps also, antipathies, the causes of which are very obvious.

Although the events represented in the play occurred more than half a century ago, its spirit is entirely modern. It is the general change undergone by values of all kinds, which plays a very important part in *The Weavers*. The right of the masses has practically conquered the divine right of kings. Old beliefs are tottering, formulas have lost their charm. The old Hilse says: 'The endless anxiety and toil, which we call life, these I would gladly depart from. But then, Gottlieb! then something is to follow—and if one forfeits that too—then all is lost.'—'Who knows, what then follows, when one dies. Nobody has seen it,' is the sceptical reply. But in the mind of the old man there is no doubt, or rather he will not allow any doubt to take root there. 'I warn you, Gottlieb! do not question the only hope which is left to us poor. Why should I then have sat here at the loom and toiled with might and main forty years and more? and should have passively witnessed how that one over there (the manufacturer) lives in pride and luxury—and coins money out of my worry and



misery. To what purpose, I pray? Because I have a hope! I have something in all my wretchedness (pointing through the window.) You have your share here—I, mine, in another world: that is what I have thought. And if I should be tortured to death—I abide by my conviction. He has given us this promise. A judgment shall be, but not we are to be the judges:—Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.' This hope for reward, for vengeance of their wrongs, has made life easy to the poor, through the course of centuries; but at the present day it has lost much of its power. Few are those, who any longer stay at the post, where God, *i. e.* accident of birth, has placed them, come what may; and who suffer passively in the hope of earning heaven thereby. People have come to see that God helps him who helps himself. The social and political beliefs of the people have changed even more than their religious convictions. The rapid transformation of long-used values shakes the very foundations of the social and political institutions in Western Europe. *The Weavers* reflects some phases and aspects of the resulting struggle, and in this lies the chief significance of the play, however great or small its artistic value may be. Future generations will regard it as an historical document.

JOSEF WIEHR.

(*To be continued.*)

## SYLLABICATION IN GOTHIC.

IT may seem strange that an interesting chapter connected with the spelling of Gothic has so far escaped the attention of our Gothic grammarians. We are referring to the way in which syllables are separated in our manuscripts. It is evident that in this respect the method of the manuscripts is by no means arbitrary or dictated by space; on the contrary, certain rules are more or less accurately observed in all manuscripts.

Our investigation was made possible by Uppström's well known editions, namely 1.) *Codex Argenteus*. Upsala 1854-57. 2.) *Fragmenta Gothica selecta*. Upsala 1861. 3.) *Codices Gotici Ambrosiani sive Epistolarum Pauli Esrae Nehemiae versionis Goticae Fragmenta*. Upsala 1864.

On the whole, the same laws regarding syllabification are found in all manuscripts. In the *Codex Argenteus*, however, greater accuracy seems to prevail, and as it, moreover, contains the longer fragments, our examination is, in the first place, based on this manuscript.

In the following a short summary of the rules will be given. Numerous examples from Gothic, and a few from Latin, will serve to illustrate the stated facts.

I. If two vowels follow each other immediately, separation takes place.<sup>1</sup>

*sa/ei*<sup>2</sup> Joh. 8, 54. Luc. 7, 2. 8, 27. 14, 11. *Ja/eirus* Luc.

<sup>1</sup>The numbers indicate chapter and verse in the *Codex Argenteus*, where the resp. Gothic word is found.

<sup>2</sup>*Sa/ei*, *þai/ei* are no longer felt as compounds, which is clearly shown by divisions like *þa/tei* Matth. 5, 27. 27, 63. Joh. 11, 31. Marc. 11, 23. *miþ/þa/nei* Luc. 5, 1. cp. also *harji/zuh* Luc. 2, 3. *saha/zuh* Marc. 9, 37. *þiswa/ruh* Marc. 9, 18.

8, 41. *Bai/ailzaibul* Matth. 10, 25. *afai/aik* Joh. 18, 25. *gai/-ainnan* Marc. 9, 45. *Andrai/an* Luc. 6, 14. Marc. 1, 16. *þai/-ei* Joh. 11, 13. *Nazorai/us* Marc. 10, 47. *sai/ada* Marc. 4, 32. *þai/aufeilu* Luc. 1, 3. *Heli/an* Marc. 8, 28. *Heli/as* Marc. 6, 15. *andastau/in* Matth. 5, 25.

cp. Lat. *e/a*, *le/o*, *ru/at*.

If the two vowels constitute a diphthong, they are not divided. Very rarely are they separated by diæresis, as *ni/un* Luc. 15, 4. cp. Lat. *Orphe/us*.

II. If the vowels are separated by one or several consonants, certain distinctions have to be considered.

A. Words which are not compounds.

1.) One consonant between two vowels begins the new syllable.

*Ba/rabbam* Marc. 15, 11. *atgiba/da* Marc. 9, 31. 10, 33. *liuba/na* Marc. 12, 6. *da/ga* Marc. 14, 12. *da/gans* Marc. 8, 31. 13, 24. 15, 29. *da/laþ* Matth. 7, 25. *Da/weidis* Marc. 12, 35. *atstanda/ne* Marc. 14, 47. *Jaurda/nau* Marc. 10, 1. *hundafa/da* Marc. 15, 45. *bairga/hein* Luc. 1, 65. *ha/bais* Marc. 10, 21. *ja/bai* Marc. 9, 50. 11, 26. 12, 19. *boka/preis* Marc. 12, 32. *ska/maip* Marc. 8, 38. *la/þon* Luc. 5, 32. *Peila/tus* Joh. 18, 37. 19, 1. Marc. 15, 2. 15, 4. *alla/ta* Matth. 5, 30. *ma/nag* Marc. 9, 12. *ma/nagei* Marc. 9, 26. *ma/nagein* Marc. 15, 15. *ma/nageins* Marc. 10, 1. *gama/nam* Luc. 5, 7. *guma/na* Marc. 9, 1. *mana/gans* Marc. 10, 45. *mana/gei* Marc. 14, 43. 15, 8. *aina/na* Marc. 9, 5. *seina/na* Marc. 10, 12. *sa/tana* Marc. 8, 33. *gasa/tidedi* Luc. 14, 29. *laisa/ri* Marc. 10, 35. 12, 19. *unsa/ra* Marc. 9, 22. *Jairusa/lem* Marc. 11, 1. *gata/wida* Luc. 8, 39. *gata/wideduþ* Marc. 11, 17. *hunslasta/da* Matt. 5, 23. *þa/nei* Marc. 11, 21. *þa/ta* Marc. 9, 10. 11, 28. *þa/tei* Matth. 5, 27. 27, 63. Joh. 11, 31. Marc. 11, 23. 15, 34. *miþþa/nei* Luc. 5, 1. *anþa/raim* Marc. 12, 9. *swikunþa/ba* Marc. 8, 32. *waurþa/namma* Marc. 1, 32. *gawa/lideduþ* Joh. 15, 16. *saiwa/lai* Marc. 8, 37. 12, 30. *swa/ran* Marc. 14, 71. *twa/lif* Joh. 11, 9. Luc. 9, 12. 9, 17. *hwa/na* Marc. 8, 27.—*sakva/zuh* Marc. 9, 37. *þishva/ruh* Marc. 9, 18.—*usbai/rands* Marc. 11, 14. *Jai/rikon*

Marc. 10, 46. *sai/hvɪp*<sup>1</sup> Marc. 8, 15. *insai/hvandans*<sup>1</sup> Marc. 9, 8. *attai/toki* Marc. 8, 21. *rodide/di* Marc. 9, 6. *sokide/dun* Marc. 14, 55. *gadomide/dun* Marc. 14, 64. *hropide/dun* Marc. 11, 9. *laistide/dun* Marc. 10, 28. *gaaiwiskode/dun* Marc. 12, 4. *usfull-node/di* Joh. 18, 9. *usgeisnode/dun* Marc. 15, 5. *afslauþnode/dun* Marc. 10, 24. *praufe/te* Marc. 8, 28. *atge/bun* Marc. 15, 10. *He/lia* Marc. 9, 12. *He/lia*s Marc. 9, 13. *gale/widedi* Marc. 4, 11. *ufarme/li* Marc. 15, 26. *ne/hvundjan* Marc. 12, 31. *ne/mi* Marc. 15, 21. *gane/si* Marc. 13, 19. *usne/mun* Marc. 8, 8. *qe/mun* Marc. 8, 3. *qe/bun* Marc. 8, 20. 14, 65. 14, 70. *mahte/-dun* Marc. 9, 18. *ohte/dun* Marc. 16, 8. *we/si* Marc. 9, 34. *we/sun* Marc. 8, 2. *unwe/rida* Marc. 10, 14. *swe/saim* Marc. 15, 20. *gaswe/raids* Joh. 13, 31. *ai/hvatundjai* Marc. 12, 26. *hai/tada* Marc. 11, 17. *jai/nai* Marc. 12, 7. *Jai/rikon* Marc. 10, 46. *lai/sareis* Marc. 14, 14. *lai/seinai* Marc. 12, 38. *gaþlai/hands* Marc. 10, 16. *gakunnai/dedup* Marc. 12, 26. *frai/sandans* Marc. 10, 2. *frai/wa* Marc. 12, 21. *sitai/wa* Marc. 10, 37. *stai/nam* Marc. 12, 4. *þai/mei* Marc. 15, 40. *wai/la* Marc. 12, 28. *hai/wa* Luc. 8, 36. *haubi/da* Marc. 11, 10. 15, 29. *insandi/da* Marc. 11, 1. 12, 2. *insandi/dedun* Marc. 12, 12. *rodi/da* Joh. 15, 11. *witwodi/þos* Marc. 14, 56. *galagi/dedun* Marc. 11, 7. *ragi/neis* Marc. 15, 43. *aggi/lum* Luc. 20, 36. *aggi/lus* Luc. 2, 10. *li/bain* Marc. 9, 45. *mi/kila* Marc. 4, 37. *miki/lai* Luc. 19, 37. *miki/lamma* Luc. 2, 9. *mi/kils* Marc. 15, 4. *himi/na* Marc. 11, 31. *barni/lona* Marc. 10, 24. *usni/mands* Marc. 15, 46. *hropi/da* Marc. 10, 48. *qi/mand* Luc. 19, 43. *qi/mands* Marc. 14, 45. *qi/þa* Marc. 9, 1. *qi/þan* Marc. 10, 47. *qi/þand* Luc. 20, 27. *qi/þandans* Marc. 10, 26. *qi/þands* Marc. 10, 17. 14, 68. *ri/qis* Marc. 15, 33. *undgri/pun* Marc. 15, 21. *wintr/we* Luc. 8, 42. *si/bun* Marc. 16, 9. *si/buntehund* Luc. 10, 17. *si/ponjam* Marc. 8, 6. *laisi/da* Marc. 9, 31. 11, 17.

<sup>1</sup> The fact that *h* is treated as a single consonant in syllabication might serve as an additional reason for assuming that *h* was a simple sound, and not a compound one composed of *h* + *w*. cp. *sai/hvɪp* Marc. 8, 15. *insai/hvandans* Marc. 9, 8. *ne/hvundjan* Marc. 12, 31. *ai/hvatundjai* Marc. 12, 26. *fair/hau* Joh. 16, 28. 17, 14. 18, 36. *fair/haus* Joh. 15, 19. 16, 11.

*ti/guns* Joh. 8, 57. *andbakti/da* Marc. 1, 31. *laisti/dedun* Marc. 15, 41. *wi/ga* Marc. 10, 32. *wi/tuþ* Marc. 10, 42. *awi/liudonds* Marc. 8, 6. *gatawi/dedun* Marc. 15, 7. *gatawide-dei/na* Luc. 19, 48. *lei/til* Marc. 14, 70. *samalei/ko* Marc. 12, 19. *bilei/pands* Marc. 14, 52. *mei/naim* Marc. 14, 14. *mei/-namma* Marc. 9, 39. *Farei/saie* Marc. 12, 12. *usdreil/ban* Marc. 9, 28. *Urrei/siþ* Marc. 14, 42. *sei/nai* Marc. 8, 35. 9, 41. *sei/nam* Marc. 8, 3. *sei/-namma* Marc. 11, 23. *pei/na* Marc. 12, 30. *Dawei/dis* Marc. 11, 10. *hei/la* Marc. 15, 33. *Jairusau/lyma* Marc. 10, 33. *Jairusau/lymai* Marc. 11, 15. *bo/karjos* Marc. 11, 27. *fo/tuns* Marc. 9, 45. *fo/tus* Marc. 9, 45. *augo/na* Marc. 8, 23. *ho/rinoþ* Marc. 10, 12. *frijo/da* Marc. 10, 21. *Jako/bu* Marc. 9, 2. *slo/hun* Marc. 14, 65. *usfullno/da* Marc. 15, 28. *Hero/dis* Marc. 8, 15. *hro/pidedun* Marc. 15, 14. *walwiso/da* Marc. 9, 20. *praito/riaun* Marc. 15, 16. *hau/hidedun* Marc. 2, 12. *hau/histins* Luc. 1, 35. *galau/bideduþ* Marc. 11, 31. *ushlau/pands* Marc. 10, 50. *tau/ljan* Marc. 14, 7. *tau/jiau* Marc. 10, 17. *gu/makundaize* Luc. 2, 23. *gu/mein* Marc. 10, 6. *auhu/mistam* Marc. 8, 31. *auhu/mistans* Marc. 15, 3. *liu/had* Marc. 14, 54. *liu/tiþ* Matth. 5, 15. *galiu/gapraufetum* Luc. 6, 26. *uspriu/tiþ* Marc. 14, 6. *gatiu/handans* Luc. 5, 11. *þiu/dan-gardjos* Marc. 15, 43. *þiu/dans* Marc. 15, 26. *gamu/nuþ* Marc. 8, 18. *ganu/teina* Marc. 12, 12. *Jairu/saulymai* Marc. 11, 27. *fru/mans* Marc. 10, 31. *su/mai* Marc. 11, 15. 15, 35. *su/mana* Marc. 9, 38. *su/nu* Marc. 9, 17. *su/puda* Marc. 9, 50. *Ky/reineiu* Marc. 15, 21. *Jairusaulu/mai* Marc. 10, 32. *spy/-reidans* Marc. 8, 8.

ep. Lat. *a/mo*, *a/qua*, *a/xis*, *ga/za*,<sup>1</sup> *ma/china*, *Ze/phyrus*, *Clo/tho*.

2.) If two consonants are enclosed by vowels, the first belongs to the first, and the second to the second syllable. This division occurs very frequently in case of gemination and in case the first of the two consonants is a liquid.

a.) The two consonants are the same.

<sup>1</sup> *qv*, *x*, *z* are considered single consonants.

*rab/baunei* Marc. 10, 51. *sab/batim* Luc. 4, 31. Marc. 2, 24. *sab/bato* Marc. 2, 23. 2, 27. *smak/kabagm* Marc. 11, 13. *al/la* Luc. 1, 48. 6, 19. 7, 17. 17, 10. *al/lai* Luc. 4, 40. 10, 19. Marc. 5, 20. *al/laizo* Marc. 12, 28. 12, 29. *al/lamma* Matth. 6, 29. Marc. 12, 33. *al/lans* Marc. 1, 28. *al/lata* Luc. 2, 39. *al/lis* Marc. 15, 14. *wul/lareis* Marc. 9, 3. *meinam/ma* Marc. 9, 37. *seinam/ma* Marc. 8, 12. *anparam/ma* Matth. 6, 24. *þam/ma* Joh. 6, 10. 13, 16. 18, 24. Luc. 2, 8. 2, 26. 3, 11. Marc. 9, 7. 9, 25. 10, 30. *im/ma* Matth. 9, 9. 27, 64. Joh. 6, 65. 11, 27. Luc. 17, 19. Marc. 4, 36. 8, 11. 8, 19. 9, 22. 9, 25. 9, 42. 10, 13. 11, 13. 11, 21. 14, 45. *Johan/nes* Marc. 9, 38. *man/na* Marc. 8, 37. 10, 9. *man/ne* Matth. 10, 32. 10, 33. *gaain/nan* Matth. 5, 30. *durin/nands* Matth. 8, 2. *ufkun/nandans* Marc. 6, 54. *Filip/paus* Marc. 8, 27. *fair/ra* Matth. 7, 23. *þiudanas/saus* Luc. 1, 33. *gudjinas/saus* Luc. 1, 9. *kalkinas/saus* Matth. 5, 32. *leikinas/saus* Luc. 9, 11. *ufaras/sau* Luc. 5, 17. *usstas/sai* Luc. 2, 34. *mis/sadedeins* Matth. 6, 15. *mis/saleikaim* Marc. 1, 34. *mis/so* Joh. 16, 17. Marc. 8, 16. *wis/sa* Joh. 6, 6. Marc. 9, 34. *at/ta* Joh. 14, 10. *at/tam* Luc. 1, 72. *at/tan* Matth. 10, 37. Joh. 16, 26. Luc. 8, 51. Marc. 9, 21. *at/tane* Luc. 1, 17. *at/tin* Luc. 1, 62. 10, 22. *at/tins* Luc. 1, 59. *ap/þan* Marc. 1, 8. *aip/þau* Joh. 18, 23. Luc. 5, 36. 8, 16. 17, 23. Marc. 10, 29. cf. Lat. *sic/cus*, *val/lis*, *mam/ma*, *an/nus*, *Sap/pho*, *cur/rus*, *Pyr/rhus*, *Pit/theus*.

b.) The first of the two consonants is a liquid or nasal.<sup>1</sup>

*al/ja* Luc. 5, 21. Marc. 12, 32. *bal/gins* Matth. 9, 17. Marc. 2, 22. *gal/gan* Luc. 9, 23. *hal/dandans* Matth. 8, 33. *hal/tai* Matth. 11, 5. *skal/ka* Luc. 14, 21. 17, 9. *skal/kinoda* Luc. 15, 29. *skal/kinodedun* Joh. 8, 33. *skal/kinon* Matth. 6, 24. Luc. 16, 13. *sal/boneis* Joh. 12, 3. *gasal/boda* Luc. 7, 38. *gasal/bodedeina* Marc. 16, 1. *wal/dufni* Marc. 11, 28. *wal/dufnja* Luc. 4, 32. *afwal/wips* Marc. 16, 4. *anamell/jan* Luc. 2, 5. *aivaggel/jo* Marc. 14, 9. *aivaggell/jons* Marc. 8, 35. *disdail/jand*

<sup>1</sup> Those words that have double *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ* (written *g*) enclosed by vowels belong also to this class; but as they were already mentioned under a.), they will not be repeated here.

Luc. 15, 24. *gahail|jan* Luc. 9, 1. *gahail|noda* Luc. 8, 47.  
*usfil|mei* Luc. 5, 26. *hill|pan* Luc. 5, 7. *sil|ba* Luc. 1, 22. 5, 1.  
 Marc. 12, 37. *sil|ban* Joh. 8, 13. Luc. 7, 7. Marc. 12, 31. 12,  
 33. *sil|bans* Luc. 18, 9. *sil|daleikida* Marc. 15, 5. 15, 44.  
*sil|daleikidedun* Luc. 8, 25. Marc. 6, 2. *sil|daleikjandans* Marc.  
 1, 27. *wil|da* Marc. 7, 24. *wil|dedun* Joh. 6, 21. *wil|jau* Luc.  
 5, 13. *gaswil|tans* Marc. 12, 20. *gafull|jands* Marc. 15, 36.  
*gafull|hans* Luc. 16, 22. *unhul|þon* Luc. 7, 33. *unhul|þons* Luc.  
 4, 33. Marc. 6, 13. *skul|du* Marc. 10, 2. *skul|dedun* Luc. 17,  
 10. *Bar|þulomairi* Luc. 6, 14. *gar|da* Matth. 9, 28. Luc. 8, 51.  
*þiudangar|di* Marc. 11, 10. *bokar|jam* Marc. 10, 33. 14, 43.  
*bokar|jos* Marc. 1, 22. 11, 18. *taitrar|kes* Luc. 3, 19. *motar|jos*  
 Matth. 9, 10. *þar|bam* Joh. 12, 5. *har|jammeh* Luc. 19, 26.  
*har|jizuh* Joh. 6, 7. Luc. 6, 40. 19, 15. *air|þa* Matth. 10, 34.  
 Luc. 6, 17. *air|þos* Marc. 13, 27. *fair|guni* Joh. 6, 3. *fair|*  
*gunja* Luc. 19, 29. Marc. 5, 11. *fair|hau* Joh. 16, 28. 17, 24.  
 18, 36. *fair|hauus* Joh. 15, 19. 16, 11. *fair|hvu* Joh. 16, 28.  
*gair|neip* Luc. 17, 22. *hair|da* Matth. 8, 32. *hair|deis* Matth.  
 9, 36. *hair|tam* Luc. 5, 22. *hair|tin* Marc. 12, 30. *hair|tins*  
 Luc. 6, 45. *hair|to* Joh. 16, 6. 16, 22. Marc. 7, 6. *armahair|*  
*tiþa* Matth. 9, 13. *armahair|tein* Luc. 1, 58. 1, 78. *armahair|*  
*teins* Luc. 1, 54. *asiluqair|nus* Marc. 9, 42. *wair|pandans*  
 Marc. 1, 16. *wair|þai* Matth. 8, 13. Marc. 9, 12. *wair|þaid*  
 Luc. 6, 36. *wair|þand* Marc. 13, 25. *wair|þip* Luc. 2, 10.  
 Marc. 2, 21. 6, 25. 6, 35. 11, 24. 13, 28. *andwair|þi* Marc.  
 14, 65. *afwair|pands* Marc. 10, 50. *uswair|pan* Marc. 3, 23.  
*uswair|pand* Luc. 6, 22. *atwair|pan* Marc. 9, 47. *biwair|band*  
 Luc. 8, 45. *mer|jaiþ* Matth. 10, 27. *wailamer|jan* Luc. 1, 19.  
*wailamer|janda* Matth. 11, 5. *baur|gim* Marc. 1, 38. *gabaur|*  
*jaba* Marc. 6, 20. *gabaur|þai* Marc. 6, 4. 8, 38. *Jaur|dane*  
 Marc. 1, 9. *kaur|ban* Marc. 7, 11. *kaur|nis* Marc. 4, 28.  
*kaur|no* Marc. 4, 31. *gamaur|gida* Marc. 13, 20. *gamaur|*  
*gidedi* Marc. 13, 20. *paur|purodai* Joh. 19, 2. *saur|gaiþ* Matth.  
 6, 28. *þaur|bum* Marc. 14, 63. *þaur|nuns* Marc. 4, 8. *waur|da*  
 Matth. 7, 26. Luc. 9, 28. *waur|dis* Marc. 7, 29. 10, 23.  
*waur|dei* Luc. 20, 20. *waur|keip* Joh. 6, 10. *waur|me* Luc.

10, 19. *waur/tins* Marc. 4, 6. *waur/panamma* Matth. 8, 16. Marc. 15, 42. *waur/panons* Matth. 11, 23. *waur/pans* Marc. 6, 21. *waur/pi* Joh. 15, 19. *waur/pun* Luc. 5, 26. Marc. 9, 3. 10, 32. *waur/puþ* Luc. 16, 12. *uswaur/panai* Joh. 12, 42. *atwaur/pans* Luc. 16, 20.—*ham/famma* Marc. 9, 43. *nam/na* Marc. 3, 17. *wam/bai* Marc. 7, 38. *tim/ridedun* Luc. 17, 28. *Saudaum/ĵam* Marc. 6, 11. *afdom/ĵanda* Luc. 6, 37. *gaum/jaindau* Matth. 6, 5. *arbinum/ĵa* Luc. 20, 14. Marc. 12, 7.—*an/danem* Luc. 4, 19. *an/paraim* Luc. 4, 43. *an/paramma* Luc. 7, 8. *an/parana* Luc. 16, 13. *an/paruþ-þan* Marc. 4, 5. *haban/dans* Marc. 1, 32. 8, 18. *liban/dans* Joh. 7, 38. *beidan/dans* Luc. 1, 21. *þiudan/gardja* Joh. 3, 3. Marc. 10, 24. *þiudan/gardjai* Marc. 12, 34. *þiudan/gardjos* Marc. 1, 14. *ligan/dein* Marc. 7, 30. *afgaggan/dans* Luc. 5, 2. *usgaggan/dam* Marc. 6, 54. *usgaggan/din* Marc. 10, 17. *briggan/da* Matth. 7, 13. *han/dau* Matth. 8, 15. Marc. 5, 41. *han/du* Matth. 9, 18. Luc. 6, 10. *han/dugeino* Marc. 6, 2. *han/duns* Marc. 6, 5. 7, 3. *anakumbjan/dane* Joh. 13, 28. *galaubjan/dans* Joh. 6, 64. 17, 20. *sandjan/dan* Joh. 12, 45. *sandjan/dins* Joh. 7, 18. *gawandjan/dans* Luc. 17, 18. *sokjan/dans* Marc. 9, 14. *wopjan/dins* Marc. 1, 3. *wailamer/ĵandans* Luc. 9, 6. *wailamer/ĵandin* Luc. 20, 1. *hausjan/dam* Luc. 6, 27. *gahausjan/dans* Joh. 12, 12. Marc. 10, 41. *hausjan/dona* Marc. 7, 16. *gahausjan/dona* Luc. 14, 35. *tauĵan/dein* Marc. 5, 32. *manwĵan/dans* Marc. 1, 19. *hazjan/dans* Luc. 2, 20. *þairhwakan/dans* Luc. 2, 8. *lan/da* Marc. 5, 10. *lan/dis* Luc. 5, 1. *malan/deins* Luc. 17, 35. *qiman/da* Luc. 7, 20. *gaman/weiþ* Marc. 11, 10. *durinnan/dans* Marc. 9, 15. *urrinnan/do* Marc. 4, 8. *frakunnan/dans* Luc. 18, 9. *unhwapnan/do* Marc. 9, 43. 9, 45. *inbran/ĵada* Joh. 15, 6. *bairan/dam* Marc. 10, 13. *unbairan/dane* Luc. 3, 9. *reiran/dei* Luc. 8, 47. *san/dida* Joh. 5, 37. 7, 28. *insan/dida* Marc. 14, 13. *Insan/didedun* Joh. 11, 3. *insan/dides* Joh. 11, 42. *insan/diþs* Luc. 4, 26. *wisan/dam* Luc. 15, 20. *wisan/dans* Luc. 7, 25. 20, 36. *wisan/din* Luc. 2, 2. 2, 5. *wisan/dei* Luc. 8, 43. *wisan/do* Luc. 15, 13. *driusan/dan* Luc. 10, 18. *fawratan/ĵa* Joh. 6, 26. *aſletan/da*



Marc. 2, 9. *aftetan/dans* Marc. 12, 12. *haitan/din* Luc. 14, 12. *sitan/dan* Luc. 2, 46. *bisitan/dam* Luc. 1, 65. *intan/deiþ* Luc. 3, 17. *stan/dands* Joh. 18, 25. *afstan/dand* Luc. 8, 13. *usstan/dand* Marc. 12, 25. *usstan/dandans* Marc. 14, 57. *usstan/dandei* Luc. 4, 39. *atstan/dandei* Luc. 2, 38. *stau/tandin* Luc. 6, 29. *qipan/dam* Luc. 7, 32. *qipan/dans* Matth. 27, 63. Joh. 9, 10. 11, 31. 19, 12. Luc. 14, 17. *gawan/dida* Luc. 1, 56. *gasaihan/dans* Marc. 7, 12. *ussaihan/dins* Joh. 9, 18. *wen/jaima* Luc. 7, 19. *liugn/ja* Joh. 8, 55. *stojain/dau* Luc. 6, 37. *gahrain/jan* Luc. 5, 12. *hin/dar* Marc. 5, 17. *hin/dumisto* Matth. 8, 12. *blin/da* Marc. 10, 46. *sin/teinan* Matth. 6, 11. *sin/teino* Joh. 7, 6. Luc. 15, 31. *sin/þa* Marc. 14, 72. *atþin/siþ* Joh. 6, 44. *win/dam* Luc. 8, 25. *swin/þai* Marc. 2, 47. *wein/drugkja* Luc. 7, 34. *idreigon/dins* Luc. 15, 10. *frijon/dans* Matth. 5, 46. *sipon/jam* Luc. 5, 30. Marc. 16, 7. *sipon/je* Luc. 7, 19. Marc. 2, 21. *sipon/jos* Joh. 7, 3. 15, 8. Luc. 5, 30. Marc. 6, 1. *fairn/jin* Marc. 2, 21. *haurn/jans* Matth. 9, 23. *un/sar* Marc. 12, 7. *un/saraize* Luc. 1, 74. *un/sis* Joh. 14, 8. 16, 17. Luc. 1, 71. Marc. 10, 4. *un/te* Matth. 10, 23. Joh. 7, 39. 8, 37. 11, 15. 11, 41. 14, 17. 15, 19. 16, 16. Luc. 7, 6. 8, 18. 10, 21. Marc. 5, 4. 6, 10. 9, 11. 11, 18. 14, 54. *gabun/dana* Marc. 11, 4. *bibun/dans* Joh. 11, 44. *fairgun/ja* Luc. 8, 32. *hun/dam* Joh. 6, 7. *kun/þam* Luc. 2, 44. *innakun/dans* Matth. 10, 25. *mun/dedun* Joh. 13, 29. *gamun/dai* Marc. 14, 9. *Pun/tiau* Luc. 3, 1. *sun/ja* Joh. 8, 32. 8, 40. *sun/jai* Joh. 6, 55. 17, 19. *sun/jeino* Joh. 15, 1. *sun/jus* Marc. 3, 17. *gasun/joda* Luc. 7, 35. *bisun/jane* Marc. 6, 6.—*ag/gele* Luc. 9, 26. *gag/gaiþ* Matth. 9, 13. Marc. 6, 10. *gag/gandans* Luc. 9, 13. *gag/giþ* Joh. 10, 4. *atgag/gand* Marc. 2, 20. *atgag/gandans* Luc. 9, 12. *Duatgag/gandans* Luc. 8, 24. *duatgag/gands* Marc. 12, 28. *ingag/gan* Luc. 15, 28. *ingag/gando* Marc. 7, 18. *faurgag/gandans* Luc. 18, 39. Marc. 11, 20. *faurgag/gandein* Luc. 18, 36. *usgag/gandans* Luc. 10, 10. *usgag/gandin* Luc. 8, 27. Marc. 5, 2. *usgag/gands* Joh. 18, 4. *lag/ga* Luc. 8, 27. Matth. 9, 29. *brig/gais* Matth. 6, 13. *brig/giþ* Luc. 19, 27. *drig/gandane* Luc. 5, 39. *drig/gandans* Luc. 10, 7. *jug/gata* Marc. 2,

22. *drug/kun* Luc. 7, 27. *bistug/qun* Matth. 7, 27. *þug/keiþ* Luc. 8, 18. Marc. 14, 64.

cp. (bes. *val/lis*, *mam/ma*, *an/nus*, *cur/rus*, already mentioned above) Lat. *al/mus*, *am/bo*, *an/guis*, *an/xius*, *urna*, etc.

c.) The first of the two consonants is not a Liquid or Nasal.<sup>1</sup> An exception to this rule is found in the combinations of Dental + Liquid (and probably also Gutt. + Liq., as *para/kletu* Joh. 14, 6.), which commence the new syllable, when found between vowels, as *fa/dreinais* Luc. 2, 4. *wi/þra* Marc. 4, 1. *wi/þrawairþon* Luc. 19, 30. *þa/pro* Joh. 14, 31. *hva/pro* Marc. 6, 2.—Another exception is seen in *afskai/skaidun* Luc. 9, 33. Although no example of a reduplicated verb beginning with *st* and illustrating syllabication, seems extant, yet we may infer that reduplicated verbs commencing with *st*, *sk*, did not separate that combination.

*galaub/jaima* Marc. 15, 32. *biwaib/jand* Luc. 19, 43. *unsib/jana* Matth. 7, 23. *stib/nai* Joh. 11, 43. *Gad/darene* Luc. 8, 37. *rodided/jau* Joh. 18, 21. *arbaid/jand* Matth. 6, 28. *pairharbaid/jandans* Luc. 5, 5. *bid/ja* Luc. 14, 18. *bid/jaiþ* Matt. 5, 44. *bid/jats* Marc. 10, 38. *bid/jis* Joh. 11, 22. *bid/jiþ* Matth. 9, 38. *mid/jasweipains* Luc. 17, 27. *mid/jungard* Luc. 2, 1. *mid/wa* Matth. 6, 20. *rod/ja* Joh. 7, 17. 8, 28. 14, 10. 16, 25. 17, 13. *rod/jan* Joh. 8, 26. Luc. 4, 41. 7, 24. *gud/jans* Luc. 20, 19. Marc. 14, 55. *gud/jins* Joh. 18, 26. *gahaf/tida* Luc. 15, 15. *andhaf/jands* Joh. 18, 37. Luc. 5, 5. 8, 21. 20, 3. Marc. 10, 20. 12, 24. *gaskaf/tais* Marc. 13, 18. *athaf/jan* Marc. 15, 36. *aftif/noda* Luc. 9, 17. *waldruf/ni* Joh. 17, 2. *lag/jiþ* Joh. 15, 13. *aftag/jan* Joh. 10, 18. *uslag/jiþ* Luc. 15, 5. *atlag/jada* Matth. 7, 19. *sweg/neid* Luc. 1, 47.

<sup>1</sup> Here a difference is noticeable between Latin and Gothic usage. If the two consonants can occur in the beginning of Greek or Latin words, they commence a new syllable in Latin; not so in Gothic. We have therefore Lat. *o/mnis*, but Go. *nam/na* Marc. 3, 17. *A/bnoba* (*bn* occurs only in barbarous names)—*stib/nai* Joh. 11, 43. *Pha/tnae*—*diskrit/noda* Matth. 27, 51. *Lu/gdunum*—*gahug/dai* Luc. 1, 51. *i/ste*, *pa/stor*—*fas/ta* Joh. 8, 55. *ans/tai* Luc. 2, 52. *fas/taip* Marc. 7, 9. *auhumis/tam* Joh. 7, 45. *auhmis/tam* Luc. 3, 2. *ca/snar*—*as/neis* Joh. 10, 12. *hlawas/nos* Matth. 27, 32. *I/srael*—*Is/raela* Luc. 7, 9.

gabig/nandans Luc. 1, 53. galaug/nida Luc. 1, 24. frabug/jandans Marc. 11, 15. hug/jandam Marc. 10, 24. gahug/dai Luc. 1, 51. Ah/ma Luc. 4, 18. ah/man Luc. 8, 55. Marc. 9, 17. ah/mane Luc. 8, 2. ah/tau Luc. 2, 21. innatgah/tai Luc. 1, 29. mah/ta Luc. 8, 43. Marc. 5, 4. 6, 5. mah/tai Luc. 4, 14. mah/tedun Luc. 20, 26. mah/teig Marc. 13, 18. mah/teis Luc. 10, 13. Marc. 6, 2. nah/tamatis Luc. 14, 24. rah/neiþ Luc. 14, 28. brah/tedun Luc. 4, 29. Marc. 9, 20. 11, 7. 12, 4. frisah/tai Joh. 15, 15. aih/tedun Marc. 12, 23. garaih/tiþa Joh. 16, 8. garaih/teins Matth. 5, 20. faihuþraih/na Luc. 16, 9. swaih/ro Luc. 4, 38. weih/sa Joh. 11, 30. Marc. 6, 56. dauh/tar Luc. 8, 42. hauh/jaidau Joh. 14, 13. sauh/tins Marc. 3, 15. huh/rau Luc. 15, 17. hiuh/mans Luc. 14, 25. alak/jo Luc. 19, 37. para/kletu Joh. 14, 6. wrak/ja Marc. 4, 17. taik/neiþ Marc. 14, 15. ustaik/neinaiþ Luc. 1, 80. swik/nein Joh. 3, 25. sildaleik/jandans Matth. 9, 8. sok/jandans Marc. 12, 26. bikuk/jan Luc. 7, 45. unbruk/jai Luc. 17, 10. plap/jo Matth. 6, 5. hrop/jandeins Luc. 4, 41. wop/jandam Luc. 7, 32. dauþ/jands Marc. 1, 4. 16, 14. as/neis Joh. 10, 12. as/tans Marc. 4, 32. fas/ta Joh. 8, 55. fas/taip Marc. 7, 9. gafas/taida Joh. 17, 12. gas/walt<sup>1</sup> Matth. 9, 18. hleiwas/nos Matth. 27, 52. pas/xa Joh. 18, 28. lais/jan Joh. 7, 35. lais/jands Marc. 14, 49. lais/tiþ Marc. 9, 38. mais/tans Joh. 19, 6. hauhis/tins Luc. 6, 35. auhumis/tan Luc. 19, 47. auhumis/ta Marc. 14, 60. 14, 63. auhumis/tam Joh. 7, 45. minnis/tan Matth. 5, 26. usqis/tidedeina Marc. 11, 18. usqis/teiþ Luc. 20, 16. swis/tar Joh. 11, 28. Is/raela Luc. 7, 9. beis/tis Marc. 8, 15. ans/tai Luc. 2, 52. haus/jan Luc. 10, 24. haus/jandans Luc. 8, 12. Marc. 4, 18. haus/jandona Marc. 4, 23. haus/jon Joh. 6, 60. Marc. 4, 33. Gahaus/jandans Luc. 8, 15. Marc. 3, 8. 6, 29. 15, 35. Gahaus/jands Luc. 18, 36. afskai/skaidun<sup>2</sup> Luc. 9, 33. apaus/tauleis Luc. 9, 10. mat/jan Marc. 5, 43. mat/jand Marc. 7, 4. mat/jandans Marc. 8, 9. mat/jands Matth. 11, 18. Pai/-

<sup>1</sup> gas/walt shows an exceptional division ; cp. ga/swalt Marc. 5, 35. ga/swiltan Joh. 18, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. remarks under c).

*trau* Marc. 14, 66. *Pai|tru* Marc. 8, 33. *Pai|trus* Marc. 9, 5. 10, 28. 14, 72. *mat|jip* Joh. 6, 51. 6, 57. 6, 58. *diskrit|noda* Matth. 27, 51. Marc. 15, 38. *weit|wodida* Joh. 3, 32. *weit|wodipai* Marc. 1, 44. *friap|wa* Joh. 17, 26. *friap|wai* Joh. 15, 9. *fraß|jaina* Luc. 8, 10. *Bep|saïdan* Matth. 11, 21. *ne|þlos* Marc. 10, 25. *haiþ|jos* Marc. 6, 28. *gadaup|nan* Joh. 12, 33. *gadaup|noda* Luc. 8, 49. 20, 29. *afdaup|jan* Marc. 14, 55. *gasop|jan* Marc. 8, 4. *galew|jands* Joh. 18, 2. *gahnaiw|jada* Luc. 5, 5. 14, 11. *anahnaiw|jai* Matth. 8, 20. *iz|war* Matth. 6, 15. *iz|wara* Luc. 5, 4. *iz|waraim* Marc. 2, 8. 6, 11. *iz|wis* Matth. 5, 32. 5, 44. 6, 5. 6, 19. Joh. 6, 61. 8, 34. 12, 35. 15, 4. 15, 11. Luc. 2, 12. 4, 24. 6, 26. 10, 9. Marc. 9, 4. 9, 19. *miz|don* Matth. 10, 42. *huz|da* Luc. 6, 45. Marc. 10, 43. 11, 25, 13, 23.

3.) In case of *three* consonants between two vowels, the first two consonants end the first, and the third consonant begins the second syllable.<sup>1</sup> An exception to the rule is constituted by Dent. + Liq. (and probably also by Gutt. or Lab. + Liq.), which are not separated, and hence often begin the second syllable, *i. e.*, when they form the two last elements of a consonant group of three, as *af|tra* Joh. 14, 3. 16, 16. 19. Marc. 10, 24. *framal|drozei* Luc. 1, 18. *jain|þro* Matth. 5, 26. *win|trau* Marc. 13, 18. *sun|dro* Luc. 9, 10. Marc. 4, 10. *hug|greiþ* Joh. 6, 35. *ep.* also *Mam|bres* C. Ambr. B 2. Tim. 3, 8.

*idd|jedun* Marc. 9, 30. *afidd|ja* Luc. 2, 37. *þairhidd|jedun* Luc. 9, 6. *usidd|ja* Joh. 8, 59. Luc. 17, 29. *usidd|jedup* Matth. 11, 8. *atidd|ja* Matth. 7, 27. Joh. 7, 50. *band|jan* Marc. 15, 6. *waldufn|ja* Matth. 8, 9. *waldufn|je* Joh. 19, 11. *waldufn|jos* Marc. 3, 10. *þrafs|tei* Luc. 8, 48. *gaþrafs|tidedeina* Joh. 11, 19. *gaþrafs|tein* Luc. 4, 19. *af|tra* Joh. 14, 3. 16, 16.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to three consonants enclosed by vowels, Latin decidedly differs from Gothic. The three consonants remain undivided forming the beginning of a new syllable, if they represent *c*, *p*, *s* + mut. and liq., as Lat. *spe|ctrum*, *sce|ptrum*, *ca|stra*. In other cases, the first consonant ends the preceding syllable and the two following ones begin the next, as Lat. *scal|prum*, *im|bres*, *Op|scus*, *ar|thritis*, etc.

16, 19. Marc. 10, 24. *usbligg/wandans* Luc. 18, 33. *usbligg/-wands* Marc. 15, 15. *usblugg/wun* Marc. 12, 3. *ussugg/wup* Marc. 12, 20. *skohs/la* Matth. 8, 31. *anamaht/jais* Marc. 10, 19. *wah/|wom* Luc. 2, 8. *framal/drozei* Luc. 1, 18. *gafull/joda* Luc. 1, 15. *talz/jand* Luc. 5, 5. *sun/dro* Luc. 9, 10. Marc. 4, 10. *Band/widuh* Joh. 13, 24. *fotuband/jom* Luc. 8, 29. *sand/jandan* Joh. 13, 24. *sand/jandin* Joh. 16, 5. *sand/jandins* Joh. 6, 38. *insand/ja* Luc. 7, 27. *insand/jands* Marc. 6, 17. *tand/jands* Luc. 8, 16. *gawand/jai* Luc. 17, 4. *gawand/jands* Matth. 9, 22. Marc. 5, 30. *hun/slastadis*<sup>1</sup> Luc. 1, 11. *win/trau* Marc. 13, 18. *jain/pro* Matth. 5, 26. *manw/jaima* Marc. 14, 22. *hug/greib* Joh. 6, 35. *arb/ja* Luc. 13, 25. *pairh/beri* Marc. 11, 16. *faurh/tei* Luc. 8, 50. *faurh/teip* Marc. 15, 6. *gastaurk/nip* Marc. 9, 18. *waurh/ta* Marc. 14, 6. *gawaurh/ta* Luc. 3, 19. *frawaurh/ta* Luc. 15, 18. *frawaurh/tai* Luc. 15, 1. Marc. 2, 15. *frawaurh/taize* Matth. 11, 19. *frawaurh/tans* Luc. 5, 32. 15, 2. *frawaurh/tim* Marc. 1, 5. *frawaurh/teis* Matth. 9, 2. *handwaurh/ton* Marc. 14, 58. *uswaurh/tans* Marc. 2, 17. *Waurk/jaip* Joh. 6, 27. Luc. 5, 8. *waurk/jaima* Joh. 6, 28. *waurk/jan* Joh. 9, 4. *gawaurk/jam* Marc. 9, 5. *þaur/sjai* Joh. 7, 37. *aurt/jans* Luc. 20, 14. *gawairþ/ja* Luc. 19, 42. *andwairþ/ja* Matth. 6, 1. 10, 33. Luc. 1, 6. 10, 21. 15, 18. *maur/preip* Matth. 5, 21. *marz/jai* Matth. 5, 30. *gamarz/jai* Marc. 9, 42. *gamarz/janda* Marc. 4, 17. *airz/jai* Marc. 12, 24. *fask/jam* Joh. 11, 44. *hnasq/jaim* Matth. 11, 8. *barnisk/ja* Marc. 9, 2. *witofast/jos* Luc. 7, 30. *wast/jom* Matth. 7, 15. Luc. 19, 36. Marc. 11, 8. *gamarz/jai* Marc. 9, 42. *gamarz/janda* Marc. 4, 17. *laist/ja* Matth. 8, 19. *laist/jai* Matth. 10, 38. Luc. 9, 23. Marc. 8, 34. *frumist/ja* Joh. 8, 44. *fragist/nam* Luc. 8, 24. *fragist/nand* Marc. 2, 22. *usqist/jan* Marc. 3, 4. *galiugaxrist/jus* Marc. 13, 22. *framapl/ja* Matth. 9, 34. Marc. 10, 30. *broþr/jus* Joh. 7, 3. Marc. 3, 34.

<sup>1</sup> *sl* commences a new syllable after *n*, not after *h*. There are too few examples to establish a definite rule. cp. *hun/slastadis* Luc. 1, 11, but *skohs-la* Matth. 8, 31.

4.) If two vowels are separated by four or five consonants, the last consonant begins the new syllable.<sup>1</sup>

*gabairht/jan* Joh. 14, 22. *þrafst/jands* Luc. 3, 18. *waurst/wa* Joh. 9, 3. *fuhlsn/ja* Matth. 6, 18. *waurstw/ja* Joh. 15, 1.

B. In case of compounds, letters before and after the 'Fuge' (joining; juncture) are ascribed to different syllables.<sup>2</sup>

*silda/leikidedun* Luc. 2, 48. Marc. 7, 37. *silda/leikjandans* Luc. 20, 26. *silda/leikjandom* Luc. 2, 23. *anda/nahti* Marc. 11, 19. *ga/aistan* Marc. 12, 6. *ga/armaida* Marc. 5, 19. *ga/bauan* Marc. 4, 32. *ga/baurans* Joh. 9, 2. Luc. 2, 11. *ga/baurþai* Luc. 4, 24. *ga/brak* Marc. 8, 19. *ga/bruho* Marc. 8, 19. *ga/buganaim* Marc. 5, 4. *ga/dailiþs* Marc. 3, 26. *ga/dauþniþ* Joh. 8, 24. *ga/dauþnodedun* Joh. 6, 58. *ga/draban* Marc. 15, 46. *ga/drauhteis* Joh. 19, 2. *ga/draus* Luc. 8, 5. Marc. 4, 7. *ga/driusando* Luc. 8, 14. *ga/fastanda* Luc. 5, 38. *ga/haftnandan* Luc. 10, 11. *ga/hahjo* Luc. 1, 3. *ga/hausidedun* Luc. 2, 20. *ga/hausjand* Matth. 11, 5. Marc. 4, 15. *ga/hausjandans* Luc. 8, 14. 20, 16. *ga/hausjands* Joh. 11, 4. *ga/huliþ* Matth. 10, 26. *ga/juko* Luc. 8, 11. *ga/jukon* Luc. 5, 36. Marc. 4, 11. *ga/kunþai* Luc. 3, 23. *ga/lagida* Marc. 8, 28. *ga/laiþ* Luc. 4, 38. 5, 3. Marc. 5, 38. *ga/laubein* Luc. 5, 20. *ga/laubeinai* Marc. 9, 29. *ga/laubeis* Joh. 14, 10. *ga/laubeiþ* Luc. 16, 11. Marc. 11, 24. *ga/laubjaima* Joh. 6, 30. *ga/laubjaina* Joh. 11, 42. *ga/laubjam* Joh. 16, 30. *ga/laubjandane* Marc. 9, 42. *ga/laubjandan* Matth. 8, 26. *ga/lewjands* Joh. 18, 2. *Ga/leikaida* Luc. 1, 3. *ga/laiþ* Luc. 9, 11. *ga/leiþan* Luc. 6, 6. Marc. 1, 45. 9, 47. *ga/leiþandans* Matth. 8, 33. *ga/leiþands* Marc. 6, 28. *ga/mainjan* Marc. 7, 18. *ga/naitidana* Marc. 12, 4. *ga/nam* Joh. 6, 45. *ga/nasida* Marc. 10, 52. *ga/nasjada* Luc. 8, 50. *ga/numans* Luc. 2, 21. *ga/quinoda* Luc. 15, 24.

<sup>1</sup> In Latin four consonants can only occur between vowels in the combination :

Liq. or } + Mut. or s + tr.  
Nas. }

They are divided so that the first consonant ends the first syllable and the second begins the second syllable, as *mul/ctrum*, *mon/strum*.

<sup>2</sup> Here Latin usage is the same; cp. *a/mens*, *de/pono*, *con/stringo*, *abs/temius*.

*gà/raihtoza* Luc. 18, 14. *ga/runjon* Luc. 6, 48. *ga/runnun*  
*Marc. 14, 52.* *ga/sakands* Luc. 4, 41. *ga/salboda* Luc. 4, 18.  
*ga/sat* Luc. 4, 20. *ga/saihvand* Marc. 9, 10. *Ga/saihvandans*  
*Luc. 20, 14.* *Ga/saihbands* Marc. 5, 6. 9, 25. *ga/sailviþ* Joh.  
11, 9. *ga/skeiriþ* Marc. 15, 22. *ga/skeirida* Joh. 7, 9. *ga/swalt*  
*Marc. 5, 35.* *ga/swikunþidedeina* Marc. 3, 12. *ga/swiltan* Joh.  
18, 32. *ga/tawida* Joh. 11, 46. *ga/taihun* Luc. 18, 37. Marc.  
5, 14. *ga/pahaidedun* Luc. 20, 26. *ga/þiubjands* Marc. 8, 7.  
*ga/þlauh* Marc. 14, 52. *ga/walidane* Marc. 13, 20. *ga/wandi-*  
*dedun* Luc. 2, 43. *ga/wandjai* Luc. 10, 6. *ga/wandjands* Luc.  
7, 44. *ga/waseins* Luc. 9, 29. *ga/wairþi* Luc. 10, 5. *ga/weisoþ*  
*Luc. 1, 78.* *jugga/lauþs* Marc. 14, 51. *waja/merains* Marc. 7,  
22. *waja/meridedun* Marc. 15, 29. *waja/meriþ* Marc. 3, 29.  
*waila/merjanda* Luc. 7, 22. *sama/leiko* Luc. 6, 26. Marc. 12,  
21. *Sama/leikoh* Luc. 5, 10. *ana/bauþ* Marc. 5, 43. *ana/bus-*  
*nins* Joh. 14, 15. Marc. 10, 19. *ana/falh* Luc. 20, 9. *ana/ful-*  
*hun* Marc. 7, 5. *ana/habaida* Luc. 4, 38. *ana/kumbjan* Marc.  
8, 6. *ana/kumbei* Luc. 14, 10. *ana/stodeins* Joh. 8, 25. *mana/-*  
*sedei* Joh. 14, 22. *miþana/kumbjandane* Marc. 6, 26. *staina/-*  
*hamma* Marc. 4, 5. *weina/gardis* Luc. 20, 13. *weina/tainos*  
*Joh. 15, 7.* *himina/kundins* Luc. 2, 13. *fra/bauhtedun* Luc. 17,  
28. *fra/let* Luc. 4, 19. *fra/letan* Luc. 4, 19. *fra/liusands* Luc.  
15, 4. *fra/leitan* Marc. 15, 19. *fra/mapjana* Joh. 10, 5. *fra/-*  
*gisteiþ* Matth. 10, 39. *fra/rann* Luc. 10, 30. *fra/wahw* Luc. 8,  
29. *fra/waurht* Joh. 8, 34. 19, 11. *fra/waurhte* Luc. 3, 3.  
Marc. 3, 28. *fra/waurhtim* Joh. 8, 24. *fra/waurhtaim* Luc. 5,  
30. Marc. 2, 16. *fra/waurhtans* Luc. 6, 33. *fra/waurhtins* Luc.  
5, 24. *fra/waurhteis* Luc. 5, 20. *fra/waurhts* Luc. 5, 8. *daura/-*  
*wards* Joh. 10, 3. *faura/standandam* Marc. 14, 69. *faura/tanja*  
*Marc. 13, 22.* *aþtra/haitaina* Luc. 14, 12. *wiþra/gamotjan* Joh.  
12, 13. *wiþra/wairþon* Marc. 11, 2. *sa/þazuh* Luc. 7, 23.  
*missa/leikaim* Luc. 4, 40. *bairhta/ba* Luc. 16, 19. *glaggwa/ba*  
*Luc. 15, 8.* *swa/lika* Marc. 13, 18. *swa/swe* Matth. 6, 5. Joh.  
11, 18. 15, 12. 17, 16. Luc. 10, 6. *and/bahtam* Marc. 14, 52.  
*and/bahtjam* Marc. 10, 45. *and/bahtans* Joh. 18, 3. *and/bahtos*  
*Luc. 1, 2.* *and/bindan* Luc. 3, 16. Marc. 1, 7. *and/bindandans*

Marc. 11, 5. *and/haffjands* Luc. 6, 3. 7, 43. *and/haffjis* Joh. 18, 22. *and/haitip* Matth. 10, 32. *and/hauseis* Joh. 11, 42. *And/hof* Joh. 6, 7. 6, 26. 8, 18. Marc. 12, 34. *and/hofun* Joh. 8, 33. 10, 33. 18, 30. *and/nemun* Matth. 6, 2. Marc. 4, 36. *and/nimands* Matth. 10, 41. *and/nimip* Joh. 12, 48. *and/standan* Matth. 5, 39. *and/wasidedun* Marc. 15, 20. *and/wairþi* Luc. 20, 21. *and/wairþja* Matth. 5, 16. Luc. 1, 8. 1, 15. 1, 17. 5, 25. 20, 26. *und/greipandans* Marc. 12, 8. *swelþauh* Matt. 7, 15. 11, 24. Joh. 12, 42. *afþbrann* Marc. 4, 6. *afþletanda* Luc. 7, 47. *afþletands* Marc. 8, 13. *afþleipandans* Luc. 5, 11. *af/nimands* Marc. 7, 33. *afþvapidedun* Marc. 4, 7. *ufþhaband* Luc. 4, 11. *ubuh/wopida* Luc. 18, 38. *Duhþe* Joh. 10, 17. *anuh/kumbei* Luc. 17, 7. *biþleipip* Luc. 15, 4. *biþe* Luc. 2, 21. *biþwesjau* Luc. 15, 29. *biþwundan* Luc. 2, 12. *naudiþbandjos* Marc. 5, 4. *swiþkunþ* Luc. 8, 17. *ubilþwaurdjan* Marc. 9, 39. *þiudan/gardjos* Marc. 1, 14. *mannan/hun* Luc. 3, 14. *nauhþan/uh* Marc. 12, 6. *mann/hun* Marc. 8, 26. *In/saiþip* Matth. 6, 26. *in/sandida* Luc. 14, 17. *in/sandja* Joh. 13, 20. *in/sandeip* Marc. 13, 27. *in/sandjands* Matth. 11, 2. *in/wagidedun* Marc. 15, 11. *inn/gaggan* Luc. 8, 51. *inn/gaggandans* Luc. 8, 16. Marc. 11, 2. *inn/gaggip* Joh. 10, 9. *unþhrainja* Marc. 1, 25. *unþhulþom* Luc. 9, 1. Marc. 3, 22. *unþhulþono* Marc. 3, 22. *unþhulþons* Marc. 9, 34. Luc. 8, 2. *unþledans* Marc. 14, 7. *unþmahtins* Matth. 8, 17. *unþwahanaim* Marc. 7, 2. 7, 5. *unþwerjan* Marc. 10, 40. *sibun/tehund* Luc. 10, 1. *aino/hun* Marc. 9, 8. *afarþlaistandans* Marc. 10, 32. *ufarþstigun* Marc. 4, 7. *faurþbaup* Luc. 9, 21. *faurþbigaggip* Marc. 16, 7. *urþrais* Matth. 27, 64. Luc. 7, 16. 9, 7. *urþraisida* Joh. 6, 18. *urþrann* Luc. 2, 1. *urþreisan* Luc. 9, 22. *urþreisip* Joh. 7, 52. *wasþuh* Matth. 8, 30. Joh. 18, 14. *nisþsijai* Luc. 20, 16. *þisþvah* Marc. 11, 24. *þisþvaruh* Marc. 14, 9. *ainsþhun* Joh. 13, 28. 16, 22. Luc. 14, 24. *sunsþei* Joh. 11, 32. *þrutsþfill* Matt. 8, 3. *þrutsþfillai* Luc. 4, 27. *usþbeidandam* Luc. 2, 38. *usþbiggwan-dans* Luc. 20, 10. *usþfulljaidau* Joh. 15, 11. *usþfullnodedeina* Marc. 14, 49. *usþgagg* Luc. 14, 10. Marc. 9, 25. *usþgaggand* Marc. 7, 23. *usþgaggandona* Luc. 4, 22. *usþgildan* Luc. 14, 14.



*us/geisnodedun* Luc. 8, 56. *Marc.* 9, 15. *us/grabandans* *Marc.* 2, 4. *us/gutniþ* *Marc.* 2, 22. *us/hafjands* Luc. 16, 23. *us/hauhida* Luc. 1, 52. *us/hauhjada* Luc. 18, 14. *us/hof* Matth. 11, 1. *us/hofun* Joh. 11, 41. *us/hramidedeina* *Marc.* 15, 20. *us/hramidedun* *Marc.* 15, 27. *us/iddja* *Marc.* 1, 28. *us/kusans* Luc. 9, 22. *us/laubida* Luc. 8, 32. *us/lauk* Joh. 9, 14. 9, 21. *us/lipin* Luc. 5, 24. *us/qemun* Luc. 20, 15. *us/qiman* Joh. 7, 25. *Marc.* 6, 19. *us/qimand* *Marc.* 9, 31. *us/qisteiþ* *Marc.* 12, 9. *us/satjai* Luc. 10, 2. *us/standiþ* Joh. 11, 24. *us/stassais* Luc. 20, 35. *us/stoþ* *Marc.* 3, 26. *us/taiknoda* Luc. 10, 1. *us/tiuhan* Luc. 14, 28. *us/waltida* *Marc.* 11, 15. *us/warþ* Matth. 8, 16. *Marc.* 1, 34. *us/wairpa* Joh. 6, 37. *us/wairpan* Luc. 19, 45. *us/waurhtana* Luc. 10, 29. *us/waurpi* *Marc.* 7, 26. *us/waurpam* Matth. 7, 22. *at/berun* Matth. 9, 32. *at/gaft* Joh. 17, 8. *at/gaggandei* *Marc.* 5, 27. *at/gaggandein* *Marc.* 6, 22. *at/iddja* *Marc.* 14, 66. *at/iddjedun* *Marc.* 12, 17. *at/lagides* Luc. 19, 23. *at/nehida* *Marc.* 14, 42. *at/staig* Joh. 6, 50. 6, 58. *at/standands* Luc. 4, 39. *at/tiuh* Luc. 14, 21. *at/tiuhþ* Luc. 19, 30. *at/witainai* Luc. 17, 20. *innat/bereina* Luc. 5, 18. *innat/gaggan* Luc. 14, 23. *innat/gaggandans* Matth. 27, 53. *miþ/þanei* Luc. 4, 40. 5, 12. 8, 42. *miþ/ushramidans* Matth. 27, 44. *niþ/þan* Joh. 11, 30. *Duþ/þe* Joh. 7, 22. *Marc.* 6, 14. *bruþ/fadis* *Marc.* 2, 19. *bruþ/fads* Luc. 5, 35. *bruþ/faps* Matth. 9, 15. *du/gann* Matth. 11, 7. *Marc.* 5, 20. *du/gunnun* *Marc.* 2, 23. *grundu/waddju* Luc. 6, 49. *faihu/þraihna* Luc. 16, 11.

There does not appear to be the same uniformity regarding the Division of Syllables in the Codices Ambrosiani, as in the Codex Argenteus, although on the whole the same rules are applicable. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this statement.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The numbers indicate the respective chapters and verses in the C. Ambrosiani (Codices Gotici Ambrosiani sive Epistolarum Pauli Esrae Nehemiae versionis Goticae Fragmenta iterum recognovit A. Uppström. Upsala, 1864). We refer to Cod. A. in the following cases: Rom. 9, 28. 11, 24.—1. Cor. 5, 5. 7, 25. 10, 21. 10, 28. 13, 2. 13, 8. 14, 25. 15, 4. 15, 23.—2. Cor. 2,

I. In case two vowels follow each other immediately, separation occurs.

*fri/apwos* 2. Cor. 8, 24. *gatrau/aida* Gal. 2, 7.

II. One or several consonants separate the vowels.

A. Words that are no compounds.

1.) One consonant between two vowels begins the new syllable.

*ufa/rassus* 2. Cor. 1, 5. Phil. 4, 12. 1. Thess. 2, 17. *unsa/-rain* 2. Tim. 4, 15. *gatei/hands* 1. Cor. 14, 25. *wei/haize* Col. 1, 12.

2.) Two consonants enclosed by vowels.

a.) Gemination.

*jab/biudis* 1. Cor. 10, 21. *aik/klesjono* 2. Cor. 8, 23. *aik/klesjons* 1. Cor. 16, 19. *usful/leinais* Eph. 1, 10. *pam/ma* Eph. 1, 14. *unwam/mai* Eph. 1, 4. *frau/jinas/siwe* Eph. 1, 21.

b.) The first of the two consonants is a Liquid or Nasal.

*waur/keip* 2. Cor. 4, 12. *nam/nidans* Eph. 2, 11.

c.) The first of the two consonants is not a Liquid or Nasal.

*id/reigondane* 2. Cor. 12, 21. *andbah/ti* 2. Cor. 5, 18. *garaihtans* Gal. 5, 4. *puh/tedun* Gal. 2, 9. *puh/tu* 1. Cor. 10, 28 (*garaiht/ei* Phil. 3, 9). *gis/teinai* 1. Cor. 5, 5. *lus/tu* Gal. 5, 16. (*bai/tra* Eph. 4, 31). *Pait/rau* Gal. 2, 14. *hlut/rans* 2. Cor. 7, 11. *brop/runs* 2. Cor. 9, 5.

The exception to this rule, in the case of Dent. + Liq., noticed in the Codex Argenteus, hardly applies to the C. Ambros. Although we have *bai/trei* Eph. 4, 31, divisions like *Pait/rau* Gal. 2, 14. *hlut/rans* 2. Cor. 7, 11. *brop/runs* 2. Cor.

14. 4, 2. 5, 18. 6, 18. 8, 1. 8, 23. 12, 11. 12, 21.—Eph. 1, 10. 1, 21. 2, 11. 6, 12. 6, 18.—Gal. 2, 6. 2, 6. 2, 7. 2, 8. 3, 5.—Phil. 3, 9.—Col. 1, 10. 1, 12. 4, 7. 4, 8. 4, 11.—2. Thess. 3, 14.—1. Tim. 1, 19. 5, 25. 6, 9.—2. Tim. 4, 15.—Tit. 1, 14.—To Cod. B we refer in the following quotations: 1. Cor. 12, 21. 16, 19.—2. Cor. 1, 4. 1, 4. 1, 5. 1. 22. 3, 6. 3, 15. 4, 12. 6, 12. 6, 18. 7, 5. 7, 14. 8, 19. 8, 24. 9, 5. 9. 10. 11, 10. 11, 15. 11, 33. 12, 10.—Gal. 2, 2. 2, 4. 2, 9. 2, 13. 2, 14. 4, 19. 5, 4. 5, 16. 5, 20.—Eph. 1, 4. 1, 14. 3, 20. 4, 26. 4, 31. 4, 31.—Phil. 2, 1. 3, 13. 4, 12.—Col. 3, 7. 4, 9.—1. Thess. 2, 14. 2, 17. 5, 2. 5, 11.—1. Tim. 1, 10. 2, 10.—2. Tim. 2, 6. 3, 8.—Nehem. 5, 16.

9, 5, are more frequent. A case like *garaiht/ei* (Phil. 3, 9) is altogether exceptional.

3.) In case of three consonants most frequently the first two consonants end the first syllable and the third begins the second. Dent. + Liq. are never separated just as in C. Argenteus.

*baurgswaddljau* 2. Cor. 11, 33. *iddljedup* Col. 3, 7. *afwandljane* Tit. 1, 14. *af/tra* 1. Cor. 12, 21. *sigg/wada* 2. Cor. 3, 15. *ussigg/waidau* 1. Thes. 5, 27. *trig/gwa*<sup>1</sup> Col. 4, 7. *trigg/wos* 2. Cor. 3, 6. *gamaurgljands* Rom. 9, 28. *intrusgljanda* Rom. 11, 24. *aihl/trondans* Eph. 6, 18. *gatarhljaiþ* 2. Thess. 3, 14. *þugkljandans* Gal. 2, 6. *frawaurkljaiþ* Eph. 4, 26. *sigl/jands* 2. Cor. 1, 22. *wulþ/rais* Gal. 2, 6. *Mam/bres* 2. Tim. 3, 8. *faurdammljada* 2. Cor. 11, 10. *Alaiksandr/us* 1. Tim. 1, 19. *waldufnlja* Eph. 6, 12. *analaugnjam* 2. Cor. 4, 2. *liugnjam* 1. Tim. 1, 10. *gakann/jan* 2. Cor. 12, 11. *gakannljand* Col. 4, 9. *runn/jau* Gal. 2, 2. *saggljand* 1. Tim. 6, 9. *hair/þram* 2. Cor. 6, 12. *broþr/jus* 2. Cor. 8, 1. Phil. 3, 13. 1. Thess. 2, 14. *þrafs/teiþ* 1. Thess. 5, 11. *gaþrafs/tida* 2. Cor. 1, 4. *gaþrafs/teino* Phil. 2, 1. *haifs/teis* Gal. 5, 20. *wahs/jan* 2. Cor. 9, 10. *wahs/jandans* Col. 1, 10. *taihs/wons* Gal. 2, 9. *þreihs/lam* 2. Cor. 12, 10. *biniuhs/jan* Gal. 2, 4. *ganawis/troþs* 1. Cor. 15, 4. *dauht/rum*<sup>2</sup> 2. Cor. 6, 18. *waurk/jandein* Eph. 3, 20.

4.) In case of two vowels separated by four or five consonants, generally the last consonant forms the beginning of the new syllable. There are, however, a good many exceptions in these Codices.

(*gaþra/fstjan* 2. Cor. 1, 4. *gawaur/stwans* Col. 4, 11. *waurs/twa* 1. Tim. 2, 10.) *gabairht/jaidau* Gal. 4, 19. *ga-*

<sup>1</sup> Notice *trig/gwa* Col. 4, 7. *trigg/wos* 2. Cor. 3, 6. There seems uncertainty in the C. Ambr. about the division in case of geminated *g* + *w*. cp. C. Arg. *usbligg/wandans* Luc. 18, 33.

<sup>2</sup> *dauht/rum* 2. Cor. 6, 18. cp. *skohts/la* Matth. 8, 31 in C. Arg. The only cases which admit of a liquid beginning the new syllable occur when voiceless *h* is the first of the three consonants. *waurk/jandein* Eph. 3, 20, stands quite isolated. In all other instances, *j* commences a new syllable when it is the first letter of a suffix. cp. C. Ambr. *liugnjam* 1. Tim. 1, 10. *saggljand* 1 Tim. 6, 9, etc. C. Arg., *waldufn/je* Joh. 19, 11. *mer/jaiþ* Matth. 10, 27.

*bairht/jandin* 2. Cor. 2, 14. (*waurs/twja*<sup>1</sup> 2. Tim. 2, 6.) *ga-  
þrafst/jai* Col. 4, 8. *waurst/wa* 1. Tim. 5, 25. *Nehem.* 5, 16.  
*waurst/wam* Gal. 3, 5. 1. Tim. 5, 10. (*waur/stwam* 2. Cor.  
11, 15) *waurst/weig* Gal. 2, 8.

*B.* In compounds, letters before and after the joining are attributed to different syllables.

*ga/armaiþs* 1. Cor. 7, 25. *swa/swe* 1. Cor. 13, 2. *all/waldands*  
2. Cor. 6, 18. *inn/ana* 2. Cor. 7, 5. *þat/ain* 2. Cor. 8, 19.  
*jap/þe* 1. Cor. 13, 8. *mip/litidedun* Gal. 2, 13. *þapropþan* 1.  
Cor. 15, 23.

In the *Fragmenta Gothica Selecta*, we find again the same rules as in the other Codices; in the *Skeireins*, however, we have relatively more exceptions than in other parts.

We have *di/abulan* Skeir. *Fragm.* I, vol. 4. *stau/a* Skeir. v, 2.—*wasi/dedum* Matth. 25, 38.—*Al/lai* Skeir. I, 1. *aip/þau* Matth. 25, 44.—*air/þai* Skeir. IV, 3. *maur/gin* Matth. 27, 1.—*stib/na* Skeir. VI, 3. *garaih/teins* Skeir. I, 4. *gag/giþ* Matth. 25, 41. *atidd/jedum* Matth. 25, 39. *bairh/tai* Skeir. v, 3. *ga-waurh/tedi* Skeir. I, 2.—*waurst/wis* Skeir. v, 3.—*ana/stodeinai* Skeir. I, 3. *þat/ain* Skeir. I, 4. *but*, on the other hand, we have divisions like *þwai/rheins* Skeir, VIII, 3, where we would expect *þwair/heins*. *þaþ/ro* Skeir. VI, 4, for *þa/þro*. *twa/ddje* Skeir. III, 4 for *twaddlje*. *waurs/twa* for *waurst/wa*.<sup>2</sup> cp. C. Ambr. *broþ/runs* 1. Cor. 9, 5. *waurs/twa* 1. Tim. 2, 10. *gaþra/fstjan* 2. Cor. 1, 4.

Hence it has been shown that the laws regarding Syllabication in Gothic differ from those of classical Latin in the most

<sup>1</sup> For *gaþra/fstjan* 2. Cor. 1, 4, cp. *wau/rkjandein* Eph. 3, 20. Besides the forms expected: *waurst/wa* 1. Tim. 5, 25, *waurst/wam* Gal. 3, 5. 1. Tim. 5, 10, we have *gawaur/stwans* Col. 4, 11. *waurs/twa* 1. Tim. 5, 25. *waurs/twja* 1. Tim. 2, 6, which point to great uncertainty in case of four and more consonants. In Cod. Arg., the last consonant invariably begins the second syllable.

<sup>2</sup> *tw/os* Skeir. II, 4 and *f/raqiþa* Skeir. 8, 4 offer quite extraordinary divisions, not in accordance with any rule whatever.

characteristic points, namely, with regard to consonant groups, which, according to the rules of Latin and Greek grammarians, in most cases, remain undivided and begin the new syllable.

On the other hand, the instances where Gothic agrees with class. Latin find a parallel in most of the modern languages.<sup>1</sup>

#### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

This paper was finished before the appearance in *Classical Philology* (January, 1906), of an article on 'Syllabification in Latin Inscriptions,' by Walter Dennison (Univ. of Michigan). The writer followed up a point of view in connexion with a paper (cp. *Harv. Stud.*, VII [1896], pp. 249-71) by Professor William Gardner Hale.—The statistics Mr. Dennison obtains from the examination of a large number of inscriptions testify to the fact that the prevailing epigraphic division differed from the one taught by Roman grammarians, and therefore words on the inscriptions most likely were divided not according to an acknowledged set of rules, but according to the prevailing pronunciation in everyday speech. Combining his results with our own we should say that to a certain extent Gothic, when differing from the doctrines of the Latin and Greek grammarians, agrees with the practice found in Latin inscriptions. Whether this is due to a mere coincidence, or to the fact that Gothic scribes adopted the practice prevailing in Latin at their time, though not recorded by the grammarians, I must leave for others to decide.

We may, therefore, look forward with interest to the examination of the earlier Latin MSS., which, according to Mr. Dennison's statement (*l. c.*, p. 49), may be expected at some future date from Professor Hale.

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<sup>1</sup> Considering the close relationship of the Brixianus of the Itala to the Codex Argenteus, additional light might be thrown on our subject by investigating the Division of Syllables in that Codex. cp. Bernhardt's Introduction to his edition of *Wulfila*, p. 40 and pp. 49 and 50.

THE SOURCE OF MATTHEW ARNOLD'S POEM,  
*THE SICK KING IN BOKHARA.*

DURING a course of study in which I was engaged, last year, under the direction of Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, I had occasion to consider certain phases of the subject of orientalism in the poems of Matthew Arnold. One of these poems, *The Sick King in Bokhara*, interested me specially, not only on account of the vivid simplicity with which the author has so charmingly depicted a scene and an episode of Eastern life, but because of the wonderful hues and tints of local color that flash throughout the poem. An excellent idea of this faithfulness to nature is given in a most interesting article entitled "Bokhara the Noble," recently published by Professor Jackson, in which the scene of the poem is set forth in all the light of personal observation.<sup>1</sup> It seemed to me rather extraordinary, at the time, that Arnold should have painted the picture with such minuteness and accuracy of detail, even though he had never visited the region of Bokhara. Accordingly, I determined to find the source from which he might have derived his material. After searching in vain for some time—as neither Arnold's Note-Book nor any critical works that I know of contain any allusion to the subject—I finally wrote to the poet's sister, Miss Frances Arnold, asking whether she could possibly enlighten me on this question. In reply, she very kindly sent me the following extract from a work on Bokhara by Lieut. Burnes, adding, however, that it was very doubtful whether her brother had actually obtained the story from that

<sup>1</sup> *The Outlook*, Vol. 79, No. 5; N. Y., Feb. 4, 1905.

source; it will be seen that the narrative bears a striking resemblance to Arnold's poem (*italics and spacings are my own*):<sup>2</sup>

"About twelve years since, a person who had violated the law proceeded to the palace, and, in the presence of the King, stated his crime, and demanded justice according to the Koran. The singularity of an individual appearing as his own accuser, induced the King to direct him to be driven away. The man appeared the following day with the same tale, and was again turned out. He repaired a third time to the palace, repeated his sins, and upbraided the King for his remissness in declining to dispense justice, which, as a believer of Mahommed, he entreated, might lead to his punishment in this world instead of *the next*. The *Ulema*, or congress of divines, was assembled: death was the punishment; and the man himself, who was a *Moollah*, was prepared for this decision. He was condemned to be stoned to death. He turned his face to Mecca, and, drawing his garment over his head, repeated the Kuluma, ("There is but one God, and Mahommed is his prophet!") and met his fate. The King was present, and threw the first stone: but he had instructed his officers to permit the deluded man to escape if he made the attempt. When dead the King wept over his corpse, ordered it to be *washed* and *buried*, and proceeded in person to the grave, over which he read the funeral service. It is said that he was much affected; and to this day verses commemorate the death of this unfortunate man, whom we must either pronounce a bigot or a *madman*."<sup>3</sup>

Although this passage is far from sufficient to account for the wealth of local color in *The Sick King in Bokhara*, nevertheless it furnishes abundant material for the story.

Shortly after receiving this communication, I succeeded in obtaining a copy of the book above-mentioned.<sup>4</sup> As I glanced through its pages, one of the first things that struck my eye was the following paragraph, occurring on the very next page to that of the selection already quoted, and, in view of Arnold's

<sup>2</sup> In this and the following quotations, *italics* will be used to indicate words actually used in both the poem and the source; spaced type, passages where the sense, if not the very words, is alike in both texts.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, Vol. II, p. 262, ll. 14 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Travels into Bokhara*, &c., by Lieut. Alexander Burnes, F. R. S., 3 vols. 2nd edition, London, 1835. There is a copy of it in the Phoenix Collection at Columbia University.

poem, admirably supplementing it; I reproduce the passage in full, because the book is a rare one and not easily accessible :

“A son who had *cursed his mother* appeared as a suppliant for justice, and his own accuser. The mother solicited his pardon and forgiveness; the son demanded punishment: the *Ulema* directed his death, and he was executed as a criminal in the streets of Bokhara.”<sup>5</sup>

The fact that Arnold has so ingeniously woven together these two stories into his poem is strong evidence in itself that he used Burnes's history as a source-book. Upon examining the volume more carefully, however, I discovered numerous indications that Arnold had undoubtedly gathered not only his plot, but practically all of his Oriental scenery and allusions, from three consecutive chapters of that work.<sup>6</sup> A few simple illustrations will serve to make this clear. Let us look, for instance, at Burnes's description of the King of Bokhara,<sup>7</sup> comparing it with Arnold's :

“I was, nevertheless, resolved to have a sight of royalty; and, at mid-day<sup>8</sup> on the following Friday, repaired to the great *mosque* . . . and saw his majesty and his court passing from prayers [at the time of prayer, § 8; to the mosque my lord passed on, § 10].<sup>9</sup> The King appeared to be under thirty years of age [O Vizier, thou art old, I young, § 44] . . . his visage gaunt and pale”—

suggesting Arnold's *Sick King*—

“He was plainly dressed in a *silken* robe of ‘udrus,’ with a white turban [silken raiment, § 47]. The Koran was *carried* in front of him [the holy book | carried before him, § 10], and he was preceded and followed by two *golden mace bearers* [push'd | the golden mace-bearers aside, § 8] . . . The present King has more state than any of

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 263, ll. 14 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, chs. IX, X, XI.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 249, 250.

<sup>8</sup> Orthodox Mahomedans offer prayers at this hour as well as in the morning and evening.

<sup>9</sup> The quotations in brackets are from Arnold; I have used the standard edition (Macmillan & Co.) throughout, giving references to various *sections* of the poem.



his predecessors, but he may consider it necessary to affect humility in a temple, and in returning from a religious ceremony....  
The character of this King"—

here we easily recognize the virtuous prince of Arnold's poem—

"stands high among his countrymen : at his elevation he gave away all his own wealth. . . . He is strict in his religious observances"—

Arnold's King goes to prayers three days in succession !—

"but less bigoted than his father"—

hence, perhaps, his liberal attitude toward the wretched Moollah.

To cite another striking coincidence,—we find in Burnes the following description of Bokhara's water supply :

"The city is intersected by *canals*, shaded by *mulberry trees*, which bring water from the *river of Samarcand*" ;

and, a little further down the page,

"In summer the inhabitants are sometimes deprived of good water for months, and when we were in Bokhara the canals had been dry for sixty days ; the snow had not melted in the highlands or Samarcand, and the scanty supply of the river had been *wasted* before reaching Bokhara. . . . After all, the water is bad.'" <sup>10</sup>

It is needless to point out the similarity between this passage and the lines from Arnold :

"Thou know'st how fierce  
In these last days the sun hath burn'd :  
That the green water in the tanks  
Is to a putrid puddle turn'd :  
And the *canal* that from the *stream*  
*Of Samarcand* is brought this way,  
*Wastes*, and runs thinner every day (§ 14).  
. . . . .

Under some *mulberry-trees* I found  
A little pool . . . (§ 15)  
. . . . .

With cisterns for the winter rain" (§ 46).

The two pictures are identical.

<sup>10</sup> Burnes, Vol. II, p. 257, ll. 10 ff.

Again, a notable case of parallelism may be seen in the two extracts below; the fact that the quotations from Burnes all appear in a single paragraph clearly emphasizes our point of argument:

"One wonders at the never-ending employment of the fruiterers, in dealing out their grapes, melons, apricots, apples, peaches, pears and plums. . . . One may purchase . . . *grape* jelly or *syrup*, mixed up with chopped ice. This abundance of *ice* is one of the greatest luxuries in Bokhara. . . . It is a refreshing sight to see the huge masses of it, with the thermometer at 90°, *coloured*, scraped, and piled into heaps like *snow*." <sup>11</sup>

Arnold's rendering of this into verse is remarkably exact:

"Happy he who lodges there!  
With silken raiment, store of rice,  
And for this drought all kinds of fruits,  
*Grape syrup*, squares of *colour'd ice*,  
'With *cherries* <sup>12</sup>serv'd in drifts of *snow*.'" (§§ 44, 45).

From the foregoing examples, it is unmistakably evident, I think, that Matthew Arnold made use of Burnes's history with care,—and, need it be added, most effectively,—in writing his poem. Were this fact at all doubtful, in the face of the various arguments already adduced, it can be proven conclusively by the following table, in which I have noted, in parallel columns, a large number of additional references:

ARNOLD.	BURNES.
1. <sup>13</sup> O most just <i>Vizier</i> , send away The <i>cloth-merchants</i> , and let them be, Them and their <i>dues</i> . . . THE VIZIER	<sup>14</sup> 248 : 8 ff. The <i>Vizier</i> . . . was transacting business, and . . . levying duties on the <i>merchants</i> . . . . The <i>webs of cloth</i> are produced, and every <i>fortieth</i> piece is taken in place of duties.
2. O merchants . . . To-morrow come, and ye shall pay	

<sup>11</sup> Burnes, Vol. II, pp. 237, 238.

<sup>12</sup> In Vol. II, p. 223, l. 8, Burnes speaks also of "sherbet of *cherries*, cooled by ice."

<sup>13</sup> Numbers refer to sections, as before.

<sup>14</sup> References are to Vol. II, by page and line.

## ARNOLD.

Each fortieth web of cloth to me,  
As the law is, and go your  
way.

3. Ferdusi . . .
4. The great window of the gate  
Looking into the *Registân* ;  
Where through the sellers' booths . . .
43. . . . the poor man,  
Who loiters by the high-heap'd booths  
Below there, in the *Registân*.
15. Went up on the roof to sleep.<sup>15</sup>
36. Upon the northern frontier,  
where  
The watchers of two  
armies stand  
Near one another, many a man,  
Seeking a prey unto his hand,
37. Hath snatched a little fair-  
hair'd slave:  
They snatch also, towards  
*Mervê*,  
The *Shiah* dogs, who pasture  
sheep,  
And up from thence to  
*Urgendjê*.
39. The *Kaffirs* also . . .  
There are the *lepers* . . .
42. They that bear rule, and are  
obey'd,  
Unto a rule more strong than  
theirs

## BURNES.

256 : 12. Ferdoosy  
234 : 3. The *Registan* of Bokhara  
is the name given to a spacious area  
in the city, near the palace, which  
opens upon it. . . . Idlers and news  
mongers assemble round the wares  
of Asia and Europe, which are here  
exposed for sale.

258 : 8. The common houses . . .  
are all flat-roofed.

253 : 16. The Mahomedans are  
not sensible of any offence in enslav-  
ing the Russians. . . . "If we pur-  
chase Russians," they say, "the Rus-  
sians buy the Kuzzaks on our frontier.

251 : 32. Russian outpost . . .  
242 : 11. There was one unfortu-  
nate girl, who . . . was now exposed  
for sale by her master. . . .

283 : 19. *Merve*.

241 : 25. The Uzbeks do not con-  
sider a *Shiah* to be a true believer. . . .

242 : 3. I heard one of them telling  
how he had been seized south of  
Meshid, while tending his flocks.

242 : 20. The bazars of Bokhara  
are chiefly supplied from *Orgunje*.

241 : 29. After the intended pur-  
chaser is satisfied of the slave being  
an infidel (*kaffir*), he examines his  
body, particularly noting if it be free  
from *leprosy*.

251 : 1. The life of the King of  
Bokhara is less enviable than that of  
most private men . . .<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup>This is common in nearly all Eastern countries, and was not necessarily suggested by Burnes. I mention it, however, as a possible parallel.

<sup>16</sup>Here follows a list of the various forms of "red tape" to which the King is subjected.

## ARNOLD.

Are in their turn obedient  
made . . .

49. And what I would, I cannot do.

45. In vain hath a king power to  
build

Houses, arcades, *enamell'd*  
*mosques* . . .

51. I have a fretted brick-work  
tomb . . .

Hard by a close of *apricots* . . .

## BURNES.

238 : 28. As one withdraws . . . he  
winds his way through arched  
bazars . . . and passes *mosques*, sur-  
mounted by handsome cupolas . . .

258 : 12. The greatest of the public  
buildings is a *mosque* . . . It is covered  
with *enamelled* tiles of an azure blue.

. . .

258 : 21. It is built of *bricks*, which  
have been distributed in most in-  
genious patterns.

239 : 32. They sent to the bazar for  
ice and *apricots*.

In concluding this brief sketch, it might be fitting to add a word or two concerning the literary significance of Matthew Arnold's poems at the present time. Not only are they rapidly growing in popularity, but they are exciting more appreciation than ever, on the part of students of classic literature. From the standpoint of criticism, therefore, the discovery of the source of *The Sick King in Bokhara* is a particularly fortunate one; for while it certainly fills a gap, so to speak, in the great volume of modern bibliography, it is of much greater importance in that it throws light on the poet's remarkable talent in selection and construction. It is to be hoped that the foregoing outline, although by no means exhaustive, may have succeeded in bringing before the notice of the literary public a few points of interest.

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March, 1905.

THE DIALECTS OF NORWAY ; A SURVEY OF  
THEIR CHARACTERISTICS.

TOWARD the end of the Viking age, consequently at about 1000 A. D., general Scandinavian had begun to differentiate into two dialect groups, East and West Scandinavian. This difference developed further in the following centuries and in the main in such a way that East Scandinavian became modernized more rapidly ; West Scandinavian in which, soon after, the rich Norse-Icelandic literature was written, remained more conservative. The most prominent characteristics of the language of this literature compared with the Old Danish and the Old Swedish literary languages are that West Scandinavian shows *i*-mutation in certain cases where it was absent in Swedish and Danish, especially in the present indicative of strong verbs (*skýtt*, *gref*, *læt*, of infin. *skjóta*, *grafa*, *láta*), and that the old diphthongs were preserved as *ei*, *au*, *øy*, while they were contracted to simple vowels in East Scandinavian except in Gothland.

The linguistic phenomena that characterize the present dialects in Norway as opposed to the old language, begin in part to appear quite early, but after the time of the great plague (ca. 1350) and presumably on account of this, they became very much more extensive geographically, and the dialects diverge more,—a growing generation stood under the influence of traditional forms, that in number and quality were fewer and simpler than they had been before. From the 16th and particularly from the 17th century, there is proof that certain dialects had attained practically their present character.

After the classical Old Norse period the spoken language in our colonies in Iceland and the islands north of Shetland soon

began, on account of the long distance, to develop in a direction other than that it took in the mother country. By reason of its position, neighboring as it does upon Sweden and Denmark, Norway has had, especially in the eastern and the southern parts, in certain respects a parallel development with these countries; furthermore mutual loans also took place. The spoken languages of the three countries are therefore in the main mutually intelligible, so that, very few make conscious effort to learn to speak the language of the neighboring country. The fact that Danish has been the book language of Norway has also aided towards facilitating conversation as well with persons from the neighboring countries as between Norwegians speaking very different dialects. Where the Norwegian language has been preserved in the old colonies, as in Iceland and the Faroes, there exist now spoken languages, which, as opposed to all the dialects in Norway, are quite unintelligible; their form shows with absolute certainty connection with a particular larger portion of Norwegian continental linguistic territory (the western coast districts), as far as the Faroese is concerned without doubt especially the southern part of that territory. But these correspondences with a particular part of Norway relate only to older features that distinguished East from West Norwegian.

Just as there is no doubt that those characteristics which in Middle Norwegian literary language differentiates Norwegian from East Scandinavian, were not brought to completion in Middle Norwegian dialects, so there is even now no sharp line between the Norwegian dialects and those of the neighboring countries. Especially is this the case with the Swedish dialects which lie nearest. In the east and the south, where the dialects of old were different from East Scandinavian, the gap between the cultured speech, the lower or "vulgar" speech of the cities, and the rural dialects is not so extensive as in the dialects of the West. Nevertheless, there are certain things which are so much more common in our dialects than in Swedish and the Danish that they make the impression of being

common Norwegian and peculiar to Norway, although, strictly considered, they are neither. Among these may be noted particularly: *i*-mutation in the present of the strong verbs (*skjýt* or *skjýte(r)*, *grêv* or *grêve(r)*, *læt* or *læte(r)*; retention of the diphthongs, and change of *hv* to *kv* (*kvass*, *kvît*, O. N. *hvass*, *hvitr*); as specifically national (Norwegian) in contradistinction to the literary language, may be added hereto the fact that short *p*, *t*, *k*, after a vowel is not, as in the literary language, represented by *b*, *d*, *g* (O. N. *gap*, *matr*, *bók*, also now *gâp*, *mât*, *bōk*); and furthermore that feminine gender nouns have a definite and an indefinite article which differs from the masculine. The colloquial language of the whole country, with the exception of the popular city dialect of Bergen, has a separate feminine gender; all the other specifically Norwegian characteristics given below have more important exceptions than this one. The present of the strong verbs have an unmutated vowel in the infinitive in the greater part of the lower portion of the province of Kristiania and a narrow strip westward as far as Kristiansand. The diphthongs are contracted to simple vowels in a rather long continuous stretch of territory in the southeastern part of the province of Trondhjem, and the north-eastern part of the province of Hamar, as also in the southern portion of Smålenene. As in Swedish and Danish, O. N. *hv* becomes *v* in most of the province of Kristiania. In a region forming a half-circle west and north *hv* becomes *gv* (*gvass*, *gvît*). Short *p*, *t*, *k*, after a vowel becomes *b*, *d*, *g*, in a strip along the coast approximately from Arendal to Karmö.

As general Norwegian forms that coincide with predominant or very generally distributed conditions in the neighboring languages or their dialects may be named: 1), Personal inflexion of verbs is rarely found under certain circumstances (*s* in the second person occurs in a few places; 2), O. N. *k* and *g* become (at any rate initially) palatal affricatives or spirants before *j* or before palatal vowels; 3), O. N. *þ* usually becomes *t*, but in pronominal words *d*; 4), O. N. *ð* is lost after *r* (*ðr* from O. N. *orð*), and with the exception of the dialects of Söndmore

and Nordfjord, usually also after a vowel (*tī*, *rā* from *tīd*, *rād*; 5), *n* is lost in unstressed final position (*austa* or *austā* from *austan*); 6), where long vowels are not diphthongized and no other changes take place, O. N. *á* usually becomes *ǎ*, a sound intermediate between *a* and German *o*, O. N. *ó* becomes *ω*, a sound intermediate between German *o* and *u*, and O. N. *ú*, in part also *u*, approaches *y* somewhat, and becomes a sound that may here be represented by *ü*; 7), In most places the syllable that receives the principal accent in a fully stressed word will quantitatively have either long vowel with short consonant or short vowel with long consonant (or it may be several consonants of which the first is long; 8), everywhere the character of the musical accent indicates whether a word with full accent had one or more syllables in the older period before the enclitically suffixed article united with its noun into one word. In the central parts of the country both simple and dissyllabic accent, as well as the musical accent of the whole sentence is in the main rising, but in the extreme southwest and farthest north they are principally falling, as the musical accents in most European languages.

The most important differences between the Norwegian dialects themselves are those that separate the western from the eastern. The dividing line between these begins approximately in Bratberg county (Amt) and extends to Romsdal county. Only in the vicinity of these extremes does it extend into inhabited country, resulting in a mixture of the two main groups; elsewhere the line follows the broad uninhabited mountain ridge.

As early as in the classical period of ON. literature there was a marked difference between certain language forms east and west. In eastern Norway the so-called vowel-harmony prevailed: the more pointed vowels *i* and *u* in the root syllable favored the use of *i* and *u* in the ending; but if the root syllable had a broad vowel, f. ex., *o*, the vowel *e* appeared for *i* and *o* for *u*. In western Norway and in Iceland such a distinction did not obtain. At present, however, the traces of vowel-harmony are less prominent, except in so far as it has coincided



with the so-called 'vowel-balance,' which, to be sure, appeared much later, but in parts, however, as early as 1300. In East Norwegian the vowels of the second syllable had come to be less sharply articulated when the first syllable was long than when it was short, f. ex., *grafa*, but *kastæ*; *faður*, but *móðor*; and so probably also in *bitit* but *litet*. When the first syllable was short there existed and in certain localities still exists, a kind of balance between the stress on the first and the second syllable, while a long first syllable was more heavily accented than the following one. As a result of this the East Norwegian dialects possess at present two kinds of endings in the infinitive of verbs (*grava*, but *kaste*), two different endings for the plural of weak feminines (in the South, *vikur*, weeks, but *vīser*, verses; in the North, *vuku*, but *vīsā*). Those words that had this vowel-balance have later in many places undergone extensive changes by assimilation of the root vowel to that of the ending, which itself was often modified, in particular the ending *a*, changed to *ā*, which then would give the direction to the change in the vowel of the first syllable. Older *grafa* is therefore in many places *grāvā*; *bora* (to bore) and *bera* (to bear), *lofa* (to praise) and *lifa* (to live), may in the same dialect be *bārā*, *lāvā*, or where the *a* of the ending is not changed, *bara*, *lava*. Likewise such words as *viku* (oblique case of *vika*, week) develop by assimilation to *vyku*, *vuku* or *voko* in many localities. The western limit of vowel-balance of final vowel<sup>1</sup> is a line from the Langesund fjord to the southern extremity of the bailiwick of Nordmøre. West of this line no difference appears between the modern representatives of ON. long or short vowels. At the extremities of the line, where as said there is inhabited country near the boundary, final *a* becomes *e* after both short and long vowel (*kaste*, *grave*); that is, here we have the so-called *e*-dialects. Farther west every final *a* is preserved (*a*-

<sup>1</sup> In words with vowel + consonant in the second syllable the effect of vowel-balance may be observed in Southwestern Norway far west of the limits here given, e. g., *gamall* > *gāmāl*, *gamāl*; *jøkull* > *jökül*.

dialects). The diocese of Tromsø lies for the most part within this territory.

Another East Norwegian peculiarity, the western limits of which lie not far from the western limits of the vowel-balance, is the so-called "thick *l*", (here written *l̥*), in reality a cacuminal *l* whose quality is between an *r*- and a *d*-sound; the tip of the tongue beats rapidly against "the archrim," so that from the very nature of its formation this sound can not be prolonged. A short *l* in O. N. standing after a labial or a velar consonant, following some other vowel than *i* and not followed by a *d* or a *t* belonging to the stem is in East Norwegian represented by this "thick *l*." In most of eastern Norway also O. N. *rð* is pronounced as "thick *l*," so that, f. ex., O. N. *borð* there would coincide with *ból* in the pronunciation *bœt*. Closely connected with these changes we find the combination of "thick *l*" and *r* with following *d*, *t*, *n* and *s* into homorganic combinations, all of which are for the most part cacuminal; in some dialects, however, those that come from *r* are supradental only, as in the cultured speech of eastern Norway. West of the "thick *l*" district O. N. short *l* usually appears as *l*, O. N. *rð* however, as *r* and both *l* and *r* are pronounced as independent sounds before *d*, *t* and *n*; *s* however, seems to partly assimilate a preceding *r*. In the diocese of Tromsø the southern part as far as north of Bodø coincide with East Norwegian dialects, the northern part in the main, however, with those of the west as regards cacuminal and supradental sounds.

It is only in the diocese of Tromsø that the combinations *rn* and *rs* can regularly appear in word stems. In all more southerly dialects they occur as a rule only by analogy in inflectional and derivative forms; while elsewhere they are assimilated, as *rs* everywhere to *ss* and *rn* to *nn* in most East Norwegian dialects and in the *e*-dialects, to *dn* in the *a*-dialects as also in the dialects of Hallingdal and Valdres. Likewise *sl* becomes *tl*; *ll* becomes *dl* (*kalla* > *kadla*), *nn* often to *dn* (*steidn*, 'stone'; *fidna*, < *finde*) in the *a*-dialects: *p* is kept as *p* in the combination *ps* and often also in *pt*, while in

the *e*-dialects and where vowel-balance prevails we find *sl* (in the North voiceless *l*: both also for original *tl*), *nn* and usually *ft*, *fs*. Somewhat farther to the west, also in some of the districts where vowel-balance prevails, *gn* and *vn* (O. N. *fn*) are kept (or *fn* becomes *bn*), f. ex. *regn*, *navn*, in genuine East Norwegian *reyn*, *namn*; the consonants *sj* (and *skj* which usually coincides with *sj*) are pronounced without complete assimilation; in pure East Norwegian they have united entirely to *š*.

In these respects Icelandic and Faroese agree with the dialects of western Norway as against those of eastern Norway. Because of the fact that Icelandic easily became regarded as identical with Old Norse and because the West Norwegian as a whole, as later will be seen, in reality stands closer to the old language, it has come to be a wide-spread belief that East Norwegian has in all these respects undergone changes since Middle Norwegian times. In reality it is at present impossible to say anything whatever with regard to this. It is a known fact that in the East *sl* appears for both *sl* and *tl*, in the West *tl* for both; in the same way the presence or absence of cacuminal sounds to-day may be the results of different development of an older, perhaps more complicated rule existing in both, according to which both perhaps had cacuminals.

In the phonology there are not many prominent differences. The dialects of the West and in part those of the North have the reflexive ending *st* in verbs, while in the East the ending is *s*. In place of the imperfect *aði*, now *a*, a considerable number but not all of these verbs now take on the ending *de* or *te* (*svarte*, *lofte*, as against *svara*, *lova*, of the dialects on the West), while on the other hand a large part of eastern Norway have introduced into many words of the *a*-inflection the ending of the other inflectional class in the present (*kaste(r)*, *kalle(r)* as against West Norwegian *Kasta(r)*, *kadla(r)*). It is based absolutely on the original phonological conditions that the def. form of weak feminines, and def. dative plural differ in all genders both east and west; the form *visau* regularly becomes *viså* or *viso* in western Norway, but in eastern Norway it

becomes *visa*. The final *m* in weakly stressed syllables is by phonological law lost in the West but not in the East, hence the difference between *hesto* in western Norway, and *hestom* in the East (from *hestunum*). As far as the inflexions are concerned West Norwegian agrees with the literary language in using the pronoun *det* or *dat* (pron. *de* or *da*), it, and the adverb *der* or *dar*, 'there,' without stress, either in the beginning of a sentence as an apparent subject of impersonal verbs, or where one desires to place the predicate before the real subject; the adverb *her* is also used in this way. In East Norwegian, however, *de* exclusively is used, as *es* in German, while *her* and *der* in East Norwegian always receive stress when they come first in the sentence, hence W. N. *dar va mange sø*; E. N. *de var mange søm*. Only in W. N., not in E. N., is the conjunction *da*, in the form *då*, used with causal meaning. In place of the particle *at*, both in Denmark and Norway pronounced *å*, before the infinitive, W. N. as English and German employs for this purpose one of the living prepositions of the language, namely *te* the unstressed form of *til*. In the northern as well as in the western part of the country it is common to express the (lost) genitive of the noun by the help of the reflexive possessive pronoun *sin*; f. ex. *presten si kyr*, the minister's cow. This is held to be a loan from the German, especially Low German, dating back to the time when the Hanseatic league controlled the trade with Bergen in the latter part of the Middle Ages.

In a country that extends so far north and south as Norway, there are naturally also dialectal differences between the northern and the southern parts of the country. The most important of these is the palatal pronunciation of long dentals, *nn*, *ll*, *dd*, more rarely *tt*; as also combinations such as *rn*, *nd*, *ld*, which have coincided with these in many places. This pronunciation characterizes most of the *e*-dialects and dialect groups of the highlands and everywhere north of these, but is not as general in some localities as others. The negative prefix which in Danish is *u-*, in Swedish *o-*, has the first form *u-* in the South and the latter in the North. Farther north as in the two pro-

vinces of Trondhjem and in Nordmøre, the vowel endings of words with a long stem vowel is lost so that dissyllabic words come to have but one syllable. This extends also north into Nordland, but is there not everywhere limited to words with a long first syllable.

As is well known, the most mountainous part of Norway is the western. Those districts of the West that do not touch the highways on the coast but lie along the long fjords and in the valleys extending up from these, as also the nearest districts on the east of the mountains, valleys which extend many Norwegian miles in width cut out from between the mountains as it were, these are the sections of the country where nature has isolated the population most. In such districts the population is more rarely divided into a narrow line along the valleys; here and there these lines of population become broader, where a relatively large number live in rather compact settlements. On both sides of the mountain ridge here the population has been sufficiently isolated from others and sufficiently closely united together in a group to have been able to maintain distinct customs and fashions also in linguistic respects. It is, therefore, here that rare survivals in the language appear in the largest number, and it is here also that one finds most of new formations. Out farther in the direction of the open sea and especially farther inland in the more easily accessible regions of the East, the settlements border upon one another not only along the valley but also to some extent in a lateral direction from the valley. Here the language becomes gradually more levelled, more simplified; it has less of the things that are difficult to learn. Here the separate parts of a paradigm have affected the paradigm as a whole more than in the remote districts, so that a sound law may seem to have operated to a much wider extent than it would have done without the help of analogy. Among such peculiarities are: (1), the failure of *k* and *g* to become palatalized finally, as everywhere initially in those districts that lie along the coast east from Kristiansand, in the dialect groups of the "Vik"-district, of the Highlands

and smaller parts of that of Trondhjem. Such variations in the inflexions as *sekk*; plural, *sekkjer*, *dag*, definite from *dajen*, are therefore not found here. As regards O. N. *rg* and *lg*, however, it is here also the palatal form of *g* that predominates, so that O. N. *berg*, *helg* becomes *bärj* and *hätj* in the dialects of the East. (2), in the combinations *nd*, *ld*, *mb*, *ng* (and in the greatest extent the last) the last consonant has become assimilated to the first in various localities in the country, but especially and more uniformly so along the whole coast of Kristiansand diocese, in the dialects of the "Vik"-district and the Highlands, and with minor exceptions in most of the dialects of Trondhjem and Tromsø dioceses. This assimilation of *nd* to *n*, etc., occurs originally only in final position, and from this position as in the case of *k* and *g* it has come into forms with a following vowel: the indefinite form *lann* influenced the definite which before was pronounced *lande*, now *lanne*.

Here belong also the simplification of the O. N. inflexions due to this levelling tendency. The genitive of nouns has everywhere practically gone out of use as an independent word; it is ordinarily paraphrased by prepositions. The definite form of the dative, however, is in quite common use, here and there it is met with in Sättersdalen, more generally in Hallingdal and Voss; thence and halfway into Helgeland most districts would seem to have preserved the dative in full use, and not least the eastern portions of the country. Separate plural forms of verbs in the present and preterite are only used in parts of the mountain and the lowland districts on both sides of the mountain ranges. In these places a plural *håyre* or *håyra* and *bïto* or *bete* correspond respectively to the singular *håyrer* (hears) and *bait* (bit); so also *fïngo* or *fïnge* plural to *fekk*.

In the same nature is the change where an inflexion in a class has supplanted others in cases where phonological changes alone could not have brought it about. So in part at least when the four plurals of masculines and feminines in O. N., *ar*, *ir*, *ur* and *r* + *i*-mutation, have at present been reduced to two in most places, *ar* and *er*, or only one *er*. These forms then may

also be used with neuters which originally had no plural ending. Similarly it is in part a phonological development, in part mixture of the strong and the weak inflexion in cases where the feminine form of the article in most parts of the country has become *a* both for strong nouns, as *greina*, and weak nouns, as *vīsa* from O. N. *greinin*, but *vīsan*.

In certain places phonological change alone seems to have led to this similarity; in other places, however, not. If we disregard the fact that the definite forms of weak feminines with vowel-balance in many localities have another form of the article (of such words as *vikū*, week, def. sometimes *vikua*, elsewhere *vīko* or unchanged *vīku*), then there are in all about one million, or two-thirds of the rural population—and the city population here follow the same tendencies largely—that have in this case levelled all feminine nouns under one declension. This feature also characterizes particularly the eastern portions of the country, the coast districts of the province of Kristiansand, and in the dialects of the southern lowlands, the highland districts, Trondhjem, and in most parts of Tromsø. The remainder, about half a million, have in part, as in the southern portion of the *a*-dialects, generalized *a* or *ω* as the eastern dialects have with *a*, in part they employ one article (*ā*, *ω* or *a*) for weak and another (*ā*, *æ*, *e* or *i*) for the strong. The latter is more rare in that it appears only in Sogn and portions of Telemarken, or in the speech of about 40,000 people.

The various dialect groups are to a certain extent characterized by what has been said above. In the following they will be described separately, especially with reference to inflexional forms.

1. The dialects of the provinces of Smålenene, Akerhus, the greater part of Buskerud, Jarlsberg and Larvik, and the southern portion of Bratsberg differentiate between words which have short stem syllable and those which have a long syllable (vowel-balance). Such infinitives as *kaste*, therefore, appear along with others as *grava*. Weak masculines as *bakke* along with *hēta* (heat, O. N. *hiti*, gen. *hita*); weak feminines as

*vīse*, but others as *vīku* or *vȳku* ('week' O. N. *vika*, gen. *viku*); in most of those dialects which are characterized by vowel-balance it is usual that the present forms of weak substantives have not arisen from the O. N. nominatives but from the other cases, as masculines in *-a* and feminines in *-u* (*o*) in the ending. The feminine form of the article is *a*. The plural ending is *ar* and *er* in the southern part of the country toward Kristiania, the definite form is *ane* and *ene*, farther north the ending is *er*, definite *a* for masculines (*hæsta*), *ene* for feminines (*vīsene*). Only in the South do weak verbs with long stem syllables have *ar* (*ær*) in the present, *a* in the preterite (*kastær*, pret. *kasta*); in the North *kaster*, pret. some places *kaste*. All verbs that are fairly regular have preserved *r* in the present; the present of strong verbs do not have mutation (*graver*). In the past pret. of strong verbs the vowel *o* prevails in the short syllable both here and in the following group. In these same participles, the vowel *i* has become more and more common in the ending in these dialect groups as also in the dialects of the interior of the province of Trondhjem. The short vowels of O. N. are often much changed in these eastern dialects, particularly before *r* and the "thick *l*," and their appearance differs much as compared with the dialects on the west; near the so-called Vik group stand.

2. The Highland dialects in the diocese of *Hamar* (Valders and in many respects Gudbrandsdalen, particularly its northern extremity). Here begins the palatal pronunciation of *m*, *ll* with the combinations assimilated to them, and *dd* and here and there also *tt*. In the forms with vowel-balance the influence of the vowel of the second syllable on the vowel of the first syllable is somewhat more pronounced than in the preceding group, and this is still more the case north toward Gudbrandsdalen and especially through Österdalen, where the vowels of both syllables become identical. The present ending *er* is lost in the strong verbs, but these verbs show *i*-mutation; e. g. *grav* (*graver*). In the northern part of the group the *r* of the present is lacking also in other verbs. The plural ending



of masculine and feminine nouns is *er* ; the definite plural is *a* for masculines, *en* for feminines (consequently the reverse of the singular ending). Most of these dialects have a distinct dative, with the ending *a* for masculines, *en* for feminines (also here the reverse of the nominative forms and always with the same musical accent as this), for the neuters in part *i*, in part *a*, and always with dissyllabic musical accent. In the dative plural of all genders the ending is *om* ; in Österdalen in one single locality *em*, which there also (with monosyllabic accent) is used in the dative masculine singular.

3. The dialects on the east side of the mountains from Telemarken to Valdres may conveniently be called the mountain district dialects ; in the southwest Sättersdalen and in the north-west Gudbrandsdalen have many points in common with these dialects. This is the part of Norway where the transition to the modern Scandinavian vowel system is least noticeable, also as regards the old long vowels, as O. N. *ó* and *ú* are in some parts pronounced as in German *fohn* and *gut* ; in other parts stands between this and the usual Norwegian pronunciation. The mountain dialects are not characterized very prominently by vowel-balance, since the vowel-assimilation which generally goes with it has not everywhere developed ; and furthermore, nouns whose first syllable is short here often have a form that is founded on the O. N. nominative.

In northeastern Telemarken and northern Gudbrandsdalen vowel-balance remains at a stage which it has long since passed elsewhere. In northern Gudbrandsdalen the law is still preserved and the first syllable is short (with short vowel plus short consonant). In Tinn in eastern Telemarken this has developed so far away from general Norwegian conditions that the words affected by the law have here (when pronounced alone, not used in a sentence) the chief stress on the second syllable. This has here, and many other places especially in the districts about Trondhjem, brought about the early lengthening of *a* end change to *a*, causing assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable. In Tinn O. N. *biti* has become *biti*, its plural

*bitar* has become *bytå* ; O. N. *lifa* has become *lyvå*, present *livi* (O. N. *lifr*). The *r* of the inflexional ending is generally lost except in parts of Telemarken and Numedal. Strong and weak inflexions are everywhere distinguished, also in the dative, where this case is still used, as in Hallingdal and Valdres. In the dative plural the final *m* is lost as in the dialects of the west coast districts. The weak form of the feminine article is everywhere *a*, the strong mostly *e* ; the definite plural endings are *en*, *in* and *un*.

4. The dialects of the inner Trondhjem region or the fjord district dialects have accentuated most the difference between words with long and those with short stem syllables ; the final vowel after a long stem is generally lost but after a short stem has in most places controlled the vowel of the first syllable to such an extent that as far as the form of the vowel at present is concerned it is quite independent of the quality the vowel has in O. N. An *a* in the ending of short stems usually becomes *å*, cf. above. Infinitives as *kast* are therefore usual, but on the other hand *gravå*, weak masculines as *bakke* (rarely *bakk*), but *håttå* ; weak feminines as *vīs*, but *vuku*. Words with short stem syllables have nearly always short vowel in the first syllable but often with lengthened consonant. The inflexional ending *r* ordinarily disappears ; substantives of the masculine and the feminine gender have four or five different kinds of plural endings e. g. *Bøk* (books), *kvisti* (twigs), *hæsta* (horses), *vīså*, *vuku*, to which is added *nn* in the definite form, frequently with palatal quality. All these dialects have dative generally about as in the highland dialects ; some have *a* in dative of strong masc. *am* or *åm* in the dative of weak masc.

5. The coast dialects of the district of Trondhjem stand with reference to the law of vowel-balance on the same stage as the southern dialects of the mountain districts, but do not as these bear any specially archaic character. They are simpler in form than those of the interior and lack the dative case forms.

6. The northern *e*-dialects from the county of Romsdal to outer Sogn usually have as final vowels in the second syllable not any other vowels than *e* and *i*. In Soudmøre and Nordfjord

are the only localities in Norway where O. N. *ǫ* is as a rule preserved, and generally as *d*. These dialects show many interesting features, both as regard old characteristics and new. The difference between the weak form of the article of the feminine is preserved in the county of Romsdal (strong *a*, weak *ǎ*), but not in the Fjord districts (all having *a*, as in eastern Norway). The definite plural has the dissyllabic ending (*bøkinne*). The dative is preserved, lacking however the final *m*.

7. The real west coast dialects, the so-called "Vestland" dialects, extend from inner Sogn nearly to Lindesnes. As we have said before, they are characterized by peculiar consonantal combinations and in many respects stand very close to Old Norwegian as well as Faroese and Icelandic. Especially is this the case with the interior settlements, Hardanger, Voss and Sogn, which however, also show peculiar recent developments, as, for instance, in the tendency to pronounce the long vowels more or less as diphthongs. Thus *á* becomes *au*; *ó* usually *ou*; and *í* and *y* also ordinarily receive an initial element of *e* and *o* respectively. In Sogn the strong feminine form of the article is *i*; the weak *aw*; in Hardanger and Voss the strong form is *a*; the weak *ou*. Dative is mostly found in Voss. Not until we reach Hardanger do we find *r* regularly in inflexional endings. The definite plural has dissyllabic ending, *e. g.*, *adne* or *anne*, *edna* or *enna*.

8. The southern *e*-group extending about from Lindesnes to the Langesund river, contains dialects that vary very much; those along the coast showing an extensive levelling as any in the "Vik"-district or in the Highlands; while the longest valley, Sättersdalen, in many respects stands closer to those of the mountain districts, and is among these dialects the most archaic. In one respect it belongs to the mountain group; namely, in that a small part of it is governed by the law of vowel-balance, and the whole district as well as several settlements in the interior and to the west observe that principle (when the second syllable ends in a consonant, *e. g.*, *håmår*, western *hamår*). Sättersdalen shows many extensive sound changes; especially to be noted is its tendency to diphthonga-

tion, which is so pronounced as to remind one of that of Faroese; certain consonantal changes are found both here and in the neighboring settlements east and west, *e. g.*, the disappearance of *l* before labial and velar consonants (*e. g.*, *kåve*, calf); the change of *u* to *dd* (*e. g.*, *fadde*, fall). North Gudbrandsdalen has preserved but one single form out of the O. N. quantitative system; short vowel + short consonant, both in monosyllabic and dissyllabic words. Sättersdalen and the neighboring dialects to the west are the only ones that have preserved a varying ending: long vowel + long consonant, *e. g.*, in O. N. *léttr*, pronounced *létte*. Along the coast in a part of this group and somewhat farther westward *r* is a back-tongue *r*, something that elsewhere only appears in Inner Hardanger.

9. The dialects of Tromsø province can, as we have said above, be classed with neither those dialects that observe the principle of balance nor those that do not, but occupy an independent position. The rule is that final *a* is weakened or lost in infinitives, but is preserved as *a* in weak feminines, but neither is carried out completely in many of the separate dialects. In the southern part of Nordland county there is a greater tendency to preserve *a* in words that formerly had vowel-balance than in those that do not. In the northern part of this county the tendency to do away with all endings is noticeable. The rule that *a* is preserved in weak feminines, but not in infinitives is also to be met with elsewhere in Norway: it operates in several localities in the border settlements between *e*- and *a*-dialects. In two different localities in Nordland there is (as in the west coast dialects) a distinction made between strong and weak feminines, but usually *a* is the only article found with feminines. One peculiarity of the inflexions in which this locality coincides with a small section of Southern Norway, Lister and Mandal, is that the def. plural of neuters does not as usual have the same form as feminines in the singular, but *an*: both of these localities have the forms *husan*. In these localities *r* appears as an ending in certain inflexions.

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## A TEXTUAL NOTE TO ALEXANDER SCOTT.

IN the first stanza of Alexander Scott's poem 'Ane new yeir gift to the quene Mary,' occurs the expression *oure beill of Albion to beir*. The phrase *beir the beill* has given editors much trouble and it does not seem to me that Mr. Donald in his recent edition of Scott's poems for The Early English Text Society (New Series, Vol. LXXXV), is quite correct in his rendering. Mr. Donald makes no attempt to explain the origin of the expression. The line in question is quoted in Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, but no definition is offered. The meaning there suggested *beill* = 'care, sorrow,' is, of course, impossible in the context. Mr. Donald conjectures 'to be the beill of our Albion,' i. e., to take the lead in Scotland. In the notes he refers to a similar expression in Rolland's *Seven Sages: luik than quha beiris the bell*. A reference to Nare's *Glossary of Words, Phrases, Names and Allusions to Customs* (1822) will, I think, give us the real meaning. The expression is there quoted under 'bell' and defined 'to win the prize at a race, where a bell was the usual prize.' In explanation is further added: Among the Romans it (a horse race) was an olympic exercise, and the prize was a garland but now 'they bear the bell away' and the following quotation is offered in illustration:

Here lyes the man whose horse did gaine  
The bell, in race on Salisbury plain.

*Camd. Remains*, p. 348.

The phrase 'to lose the bell' meaning to be worsted is also cited. The line in question would therefore mean, to win the prize of Albion, become supreme in Albion.

In stanza eighteen, line 1: *Dewtie and dettes ar drevin by dowbilness* is rendered in the margin, 'debts are increased by cunning,' and *drevin* is glossed 'urged strongly.' Is not the meaning simply, 'duties are violated by such hypocrisy?'

GEORGE T. FLOM.

ABT VOGLER 69 ff. : ADDITIONAL CITATIONS.

BROWNING'S doctrine of evil enunciated in the passage cited above has received much elucidation from Professor Cook's parallelisms.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly he has traced the doctrine to its true home in Stoicism. A few other citations which I can adduce will tend to confirm this view, and besides will be interesting in themselves. First, St. Augustine yields some very striking resemblances of thought and expression, as one or two quotations will show. In *De Civ. Dei* XI. 23: 'Quoniam sicut pictura cum colore nigro, loco suo posita, ita universitas rerum, si quis possit intueri, etiam cum peccatoribus pulchra est, quamvis per se ipsos consideratos sua deformitas turpet.' As this illustration is drawn from painting, so he derives another from poetry. The *ordo saeculorum* is to him 'a most beautiful poem, adorned with antitheses.'<sup>2</sup> To him as to Browning, 'the evil is naught': 'Ergo si omni bono privabuntur, omnino nulla erunt: ergo quamdiu sunt, bona sunt: ergo quaecumque sunt, bona sunt. Malumque illud quod querebam unde esset, non est substantia.'<sup>3</sup> Again: 'Quia non noveram malum non esse nisi privationem boni, usque ad quod omnino non est.'<sup>4</sup> 'All partial evil' is 'universal good': 'ita ut venena ipsa quae per inconvenientiam perniciose sunt, convenienter adhibita in salubria medicamenta vertantur.'<sup>5</sup>

Of course 'the greatest of the Latin fathers' was acquainted with the Stoic philosophy. St. Augustine takes us back also to

<sup>1</sup> See the *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, Oct., 1905.

<sup>2</sup> *De Civ. Dei* XI. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Conf.* VII. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Conf.* III. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *De Civ. Dei* XI. 22.

Origen, the boldest and most fertile of the Greek fathers. In his philosophy evil is only evil will, and it is but incidental to the good, and temporary.<sup>1</sup> And here we meet with a coincidence that may possibly surprise Professor Cook. He asserts that the thought in *Abt Vogler* may be fairly characterized as Leibnitzian. Now, Professor Harnack (*Dogmengeschichte* Bd. I. S. 613, Anm. 2) has remarked: 'Hier und auch in anderen partien erinnert die theodice des Origenes an die des Leibnitz . . . ; die beiden grossen denker habben überhaupt viel gemeines.' Origen's view that evil will cease to be, that there will be a universal restoration (*ἀποκατάστασις*) including even the devil and the fallen angels, certainly implies the Browningesque doctrine that 'the evil is null.' Origen was in contact with Neo-platonism and Stoicism, and was free enough and Greek enough to hellenize the Christian dogmas.

Coming now to later times, the most interesting thinker possibly in the Middle Ages was Scotus Erigena. At the time he flourished (middle of ninth century), he was almost the only Greek scholar in western Europe outside of Ireland whence he came. He was a student of the Greek fathers as well as of the Latin, and his philosophy may be characterized as hellenic. It certainly is pantheistic. Therefore his doctrine of evil is, in his time, strikingly unique. It is sufficiently indicated by a single sentence (*De Div. Praed.* II.): 'Deus malum nescit, nam si malum sciret, necessarium in natura rerum malum esset.'

Wycliffe, finally, goes back to St. Augustine when he says, speaking of sinners and evil, 'et totum hoc facit ad pulchritudinem universi.'

Philo Judaeus, it may be remarked, is not a little interesting in this connection.

ROBERT T. KERLIN.

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Celsus* IV. 66 and VI. 53-55.

## REVIEWS.

*Altenglisches Elementarbuch* von Karl D. Bülbring. Heidelberg: Winter, 1902. I Teil. Lautlehre, pp. xviii, 260.

To write a review at all adequate to the learning packed away in this little volume would require much more space and time than I have at my disposal. Enough, if I can indicate the general features of the work, adding a few notes of misgiving.

As Volume iv of the series planned by Streitberg, Bülbring's work is an attempt to keep Old English in close touch with the general principles and formulas of Germanic philology laid down in Streitberg's *Urgermanische Grammatik*. At every turning point in the discussion of our vowels and consonants we feel that we are marching parallel with kindred languages. This is only as it should be; we feel somewhat less isolated than under the guidance of Sievers. On the other hand, there are some grounds for hesitation.

In the first place, a volume of 230 pages (apart from Preface and Index), devoted solely to vowels and consonants, can scarcely be called 'elementary.' The beginner in O. E. will be in danger of losing himself in this mass of details. Sievers gives to this portion of the subject only 120 pages, and his page, although it looks larger, in reality contains very little more matter.

At page viii Bülbring declares it to be his chief object (*Hauptaufgabe*) to give eine *gleichmässige Darstellung der lautlichen Entwicklung aller altenglischen Dialecte*. In other words, West Saxon, which supplies nine-tenths of the contents of Sievers's grammar, is here to come in for only its share by the side of Northumbrian, Mercian, Kentish. Yet Bülbring has scarcely accomplished this; in fact, I doubt whether any one is likely to accomplish it. As I turn over these pages it seems to me that although Northumbrian, Mercian, Kentish are undeniably treated with far more fullness than in any previous grammar, although they appear in nearly every section instead of being relegated to a few sections by them-



selves (cp. Sievers, §§ 150–167), nevertheless West Saxon still dominates the whole. West Saxon still figures as the type, from which type Northumbrian and Mercian have the air of being departures.

The criticism is not mere theoretical captiousness ; in the face of such scholarly patience mere captiousness would be unpardonable. There are weighty practical considerations not to be overlooked. Our modern English, the literary idiom from the days of the great Elizabethans to the days of the scarcely less great Victorians, not to speak of Chaucer, our English, we are assured, goes back to the Midland dialect, and this in turn goes back to Old Mercian. For the Anglo-American, then, this Mercian ought to be the type and West Saxon the departure. That Mercian is not the type in Bülbring's book is easily explained ; *we have not the material out of which to construct a Mercian grammar in due form*. The remains, such as we find them in the Vespasian Psalter and a few charters for Old Mercian, the Rushworth Matthew, Chad, and the Royal MS. Glosses for Late Mercian,<sup>1</sup> are insignificant by the side of the writings of Aelfred and Aelfric. Of Old Northumbrian our ignorance is even deplorable. The Cædmon hymn will stand, Beda's death song may at least be questioned. The Ruthwell Cross inscription is more than questionable ; see Cook, *Publ. M. L. A.*, xvii, 367–390.

It is evident, then, that for want of material no grammatical treatment of Old West Saxon, Old Northumbrian, Old Mercian can be 'gleichmässig' ; West Saxon will inevitably overshadow the other two.

One may also grumble at Bülbring's frequent use of the term 'patois' (§§ 23, 27 and elsewhere) to designate locutions which differ from standard literary West Saxon. Since Bülbring does not cite examples, one is left to one's recollection of the texts and to conjecture. Certainly nearly all the texts present very queer specimens of phrasing. Still, it seems to me that the term patois introduces into the question an idea which does not belong there. Real patois, for example, the French peasant's *j'avons*, marks the unconscious clod-hopper ; whereas the clumsy phrasings which recur to me in thinking of the *Blickling Homilies* and the like suggest the half-

<sup>1</sup> The Mercian of Beda's *History* has undergone the West Saxon polish.

educated man struggling consciously with something beyond his resources.

A further field for questioning is Bülbring's doctrine of vowel-lengthening before consonant groups. Here our author is not only abreast with Kluge and Morsbach but considerably beyond them. This question of vowel-lengthening bristles with difficulties as we approach it from the Mn. E. side, difficulties which can scarcely be brushed aside with an assumption that lengthened vowels have been re-shortened. Such an assumption savors too much of Kluge's *Rückumlaut*. Certainly I am unable to convince myself that vowel-lengthening was as early as the beginning of the ninth century, or that it was universal. To be safe, we ought to regard lengthening before consonants, like palatalization of the *g*, as a *tendency* rather than as a rule. It works here and there, but not everywhere; its operation can not be gauged accurately by the century, can not even be fixed rigorously to any one dialect. That particular Mercian-Midland dialect from which has come standard Mn. E., although lavish with palatalization, has certainly been chary of lengthening before consonant groups.

What has moved Bülbring, § 77, to say that verb compounds in *mis-* are accented on the prefix I fail to guess. Certainly nothing in Mn. E.; even such nouns as *mistake*, *misfortune* are not thus accented. Only in very long forms like *misunderstand*, *misconception*, do we detect a slight secondary stress on the *mis-*. The only O.E. verbs in *mis-* recorded in Grein are (1) *miscyrran* Metra ii. 8: *oft ic nu miscyrre cūðe spræce*; the first hemistich is an A-movement, *oft ic nu miscyrre*. (2) *misþeōn*, *Rine Song* 58: *steapum eatole misþāh ond eal stund genāg*; assuredly no one would scan *misþāh*. Bülbring's view is of no great consequence in itself; it merely illustrates anew the difficulty that even the trained German ear has in catching the elusive English accent.

Those who wish to compare favorably Bülbring's method with that of Sievers may note the difference of treatment of *a-æ* in § 127 and in Sievers, § 240; or they may note the much more systematic discussion of metathesis, §§ 518-524 (Sievers's remarks are scattered); or the doubling and reduction of consonants, §§ 536-554 (Sievers, §§ 225-231). Also the sections 506-511 on *sc-* are more in touch with M. E. and Mn. E. than Sievers, §§ 206. 2, §§ 75, 76; yet *fixas*, *fixum*, *āscian* still await their final explanation. By the way,

both Sievers, § 206. 3b, and after him Bülbring, § 509, Anm. 2c, give *sticceo* 'Stücke'; yet the only forms I have found recorded are *stice*, 'stitch,' and *sticca*, 'stick, spoon.' Puzzling is the omission of Skeat's edition of Aelfric's *Saints* from § 27.

The more closely one examines Bülbring's work, the deeper grows one's appreciation of its sterling wealth of research. It is not a book for beginners, and in that sense is not 'elementary'; it is rather for the very advanced. And some of the advanced will doubt one and another of the author's generalizations. Still, it is an immense gain to have these generalizations put boldly and clearly. The further discussion of them can lead only to good.

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*The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose.* By Hubert Gibson Shearin, Ph. D. (*Yale Studies in English*, edited by Albert S. Cook, xviii.) New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1903. Pp. vi, 149, and chart.

Dr. Shearin's monograph with the above title is a worthy companion to the best work hitherto done in the field of Old English Syntax.

The author's sight is keen, his grasp is comprehensive; and his youthful eagerness in the pursuit of new facts and novel interpretations is balanced by a modesty in announcing his conclusions which bespeaks unusual maturity and poise. Excellent examples of this modesty are to be found in his continual allowance for 'the personal equation,' and in statements like that about *magan* (p. 106): 'We believe that in the great majority of final clauses where it occurs, it is not to be categorically defined. We have tried to indicate the two extremes that enclose its long line of values. . . . Between those extremes . . . are to be arranged the majority of *magan*-clauses, which arranging each mind must do for itself.' This passage well illustrates the temper of the whole book, and its freedom from dogmatism.

Dr. Shearin has not only read the entire body of Old English literature, but has laid under contribution a great number of collateral

studies by other scholars, the list of which, in Appendix VI, is fairly colossal. His collections are large—the clauses alone number some 3,000—but he has succeeded in being clear and conclusive without burdening his pages with superfluous examples. The work as a whole is properly based on the prose; but an occasional confirmation or a unique case is now and then added from the poetry. Of ordinary construction, he prints only type-cases, complete reference-lists being relegated to an appendix; but what is for any reason really significant is sure of ample treatment. He has taken special care to give the Latin originals, whenever they will prove instructive. One wishes he had been equally careful to make his statistics clear at all points; the summation is not consistently carried out, and even in the imposing tables at the end of the volume, the printing of which is quite a triumph, the reader is left to do his own adding. Either Callaway or Wülfing could teach Dr. Shearin something about making his figures available.

The author has extended his studies widely, in order to gain light upon his work from cognate literatures; though these comparative studies may not have gone very deep, yet his material from other fields than that of Old English has been well assimilated, and often furnishes valuable evidence for his conclusions. Thus (p. 119), his muster of six different versions of Luke 8, 12 is sufficient to practically establish the presence of a purpose idea in the Old English, in spite of its indicative form, *gewurðað*. He is no less successful in connecting his phenomena with those of modern English, as where (pp. 85 ff.), after citing eleven cases of *ðæt* used as an 'apparent relative pronoun' to introduce a clause of purpose, he suggests that to the influence of the conjunction *ðæt*, in confusion with the neuter pronoun, may be ultimately traceable the modern use of *that* as a relative for all genders and numbers.

The author separates his phenomena into two main classes, purpose clauses and purpose phrases. When we look more carefully, it appears that the second of these categories is a catch-all, and includes participles and even simple infinitives (as *gangan*, in *com gangan*), as well as phrases, properly so called: the word 'phrase,' then, means simply 'not-clause.'

The 'phrases'—thus interpreted—are treated first, as being the simpler, and as furnishing the basis for many forms (those introduced by *to ðæm ðæt* and similar formulæ) of the purpose clause.

The author well points out, however (p. 2), the close interrelation which exists among all the forms of purpose-expression; if the phrases were sometimes expanded into clauses, they are themselves often the 'abbreviated logical equivalents' of such clauses.

Beginning with the simple infinitive, which appears for the most part in early texts, and regularly depends on a verb of motion or of giving, Shearin proceeds to the prepositional infinitive, which though very common in Old English, still occurs only about one-sixth as often as the purpose clause to which it is 'logically equivalent'; it can take the place of the clause only 'when the subject of this clause is coincident in meaning with some element within the main clause.' This subject becomes the 'logical subject' of the infinitive, and may be related to the main clause in any one of six ways, which Shearin distinguishes with much acumen. The infinitive with *to* from small beginnings, has been gradually crowding the final clause to the wall, till it is now established *par excellence* as the main idiom of purpose in modern English.

After treating briefly and with wise caution of the rare present participle expressing purpose—which is 'an extension of the common appositive participle of circumstance' (it may be of interest to say in passing that Dr. Callaway, in his recent monograph on 'The Appositive Participle' cites explicitly only one of Shearin's eleven examples (John 6, 6) as final, though his own list contains forty cases of this use; 'who shall decide . . . ?'),—Shearin proceeds to deal with the prepositional phrases of finality, in the illustration of which he quotes rather more fully than is elsewhere his custom; one wonders why he makes separate categories of verbals in *-ing* and those in *-ung*; he seems to forget that it is final expressions, and not verbal nouns, that he is examining.

Part II deals with the purpose clause. In general, it is true that this construction is most common after verbs of 'outward, objective activity,' and occurs much more rarely after a main clause 'of subjective intent, expressing a mental attitude or denoting mere predication.' Yet Dr. Shearin wisely insists that every case must be judged by its context, and that no verb is incapable of being followed by a clause of purpose. He treats first the connectives of the clause—*ðæt* and *ðætte*, (the latter a little more emphatic, and likely to be preferred when a long or involved clause is to be introduced), and the prepositional formulæ, which he discusses in great

detail, and with instructive analysis. After treating the relative clause, he proceeds to describe the means by which the purpose clause is made negative; here he points out the difference between *ðy læs ðe* and *ne*, as lying in the fact that the former denotes the purpose 'not as a negative action or state, but as something feared or not desired; the clause is non-optative merely,' and hence—in 327 out of 333 cases—takes the simple optative mode only.

This brings us to the chapter on mode, in which Shearin shows much skill in the discussion of the modal auxiliaries, which are about one-fourth as numerous in final clauses as is the simple optative. He makes it clear why *magan* (mod. *may*) has come to be almost the exclusive auxiliary in modern English final clauses, and brings out much of interest in his study of *motan*, which he shows never to have lacked its original idea of permission. He goes on to the use of the indicative in clauses of purpose, and proves beyond a doubt that it was so employed. He finds 48 examples, all of which are given in full, and discussed with sound intelligence. Altogether, the section on mode is one of the most readable and suggestive in the entire book.

The final chapter treats of the tense of the purpose clause, and is devoted mostly to violations of sequence; the author's conclusions on this point are as follows:

1. Primary sequence is broken six times to mark the purpose as doubtful, or difficult of attainment.
2. Secondary sequence is violated 31 times under the influence of the Latin, as well as to denote the continuance of the purposed action or state into present time.

Among the interesting products of Shearin's study are certain criteria which 'may be of value in fixing chronology or authorship.' The more significant of these are the following:

*Ðætte* introducing purpose clauses is found only in Northumbrian and EWS. monuments (p. 61).

The formula *to ðy (ði) ðæt*, with instrumental form *ðy (ði)*, is not met with in the earlier writings, though it is the rule in *Ælfric* (p. 66).

The formula *ðy læs ðe*, with appended *ðe*, is not met with in the earlier writings, while in *Ælfric* it is the rule (p. 98).

On the same page on which he sums up these results, the author gives a list of items of peculiar syntactical importance; one or two of these are perhaps worth looking at a little more closely. The

use of *ðæt* as an uninflected relative pronoun introducing purpose clauses has already been alluded to (*e. g.*, Exod. 32, 1, *wirce us godas, ðæt faron beforan us*). This occurs in eleven instances, and Shearin is probably right in rejecting the explanation which makes *ðæt* a conjunction, with omitted demonstrative.

He cites a number of interesting cases (pp. 91 ff.) of clauses of final force which stand in parataxis to the main clause, sometimes with and sometimes without a connective. As an example of this may be taken John 7, 1, *ða Judeas hine sohton and woldon hyme ofslean*; here, as in very many purpose clauses of all types, the final intent is denoted by a form of *willan*, to which there is nothing corresponding in the Latin. Shearin hardly makes enough of the fact that *willan* is, in Old English, a recognized formal means of denoting purpose. In John 4, 7, *Ða com an wif of Samaria, wolde water feccean*, *wolde* is hardly more than an equivalent of Lat. *ut*. As Shearin points out, when *willan* is used, there is regularly no change of subject; this is also true of the *ðencan* (p. 115, Note), sometimes employed as the equivalent of *willan*, to denote an intention of the subject of the main verb (*e. g.*, Oros. 44, 32). In Note 2, p. 12, where Shearin first speaks of the paratactic construction and its survival in Modern English, he treats the modern usage as wholly colloquial, a view to which he is misled by his prepossession with vulgar forms like 'He up and threw the brick.' But in imperatives like 'Try and lift this'; 'Go and see who is at the door'; 'Come and help me with this bucket,' the usage is perfectly respectable, though perhaps not elegant (cf. N. E. D., s. v. *come*, 2, d).

One wonders, in looking over the list of 'Prose-Texts Examined,' prefixed to the book, why Old English scholars do not come to some agreement in the matter of abbreviations. At present there is nothing but confusion. For example, Callaway's 'Bede' and Wülfing's 'Be' is Shearin's 'BH' (which might easily send a reader on a wild-goose chase to the *Blickling Homilies*); Callaway's 'Ps. Th.' (Thorpe's *Psalms*) is Shearin's 'PPs.'—and so on. This confusion is needless and wasteful. If there is no other feasible way of securing agreement among scholars, it would seem to be a proper work for the Modern Language Association to appoint a 'Committee on Literary Abbreviation,' corresponding in some sort to the 'Board of Geographical Nomenclature' of the United

States government. A practical uniformity has been reached, in referring to Shakespeare's plays ; is it not equally desirable and equally attainable, in regard to the works of Ælfred, and Chaucer, and Pope, and Browning ?

In Note 1, page 12, Shearin, after saying that the Old English hortatory imperative expression, *uton* + infinitive, is probably an infinitive of purpose after a verb of motion, cites the hortatory force of the verb of motion in Middle and Modern English, where, he says, the verb used is *go*. His example, however, 'Go, bring it to me,' is hardly convincing. The modern hortatory word is *come*, not *go*. This has now, in its purely hortatory use, probably lost the power of taking the infinitive ; its most frequent employment is in connection with 'Let us,' as in 'Come, let's go to dinner.' In Shakespeare, however, *come* was used as an exact equivalent of OE. *uton* ; it occurs twice (C. of E., v, 1, 114 ; Cymb., II, 1, 55) in the expression 'Come go' (= Lat. *eamus*), as well as in a number of other connections where its hortatory force is less indisputable. It may be worth while to note here the use of *come* and *go* with the simple infinitive in speaking to children or animals, as in 'Come give me a kiss,' 'Go get mother the paper,' 'Go meet your master,' where *come* and *go* may be termed pure auxiliaries of direction. Contrast the expressions 'come get' and 'go get,' which differ only in the direction indicated by the first verb.

On page 16, quoting from Wülfing, Shearin says that Old English may have a passive simple infinitive, as in Bede 36, 3 (*het hine ða teon and lædan to ðam deofolgyldum*). He forgets that the infinitive is in essence a noun ; and that in these sentences the infinitive, thus considered, is object of the verb (*het*, in the case cited), and takes in turn a noun or pronoun as object (*hine*, above).

In discussing (p. 47) the infrequency in modern English of *on* expressing finality, the author has failed, though he quotes 'on huntyng' from Chaucer, to note the *a-*, in *a-hunting*, *a-fishing*, which is the commonest modern form of this final *on*.

On page 52, Shearin says that *ymbe* passes from causal into final function. It seems to me that neither of these uses can claim priority ; they are equally distant from the original meaning, 'about, in reference to'—if, indeed, the idea of purpose is not the closer.

The author inclines (pp. 59 ff.) to give quite too much import-



ance to the relative particle *ðe* ; it has little independent force. Its comparative insignificance is seen from the fact (p. 61) that Ælfred has 25 cases of *ðætte* (= *ðæt ðe*), of which Ælfric does not show a single instance ; while Ælfric regularly uses *ðy læs ðe*, where Ælfred always employs *ðy læs* (p. 95).

On page 68 occurs the statement, 'Often the *to*-formulæ are hardly to be differentiated from the simple *ðæt* in force, as in Dial. 180, 6, *syle me on ðeowdome for hine, ðæt ðu ðinne sunu eft onfo*, compared with the almost juxtaposed id. 180, 12, *ne tweo ðu na ðæt ðu sylle ðisne biscop on ðeowdome to ðon ðæt ðu ðinne sunu eft onfo*.' At first sight, these sentences may seem to be almost exactly alike ; more careful examination, however, shows that, while *ðæt* was perfectly clear in the first sentence, the greater intricacy of structure in the second requires the more explicit *to ðon ðæt*. In this sentence, the simple *ðæt* would have caused ambiguity : the clause *ðæt ðu ðinne sunu eft onfo* might easily have been taken as dependent on *ne tweo ðu na*. Some such reason is very likely to be present whenever *ðætte* or one of the prepositional formulæ is used in preference to *ðæt* ; their effect is more definite.

Whether *forðon* and *forði*, with tmesis of *ðæt* (p. 70), are final or illative in any case could probably be determined with some accuracy by a careful study of word-order in this connection ; it depends upon that elusive factor, the sentence-stress. In ÆH. I, 296, 24 *he gereordode hine æfter his æriste na forði ðæt he syððan eorðlices bigleofan behofode, ac to ði ðæt he geswutelode his soðan lichaman* (p. 71), the *forði dæt* clause is causal, not final.

Under *Wið ðæs ðæt* (pp. 74 f.), as under *Wið ðæt ðæt*, I should incline to take the clauses as substantive *ðæt*-clauses, explaining the pronominal object of *wið*.

May not the *to* in *to ðæt* (p. 76) be an adverb, modifying the preceding verb, in every one of the four cases cited on page 76 (e. g., L. S. II, 362, 110) ? The attempted explanation of this construction on page 77 is untenable ; '*to ðæt ðæt*' is hardly conceivable, in view of the invariable use of the dative case after *to*.

It is possible, in the four passages from the Leechdoms on page 76, to make *wið ðæt* equivalent to 'in order that' ; but it is very improbable that the writer had any such clear idea in mind. *Wið* introduces a Leechdom much as *R* heads a modern physician's prescription ; what follows has no necessary grammatical connection

with it. Earlier in the book, Shearin shows a proper appreciation of the true character of Leechdom syntax ; he takes it too seriously here.

Page 83, 4. These indicatives are all, it seems to me, simple futures. Even *seðe gewyrt* = *qui regat* is not convincing ; the distinction between Latin third conjugation futures and subjunctives, which are closely allied in form, was not very sharply felt in the Middle Age.

In Gen. 1, 11 (p. 84), *ðæs sæd sig* is not a clause of purpose ; the subjunctive is due to the influence of the preceding imperative, the thought of which it completes.

On page 85, Shearin cites the German *damit dass* of Luther and Berthold von Regensburg as 'an exactly parallel construction' to a unique *ðurh hwan ðæt* found in a charter of Edward the Confessor, published by W. DeGray Birch. Shearin seems to have quite failed to note that the pronoun here is *hwan*, and not *ðon* ; its German parallel would be *womit* (more exactly *wodurch*) *dass*. If the text as given is correct, and of Edwardian date, this is perhaps the earliest recorded example of *hwa* relative in Old English. Shearin is evidently unaware that this fact is in any way significant or interesting ; above, under C (p. 84), he includes among his 'relative pronouns' one example of the interrogative, without the least comment ; in this case (Dial. 65, 10, MS. H) *mid hwam*, corresponding to Lat. *unde*, has not lost its interrogative-indefinite force.

FRANK H. CHASE.

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*Shelley's Verskunst*. Dargestellt v. Dr. Armin Kroder. (*Münchener Beiträge zur Romanischen und Englischen Philologie*, herausg. v. H. Breymann und J. Schick. xxvii Heft.) Erlangen und Leipzig, 1903.

Dr. Kroder's work is an exhaustive enumeration of Shelley's metres and metrical idiosyncracies, classified after the fashion of Schipper and presented with admirable clearness. Such exercises in scholarship, when applied to living languages and living forms of verse, are apt to be of little value. A tabulation of the varieties of the Old English long line or of the hexameters of Com-

modian is indispensable, for without something of the sort the study of an obsolete verse-form must be largely guesswork ; but if a volume should be devoted to enumerating the 'anapaests' in Tennyson's blank verse the author must bear the burden of proving his results valuable. Dr. Kroder's work is not justified by the mere fact (set forth in his Introduction) that it has not been done before.

As a contribution to the theory of English verse, well as Dr. Kroder's task has been accomplished, I cannot think that it is fully justified. It proves nothing more about Shelley than everybody knew before. It proves that his ear, though superfine, was curiously unacademic ; but there needs no ghost come from the grave to tell us this. There is, however, ample justification of another kind for Dr. Kroder's industry in the still deplorable imperfectness of our Shelley texts. No modern poet's verses have been so inaccurately handed down to us, and future editors will find Dr. Kroder's inductions an indispensable aid in the effort to choose between various readings.

To students of English verse the present work will not be of much value ; but it is of great interest because the author announces his intention to publish at some future time a work on the theory of metrics. He has views of his own which he has here designedly suppressed, not wishing to mingle theory with fact. We are all so eager to see good work done in this field that any new adventurer receives a cordial welcome, and we are naturally anxious to scrutinize his qualifications.

Dr. Kroder's qualifications seem to me excellent. Especially commendable is the modest temper (alas, too rare !) in which he recognizes the difference between English and German ears. This is all the more praiseworthy because Dr. Kroder shows a really astonishing appreciation of the nuances of English speech. Occasionally he makes a slip. Thus (p. 29) he classes the word *bowels* as syllabically equivalent to *tower* ; he gives (p. 73) the following as a nine-syllable line :

Ahasverus (*sic*) and the caverns round ;

and his remarks on identical rimes and assonances, if I am not mistaken, occasionally betray the foreigner ; but in general he is as

well qualified for his project as if he were an Englishman, or even an American.<sup>1</sup>

On pages 116 and 118 Dr. Kroder shows excellent sense as to the banality of certain pedantic classifications. It is true that even here he has not all the courage of his convictions ; for he is giving a three-fold classification of Shelley's uses of alliteration, which he finds may occur (A) at the middle and end of the verse, or at the beginning and end, (B) in three positions in the verse, symmetrically counterpoised, or (C) helter-skelter, wherever chance decrees. This seems to me much as if, in analyzing the work of an old painter, I should say that corresponding shades of blue may be found (A) in the eyes and robe of the Madonna, (B) in her robe, the Child's eyes, and the sky, or (C) in other places and combinations of places. Classifications are idle unless they are based on scientific distinctions. When classification cuts loose from theory it runs mad, and becomes mere pedantry. Dr. Kroder, however, shows elsewhere so much independence of obsolete pedantries that his forthcoming work is hardly in danger from this source. He is discreet in recognizing that many of Shelley's irregularities are due to oversight, discreet in his estimates of the agency of mere chance in conscious art, and discreet in making occasional concessions to national or racial tastes ; and, in general, all his discussions indicate a sane and serene critical temper.

All the serious shortcomings of Dr. Kroder's work seem to me due not to any essential disability but merely to unripeness in his general theory of metrics. For example, he gives (p. 8) the following lines as instancing the use of one syllable for two :

Cardinal, thou art the Pope's chamberlain. (*The Cenci*.)  
Wail for the world's wrong. (*A Dirge*.)

In fact, both lines exhibit the phenomenon which Mayor (most unsatisfactorily, to be sure) explains by his sequence of so-called pyrrhic and spondee,—a phenomenon familiar enough in English poetry, and easy enough of scientific explanation when the general

<sup>1</sup> This is not a bit of national conceit. The pronunciation of our mother tongue has changed of late more rapidly in England than in America, and there are indications that contemporary English poets find the classic verse-forms already archaic and unsatisfying.

theory of our verse is firmly grasped. Another example (among the countless ones in Shelley) is a passage from the *Prometheus* which Dr. Kroder gives (p. 63) with this atrocious scansion :

Of thé good Titan, ás storms tear the deep  
And beasts hear thé sea moan in inland caves.

To be sure, Dr. Kroder does not generally intend his accents to indicate the actual proper reading of the verse ; but here he expressly cites these lines as instances of Shelley's 'unbeautiful but frequent metrical accentuation of the article, or similar weak particles.'

Perhaps the most striking defect of the work, as an exposition of Shelley's verse, is its failure to say anything about the poet's phrasing. The art of versification consists in the compression of thought or feeling within a certain rigid mold ; the charm of the best kinds of verse is due chiefly to the perpetual conflict which we feel in it between the rigidity of the mold and the poet's freedom of thought,—the latter perpetually struggling for mastery, but perpetually half baffled and only half triumphant ; and the significant distinction of almost any poet's style is the manner in which this conflict is conducted. In the study of this matter there is at least as much virtue as in the study of the mechanical verse-form itself ; and the further analysis of verse *as a form*, irrespective of its word-and-thought-content, is not what will help us to a true metrical theory. Yet Dr. Kroder gives us only a paragraph (p. 136) about 'Reimbrechung,' and on the rest of the subject nothing at all.

A few minor misunderstandings are due to similar shallows in the author's theory. On pages 100-120 we have much excellent matter about alliteration, but Dr. Kroder's philosophy of the subject is not altogether sound. Thus he tells us (p. 110) that the letter *l* has a 'caressing, lullaby effect,' and that when joined with *w* in alliterative sound-sequences it fitly expresses soft breezes or billowy undulations. But what shall we say, then, of such a line as the following :

The lurid lightnings wake the livid welkin ?

The fact is that the effect of alliteration in verse depends far more on the sense of the passage than on its individual sounds. If the sense is harsh the most liquid alliterations will but intensify its

harshness, while, on the other hand, students of Browning know that if the sense is tender its tenderness may be emphasized by heaped-up gutturals and sibilants. Dr. Kroder seems to confuse the genesis of verse-effects with the genesis of language, and his concluding paragraph, on 'alliteration for the sake of emphasis,' ought in theory to include most of the rest.

The author (p. 134) rests his defence of identical rime on a pronouncement of Swinburne's. This, however, was *apropos* of a little poem written in the Spenserian rime-scheme. That scheme, as Dr. Kroder notes, is a difficult one, and Shelley frequently takes refuge in identical rime in his Spenserian stanzas; but is there not a higher justification for this than the mere difficulty of the form? In heroic couplets my own ear is not satisfied (in English) by the immediate juxtaposition of two identical endings; but if in Spenser's verse I find 'light' in the second line riming with 'delight' in the seventh, how can I in honesty pretend to be offended? Still more is such a practice defensible in stanzas like Shelley's, where the form is treated with so much lyrical freedom that the rime becomes almost more decorative than structural. It would have been well for Dr. Kroder to take into account discriminations of this sort, in making his tabulations.

There is no evidence in his work that Dr. Kroder is familiar with the best recent studies of the theory of rhythm. He does show some restlessness under the old custom of dividing lines into feet (which, indeed, is much as if one should analyze Raphael's canvases by square inches); but he has clearly not profited by the researches of Professor Goodell and Professor Alden; he has not stated to himself the difference between rhythm and metre; least of all has he paid any attention to the rhythm of prose and the natural rhythmical tendency of all oral utterance. So far as I am aware, indeed, none of our metrists have developed this last subject; and it is certain that, until this is done, we shall have no satisfactory theory of English verse.

Dr. Kroder's present work is an excellent and thorough catalogue of a limited set of facts about Shelley, but it throws no new light upon anything that is particularly worth illuminating. As for his next effort, if he will follow out to the best of his ability the most enlightened modern leads, and will stubbornly refuse to submit to outworn traditions, he certainly has the good sense and fineness of

ear to accomplish great things ; but otherwise there is danger that his projected work will merely add one more to the accumulation (too great already !) of futile guesses at truth.

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*The Earliest Life of Milton.* Edited by Edward S. Parsons.  
Reprinted in *Colorado College Studies* from *The English Historical Review*, January, 1902.

In the preface to his monumental *Life of Milton* Professor Masson mentions, with a word or two of characterization, all the important biographies of the poet which were known to him down to the year 1851. Of some seventeen the three earliest were : (1) the one by Aubrey, written not later than 1680 ;<sup>1</sup> (2) the life by Anthony Wood, written after Aubrey's, and before 1691 ;<sup>2</sup> (3) the life by Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, probably third in order of time, and published in 1694.<sup>3</sup> Of these three the last is the most valuable, though indeed quite barren considering the biographer's personal intimacy with his subject. Earlier than the two last mentioned, and perhaps earliest of all, is one contained in an anonymous manuscript found by Dr. Andrew Clark among the papers of Anthony Wood in the Bodleian, and printed by Professor Parsons for the first time. It consists of about forty-six hundred words and is based chiefly on the writings of Milton, especially the famous autobiographical passages of the *Second Defense*, and for the rest upon hearsay, or perhaps, in very slight degree, upon personal observation. It constitutes the chief source of Wood's account, who appropriates much of it with slight alteration, even going so far as to employ its peculiar wording in preference to that of Milton's prose where the two run nearly parallel.<sup>4</sup> It is clearly one of many

<sup>1</sup> In *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, edited by Dr. Andrew Clark, 2, 60-72.

<sup>2</sup> *Fasti*, 1, 480-486, Bliss's edition of the *Athenae* and *Fasti*.

<sup>3</sup> Godwin, *Lives of Edward and John Phillips*, 350-383.

<sup>4</sup> Wood's alterations are generally of such a nature as to show his disapproval of Milton's opinions and acts. Thus the sentence, 'In which [du Moulin's *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*] Salmasius was hugely extoll'd, and Mr. Milton as falsly defam'd,' becomes in Wood, 'Salmasius was highly extoll'd in it, and Milton had his just character given therein.'

instances where Wood employed the services of others to gather material for his great work of the *Athenae* and *Fasti*; and thus it follows that whatever important information it might have given we have already received through Wood's account.

One curious anecdote, however, of the blind Milton, fallen on evil days, appears for the first time. The author has remarked his unflinching devotion to the Muses. 'And hee waking early (as is the use of temperate men) had commonly a good Stock of Verses ready against his Amanuensis came, which, if it happened to be later than ordinary, hee would complain, saying *hee wanted to bee milkd.*' He is also said to have procured relief of some sort for 'the Grand child of the famous Spencer, a Papist suffering in his concerns in Ireland.' Two interesting traditions mentioned by Richardson<sup>1</sup> are confirmed—one to the effect that, as Milton interceded for the life of Sir William Davenant under the Commonwealth, so Davenant interceded for Milton at the Restoration; and another that Milton was asked by Charles II to become his Latin Secretary, an office which he had accepted under Cromwell. As Richardson evidently got these facts from sources altogether independent of the newly recovered life, the editor's statement that 'the manuscript is closely related to Richardson's life of Milton' is not wholly exact.

Another sentence is open to misunderstanding: 'The manuscript has the double distinction of being, first, the earliest biography of Milton ever written, and, secondly, the one seventeenth-century biography of the poet in which he is treated with entire sympathy.' In the first place it cannot be proved to be the earliest life unless it can be shown to be earlier than Aubrey's. The editor tries to establish his claim by saying that Aubrey's life, 'even if written earlier cannot be strictly called a biography; it is merely a collection of biographical jottings.' It is indeed fragmentary and ill-arranged, but is, I think, more thoroughly informed by the true spirit of biography, as exemplified in a master like Boswell, than any other of the early lives. One can only regret that Aubrey's passion for matters biographical was not intensified and steadied by devotion to some great personality such as Milton. The second part of the sentence last quoted—at least the words, 'entire sympathy'

<sup>1</sup> *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradise Lost*, lxxxix, c.



—should perhaps be qualified. The author's sympathy is rather with Milton the individual than with his concern in politics. For the latter he is slightly apologetic at times. His own opinions are neither obtrusive nor clearly defined, except that he disapproved of Presbyterians, and probably of the tendencies of his times towards absolutism. His chief aim is the illustration of Milton's courage, cheerful self-sacrifice, and his sublime isolation.

The editor's work on the whole deserves much praise. It is so closely condensed that it hardly reveals at first the amount of labor which it cost, and leaves the reader to wish at times that he might have been allowed to follow Professor Parsons in some of the details of his search for the author, or of his comparison of this account with others. His notes of all erasures and alterations in the manuscript, together with a facsimile of one of its pages, virtually put the original within reach of everyone.

The question of authorship, always fascinating, presents no little difficulty in the present case. Identification of handwriting naturally suggests itself as the first means of solution. Professor Parsons, however, gives eighteen names of men who did not write this life, assuming 'that penman and author are one.' Among these are Aubrey, Joyner,<sup>1</sup> Edward Phillips, Marvell, Ellwood, Andrew Allam, and Dr. Paget. On the other hand, we are told that 'there are great difficulties in the theory that the manuscript was written by an amanuensis.' Just what these are the editor does not say. They appear to be twofold: (1) It is probably not a mere copy from another manuscript, as is shown by erasures and alterations of a sort which are to be expected rather in an autograph than in a copy. For example, on the back of the last page is the first draft of a passage found in the text. It is much interlined and altered, and finally crossed out altogether. It appears in the text after further alterations. (2) It is not written at dictation, as is shown by certain erasures and substitutions to avoid the recurrence of a word or sound—an imperfection which would, in all probability have been avoided in the process of oral delivery.<sup>2</sup> Apart

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Loveday (not Lovedale) as the friend of Wood; see *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, 1, 480, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> P. 8, l. 13, 'way' is substituted for 'journey,' as 'journey' is found to occur two lines above in the same sentence. Whether it is written above or after the erased word the editor does not say. It might, in a conceivable case,

from such considerations, and upon general grounds, Professor Parsons inclines to believe that the author was some intimate friend of Milton, nearly coëval, on the whole sympathizing with him in politics, and possessing some technical knowledge of medicine. He suggests Dr. Nathan Paget as the one corresponding most nearly to this description.

The question remains open, however. It is found by the editor that of Wood's account forty-five per cent. is based upon the manuscript before us, less than ten per cent. upon Aubrey's life, and the rest is composed as follows : of 'matter from the autobiographical passages in Milton's prose works ; a careful list of his writings, and Wood's own interpretation of Milton's acts and of national events.' He begins his account with these words : 'This year [1635] was incorporated master of arts John Milton, not as it appears so in the register, . . . but from his own mouth to my friend, who was well acquainted with, and had from him, and from his relations after his death, most of this account of his life and writings following.' That this 'friend' was not Aubrey is evident, as Professor Parsons says, since 'most of this account was *not* drawn from Aubrey's life, nor can we suppose that we have here a second life by Aubrey, since the manuscript is not in Aubrey's peculiar style. It is true that Wood mentions on p. 486, '*The Body of Divinity*, which my friend calls *Idea Theologiae*,' a name given to it by Aubrey in his life. But, as Professor Parsons suggests, Wood may here have confused for the moment his main authorities, namely Aubrey and some other 'friend,' author of the anonymous life before us.

Such a friend may have been Andrew Allam, Vice-Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, whose claims to the authorship of this life Professor Parsons has not seen fit to review, though they seem worth considering. Allam was born in 1655 and died in 1685.

be important to know whether such corrections were made in the moment of writing or upon reproof. Other examples are : 8, 13, 'this' replacing 'which,' since 'which' recurs within less than a line ; 8, 21, 'liv'd' for 'passed' with 'passing' in a different sense a line and a half above ; 11, 14, 'went back' for 'returned' with 'return' two lines below ; 12, 11, 'of so great concern' for 'so necessary,' with 'necessity' two lines above ; 15, 16 and 17, is an uncorrected instance, where 'expectation' and 'expect' occur almost within one line.

He was a precocious young man, and advanced rapidly to the vice-principalship. His life was uneventful, being spent almost entirely in and about Oxford, with perhaps an occasional trip to London. It appears further from passages here subjoined in footnotes<sup>1</sup> that he was one of Wood's most intimate friends, and his most important aid at Oxford in collecting materials for the lives of modern authors in the *Athenae* and *Fasti*. He was well acquainted with literary men of his time, and more deeply interested in men than in measures. His toleration appears from the fact that Wood, who was under suspicion of being a Roman Catholic, was unaided by

<sup>1</sup> In 1685 Wood writes, 'June 17, Wednesday, between 12 and 1 died my friend Andrew Allam' (*Wood's Life and Times*, edited by Dr. Andrew Clark, 3, 144). From Wood's *Life of Allam*, (*Athenae*, 4, 174-176): 'He was a person of eminent virtues, was sober, temperate, moderate and modest even to example. He understood the controversial writings between conformists and nonconformists, protestants and papists, far beyond his years, which was advanced by a great and happy memory.' And I am persuaded had he not been taken off by the said offices, he would have gone beyond all of his time and age in those matters, and might have proved an useful and signal member to the church of England, for which he had a most zealous respect. He understood the world of men well, authors better, and nothing but years and experience were wanting, to make him a compleat walking library. . . . He also many times lent his assisting hand to the author of this present work, especially as to the Notitia of certain modern writers of our nation, while the said author was day and night drudging after those more ancient. For the truth is (which hath been a wonder to him since his death) he understood well what he wanted, and what would be fit for him to be brought into this work, which none else in the university could (as he and the author knew full well to their great reluctance) or would give any assistance or encouragement.' Hearne, writing in 1710 (*Hearne's Collections*, edited by C. E. Doble for the Oxford Historical Society, 3, 35), speaks of Aubrey as having helped Wood, and goes on to say: 'Anthony had also a vast number of his Materials & Accounts from Mr. Andrew Allam of Edm. Hall, who indeed was not only an ingenious but very good Man, as well as a good, sound Scholar. He knew much of Books, especially modern ones, and was so well seen in the characters of Parsons, that he could describe most men of any note in the Kingdom, & there was hardly a face in Oxford but was so well known to him, that he could give exact descriptions thereof.' The relationship of the two men is further illustrated in that part of Wood's *Diary* or *Almanac* between the years 1680 and 1685, when Allam died at the early age of thirty. See Wood's *Life and Times*, 2, 509 ff. Frequent notes in Allam's hand are inserted dealing with a great variety of doings and people at Oxford.

any of the Oxford men except Allam.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore he was the author of a life of Milton mentioned by Aubrey in the following note : 'Quaere Mr. (Andrew) Allam, of Edmund-hall, Oxon, of John Milton's life writt by himselfe.'<sup>2</sup> In view of this evidence one is tempted to infer that the anonymous life was compiled by Allam for Wood's use in the *Fasti*.

But certain doubts arise on closer examination. Allam was but nineteen when Milton died, and, living at Oxford, could hardly have enjoyed such intimacy with him as Wood implies. But that his friend relies also, as Wood says, upon information from the poet's relatives would seem to indicate that this intimacy did not extend over the greater part of the poet's life ; and such parts of the biography as appear to be based upon personal observation or acquaintance pertain to the poet's latest years. A reference to Foresthall, instead of Foresthill, the home of Mary Powell, near Oxford, is a mistake which one would not expect from an Oxford man. Furthermore the author, speaks of *Tetrachordon* as based upon the teaching of 'our Savior, in those four places of the Evangelists,' whereas only one of these places is in the Gospels, and the title of the tract says itself 'the four chief places in the Scripture.' The apology for biographical literature at the opening shows that this life was written, not to be used in the compilation of another, but for publication or circulation. This is borne out by a sentence on p. 21 : 'But that this age is insensible of the great obligation it has to him, is too apparent in that hee has no better a Pen to celebrate his Memory.' It has already been remarked that the biographer is not outspoken in the matter of politics, but that he

<sup>1</sup> From Hearne's *Account of Wood*, *Athenae* 1, cxxix, cxxx : 'He [Wood] was by the vulgar at least taken to be a Rom. Cath. and the author of these matters, who hath a great respect for his memory, in his inquiries concerning him, could never hear any other report. Indeed he shews himself that way inclined in his *Athenae*, and I have been told he received pensions from some of them. . . . But this however I am apt to think proceeded not from any averseness to the church of England, but only from the encouragement he received from this party, more than he did from any Church of England man, in carrying on his great and tiresome work of *Athenae*, for if you will believe what he himself says, and what I have often heard reported in Oxon, the greatest help he found from any one person in that university, was from Mr. Andrew Allam, vice-principal of St. Edmund's hall, who died, to our author's great reluctance, an. 1685.'

<sup>2</sup> *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, 2, 72.

disapproves of dissenters on the one hand, and, on the other, of the doctrine of non-resistance. In one of Allam's notes inserted in Wood's diary<sup>1</sup> he calls the second short parliament, which has just been prorogued, 'fiery, eager, and high-flying,' and refers with mild enthusiasm to the prospect of the king's holding the next parliament at Oxford. Wood asserts his 'zealous respect' for the church.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, as already said, the manuscript is not in Allam's hand,<sup>3</sup> nor does it appear to be copied, or written at dictation. Among the books left to Wood by Allam is a copy of Bates' *Elenchus Motuum* containing a Latin note by Allam of some length about the author.<sup>4</sup> 'This note,' says Dr. Clark, 'is of importance as showing the nature of those notes by Allam which Wood admits helped him in the *Athenae*.' Is it possible that in the manuscript we have the translation of a Latin life by Allam, made by one who was less skilful, and who is responsible for such errors as have been cited? The style, though at times idiomatic, is, on the whole, stiff and involved, with a preponderance of long sentences and elaborate subordinate elements, frequently participial. In detail, the words sometimes carry meanings which are nearer to the Latin than those which they possess at present, yet these meanings were in each case not uncommon in the seventeenth century.

Comparison with Allam's works, if worth while, might yield something more definite. But, except as a matter of curiosity, the question is perhaps not important enough to deserve the bestowal of much time and pains.

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<sup>1</sup> *Wood's Life and Times*, 2. 511, under January 10, 1681.

<sup>2</sup> The published works of Allam are meagre. They all appeared in 1684, and consist principally of biographical prefaces to works by Dr. Richard Cosin, Dr. George Griffith, and John Corbet. Cosin was a sixteenth-century authority on ecclesiastical law; Griffith an episcopal presbyterian, as he says, who waged war against independents and other sectaries; and Corbet an anti-presbyterian, sometime minister at Bonhill, near Glasgow. I have been unable to find in this country copies of the editions containing Allam's prefaces. At his death he was collecting materials for a work to be called *Notitia Ecclesiae* or a *History of Cathedrals*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the facsimile of one of Allam's autograph notes in Clark's *Wood's Life and Times*, 4, Plate I.

<sup>4</sup> *Wood's Life and Times*, 3, 167.

*Glossar zu Farman's Anteil an der Rushworth-Glosse (Rushworth I). Von Ernst Schulte. Bonn. Carl Georgi, 1904. Pp. 98.*

As English scholarship at present needs lexicons and concordances at least as much as anything else, we were prepared to welcome this glossary, which, taken in conjunction with Lindelöf's on Rushworth<sup>2</sup> (see JOURNAL 1. 264) covers the whole of the Rushworth gloss, as contained in Skeat's edition—that is the whole of Matthew, Mark 1–2. 15, and John 18. 1–3.

An examination of the words on p. 149 of Skeat's edition (Matt. 18. 15–22), a page taken at random, discloses the following errors and omissions in the glossary: Under *æft*: *eft*, 18. 19, should be *eft soþ*.—Under *ænig*: *ds.* should be *dns.*—Under *broþer*: I do not see why *broþer*, 18. 15, should be queried, especially as *ðin*, in agreement with it, is not.—Under *eorþe*: 18. 18, 19, is wrong as designating *eorðan*; the two verses contain *eorðe*, *eordan*, and *eorþan*, all in the dative, the second of these being entered by our author in its proper place.—Under *from*: *Browne* should be *Brown*.—Under *gangan*: there is no means of determining what forms have a particular Latin meaning, though the Preface declares that provision is made for this in all cases.—Under *geheran*: 18. 17<sup>(2)</sup> does not designate a plural *geherað* after *æghwile þara þe*, as the statement seems to be; moreover, there is no reason to doubt that the form is a plural, since the subject, *he*, is unquestioningly classed as a plural on p. 49.—Under *gesomnigan*: *gesomnade*, 18. 20, called a plur. pret., is rather more likely to be an inflected past part.: cf. 22. 41; 25. 32; 26. 3.—Under *heofun*: 18. 19 does not contain *heofunum*, but *hefonum*.—Under *hundseofuntig*: *septies septuagies* should evidently be *septuagies*, and the head-word should be *hundseofuntig(um) sibum*.—Under *oþ*: *oþ*, 18. 22, does not translate *usque in*, but *usque*, and the same is true of *oþþe*, 18. 21.—Under *siofun sibum*: *sibum*, 18. 21, should be *sibum*.—Under *sib*: *hundseofuntig(um) sibum* is omitted.—Under *þreo*: 18. 16 has a gen., not a nom. or acc. Considering the comparative simplicity and brevity of the text, these errors are manifestly too numerous, especially as the author says in the Preface (p. 4): 'Mein erstes Prinzip bei dieser Arbeit war, das im Text Stehende getreu bis ins Kleinste wiederzugeben.'

The device for indicating the Latin equivalent for each several occurrence of the English word is ingenious, and deserves the attention of future compilers of glossaries.

It is to be regretted, as in the case of Lindelöf's work, that a Latin-Old English index has not been appended.

In general, the glossary is capable of rendering good service, but cannot be absolutely depended upon, as the list of errors above will show.

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*The German Influence on Samuel Taylor Coleridge. An Abridgment of a Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania.* By John Louis Haney. Philadelphia, 1902. Pp. 44.

Although narrower in scope than its title might imply, this monograph challenges attention and merits respect from every student of Coleridge. Dr. Haney's investigation, as his first sentence hints, comes under the head of comparative studies in literature.<sup>1</sup> By assuming the position rather of a biographer of Coleridge in a special field, the author wisely limits a research that could easily outrun the aim of a doctoral dissertation. He avoids examining the more fugitive phenomena of literary and philosophical movements, with their various indirect influences—such, for example, as Goethe must have exerted through various media upon Coleridge. Dr. Haney lays decidedly more emphasis upon matters like the direct conscious and personal undervaluation which Coleridge often showed for Goethe in passages that can be cited; he selects for the material of a scientific investigation what is concrete and tangible. In his unabridged thesis 'an attempt was made to show the real character of the influence of German literature upon Coleridge by discussing (1) Coleridge's own utterances concerning German authors and their writings; (2) the evident literary influences, whether acknowledged or not; (3) the probable or possible

<sup>1</sup> May we hope that Mr. Gayley's masterly article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1903, has dealt a death-blow, at least in professional circles, to expressions like 'the study of comparative literature'?

influences that have been advanced and supported by various critics.' <sup>1</sup> This rich and interesting material Dr. Haney has put in chronological order, relying upon Dykes Campbell for most of his dates, although not uncritically, and plainly following the salutary methods and ideals of that admirably cautious scholar. Accordingly he has organized into a readable and unified essay a very considerable mass of well articulated detail of a biographical and literary historical nature, drawing it from all sources and handling it with patience and acumen. If only for convenience and accuracy of reference, no specialist on Coleridge can deny himself this thesis. Let us hope that it will serve as a working basis for a broader interpretation of the same problem by some ripe and tactful erudite who shall have read, like DeQuincey, 'for thirty years in the same track as Coleridge.' <sup>2</sup>

The present thesis opens with some remarks on the difficulties of the problem, the necessity of restricting it, and the method by which trustworthy results may be obtained. Then come six chapters in the following sequence : Before the Visit to Germany (1772-1798); Coleridge in Germany (1798-1799); Immediate Results (1799-1800); The Wallenstein Translation (1800); The Years of Unrest (1800-1816); The Sage of Highgate (1816-1834). In a chapter of summary Dr. Haney gathers together his conclusions upon the entire matter. We may suppose that his printed thesis differs from the unabridged form in freeing results to a certain extent from critical apparatus and minor processes of inference.

The absence of intermediate evidence or supplementary reference, now and then renders the questioning reader doubtful in points of less importance. Yet in practically none of the small matters where I have followed Dr. Haney with the *animus suspicax* can I convict him either of failure in examining or want of tact in estimating evidence. On the other hand, his manifest ability, his able willingness, to correct and modify statements of almost every well known Coleridge scholar from the somewhat vulnerable Brandl to the entrenched Dykes Campbell, witness to the vigor and validity of his critical methods. In calling attention to these and other minor

<sup>1</sup>P. 2.

<sup>2</sup>A forthcoming work by M. Joseph Aynard will treat of the influences of German philosophy on Coleridge. We may await the appearance of this book with decided interest.



points before passing to a consideration of one or two of Dr. Haney's larger conclusions, I find it convenient to offer a compressed page and line comment on the several chapters of his thesis.

3. 1-3. In any study of literary influences on Coleridge it would be useful to ascertain as much as possible about the books in the Cheapside circulating library which he read through as a schoolboy, 'folios and all.' Dr. Haney's studies in Coleridgean bibliography may give him some clue in this difficult search.

3. 15. For 'heart withering' read 'heart-withering.'

5. 24-25. 'In spite of the fact that Coleridge left no record of having read *Leonora* at that time, much stress has been laid on Lamb's letter by the critics.'—The 'critics' doubtless suppose that an 'omnivorous' reader like Coleridge needed no second stimulus to read an accessible ballad; Lamb's recommendation carried great weight with Coleridge from the first. Cf. 17. 27, ff. and Wordsworth, *Works*, Globe Edition 152.

7. 10. Add Festus Avienus, *Voyage of Himilco*, to the possible sources of *The Ancient Mariner*; cf. Elton, *English Origins*.

7. Note 2. For '*Early years of Wordsworth*' read '*The Early Life of Wordsworth*.'

9. 6. For 'never lost' read 'had from the first'?

15. 1. 'Crabb Robinson recorded . . . . This evidently contradicts Campbell's date.' It is possible that Robinson was misinformed or mistaken.

15. 5-8. We should be glad to have the grounds for Dr. Haney's conjecture about the date of Coleridge's translation, 'Know'st thou the land.'

15. Note 4. For '*7 the Athenæum*' read '4', etc.

17. Notes 1, 2. Transpose '*ibid.*,' and '*Poet. Works*.'

18. In the chapter ending here Dr. Haney amply repays his debt to Dykes Campbell by his additions to our fund of information about Coleridge's minor translations from the German.

20. The second paragraph on this page, explaining 'the circumstances under which a part of Schiller's trilogy appeared in an English translation before the original was published,' may be cited as an instance of Dr. Haney's power in clear and brief statement of a 'complicated procedure.'

24. 21. If 'Coleridge assuredly knew,' he nevertheless persistently failed to admit 'that the metre of *Christabel* represented no new principle.'

28. 15. For 'Coleridge's' read 'Goethe's'?

30. 12. 'It may have been Southey or Byron . . . ' Dr. Haney should mention Hookham Frere as one who possibly suggested a translation of Faust by Coleridge. Frere's relation to Coleridge is unnoticed in Dr. Haney's more recent *Bibliography*.

34. Is the second paragraph on this page, dealing with so broad a problem as the Shakespearean revival, wholly relevant here?

34. 29. '. . . small probability of our ever arriving at a satisfactory knowledge of Coleridge's exact indebtedness to Schlegel . . . ' Exact? No. Yet would not a comparison more careful than any made hitherto give us fairly definite results?

35. 28. Dr. Haney should by all means include J. H. Newman among the influential divines that owed an intellectual debt to Coleridge; cf. Newman, *Apologia* 139, and *Letters*, ed. Mozley.

41. 44. For '. . . all criticism does not follow' read 'not all criticism follows.' (Similarly 44. 1-3.)

41. 31. For 'creatng' read 'creating.'

44. 3-4. 'The prose works . . . badly edited.' I can think of no one better fitted to remedy the defect than Dr. Haney himself.

44. 19. 'Hare, Irving,' etc.; add J. H. Newman.

So much for detail. Concerning major results we may speak but briefly, noting first the following excellent summary: 'Coleridge's indebtedness to German writers was twofold, embracing his literary obligation to Lessing, Schiller, and Schlegel, and his philosophical affiliations with Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. The influence of Gessner, [of] Bürger, and even of Jean Paul was comparatively slight. How much of his criticism Coleridge owed to Schlegel is difficult to determine. Under the stress of the charge of plagiarism, Coleridge asserted an independence of Schlegel which he could only partly substantiate. On the other hand, in developing the general ideas indicated by Lessing, both critics would naturally coincide in certain utterances, with no nearer interdependence than their common obligation to Lessing.'<sup>1</sup>

If not wholly new, this is at all events stated admirably; no one is likely to quarrel with it on any score. The following, however, may give us pause. On page 39 we read: 'Poetry had failed to afford the desired influence, and Coleridge saw brighter possibilities

<sup>1</sup> P. 40.

in a devotion to metaphysics . . . . He had gone to Germany as a poet ; he returned as a critic and philosopher.' This is evidently the 'accepted conclusion' (p. 9) to which 'an analysis of his mental development, as indicated by Professor Brandl and others, must lead.' Dr. Haney might have strengthened his case by noting Wordsworth among 'others' who have shared the German professor's belief.<sup>1</sup> Coleridge himself holds an entirely different view, which he supports in his most tragic poem. His testimony is still worth heeding.

In 1794, almost at the outset of his literary career, Coleridge felt himself endowed liberally and in equal measure with philosophical insight and shaping or poetical imagination. Accordingly he cries :

To me bath Heaven with bounteous hand assigned  
Energic reason and a shaping mind.<sup>2</sup>

Why then in his opinion did the former faculty supplant the latter? His answer in *Dejection*, nearly three years after his return from Germany, is pitiful and very plain :

There was a time when, though my path was rough,  
This joy within me dallied with distress,  
And all misfortunes were but as the stuff  
Whence Fancy made me dreams of happiness :  
For hope grew round me, like the twining vine,  
And fruits and foliage, not my own, seemed mine.  
But now afflictions bow me down to earth :  
Nor care I that they rob me of my mirth ;  
But oh ! each visitation  
Suspends what nature gave me at my birth,  
My shaping spirit of Imagination.  
For not to think of what I needs must feel,  
But to be still and patient, all I can ;  
And haply by abstruse research to steal  
From my own nature all the natural man—  
This was my sole resource, my only plan :  
Till that which suits a part infects the whole,  
And now is almost grown the habit of my soul.<sup>3</sup>

I make no apology for quoting this stanza, familiar though it

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, 2. 453. (Boston, 1851.) Compare, to the same effect, Byron (*Medwin, Conversations of Lord Byron*, 266, 7).

<sup>2</sup> *Lines on a Friend*, ll. 39, 40. *Poet. Works*, 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Dejection*, stanza vi. *Poet. Works*, 161.

ought to be to all ; we are all only too likely to forget its ring when we approach an earnest argument like Dr. Haney's, which can be upheld with so much external circumstance. And I offer little comment on it : it speaks of itself for what it may be worth. However, we may observe that Coleridge was not content with expressing himself on this question in impassioned verse ; we can find his opinion in sober prose and still the same :

'And if,' says he, 'in after-time I have sought a refuge from bodily pain and mismanaged sensibility in abstruse researches, which exercised the strength and subtilty of the understanding without awakening the feelings of the heart ; still there was a long and blessed interval, during which my natural faculties were allowed to expand, and my original tendencies to develop themselves ;—my fancy, and the love of nature, and the sense of beauty in forms and sounds.'<sup>1</sup> Is there any use in summoning De Quincey as witness to 'what killed Coleridge as a poet' ?<sup>2</sup> Would the joint testimony of two dejected sufferers have even the force of the two Homeric rivers against the strength of external argument and armed logical procedure ? Dr. Haney and the 'others' have no feeble case.—And yet,—I believe that not even Professor Brandl himself knows more about Coleridge than Coleridge knew. I believe that *Dejection* has the breath and finer spirit of truth with which no scientific biography of the poet may safely disagree.

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April, 1903.

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*Die englischen Ausgaben des Eulenspiegel und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte des Volksbuches.* Von Friedrich Brie. Weimar, Wagner, 1903.

Eulenspiegel, the solitary piece of Low German literature in the sixteenth century which won European fame, perhaps owes to this circumstance some of its perennial attraction for German scholars. 'Howleglass' was as familiar as Faustus to Jonson and Shakspeare ;

<sup>1</sup> *Biographia Literaria*. Works, ed. Shedd, 3, 152, 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Coleridge and Opium-Eating*. Works, ed. Masson, 5. 207.

and *espigle* still commemorates the impression made by this robust practical joker upon the countrymen of Voltaire. Apart from literature, the history of the extant examples of the Volksbuch offers, as is well known, many problems which still await definite solution. The discovery a few years ago of a fragment of the English version opened up new questions, but it also contributed important data towards the solution of the old. Several scholars have made a beginning with the investigation; but Brie in the present dissertation offers what must be pronounced the most important contribution yet made to the questions involved, more particularly as to the origin of the English version. Since Cappenberg's discussion in his edition of *Ulen Spiegel*, the English version (here denoted by F.) has been assumed to be directly derived from the Flemish (denoted by D.). Brie shows very convincingly that this cannot be the case, since F. departs from D. in a number of points which cannot be additions of the translator, being found also in the High German versions. The High German version, which contains about twice the number of stories, cannot have been directly used. No Low German version is known, but that one did exist and was the direct source of F. is shown by Brie with great ingenuity by the aid of the translator's mistakes. In a series of passages the English goes astray in a way not easily accounted for, if he was translating from Flemish, but at once explained, if he was translating from Low German. Thus, in the eleventh chapter: How Howleglass made himself a physician and how he beguiled a doctor of the bishop of Mayborough, the tormented doctor begs not, as in D. and the High German versions, for a light, but for *air*. This is not easily explained from D.: *dat hy wat lichten mochte gecrighen*, but is intelligible enough, if we suppose that the Low German used the word *luchte* (a candle, lantern) and that the translator took this for *lucht*, 'Luft,' air. Similarly, in the third chapter, the child Howleglass is said to have begun 'to daunce upon a corde and no otherwyse;' where D. gives rightly: *so leerde hi spelen ofter coorden ende (en) met ander gockelyen*. In Low German the *ende* would appear as *en*, which can mean both 'and' and 'not,' while *en* in Flemish means only 'not.' Flemish is likely to have been the more familiar dialect of the two to any English translator of the early sixteenth century. In the sequel Brie makes it probable that the lost Low German

version from which F. was derived was older than the High German versions ; their ampler contents presuppose a second Low German version, doubtless derived from a common original with the first, which may be placed about the beginning of the century. Brie's treatment of these matters is admirably clear. Considering, too, how many ferocious epithets have been bandied to and fro by the commentators on Shakspeare and on Dante, it may not be impertinent to attest the uniform courtesy which this commentator on the far from mealy-mouthed German rogue observes towards his predecessors.

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*The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry.* George Shipley.  
Johns Hopkins dissertation. Baltimore, 1903. Pp. 127.

Listing, as it does, all occurrences of the Genitive in the poetry of the Grein-Wülcker *Bibliothek*, Shipley's work both in importance of subject and in scope of research at once commands our attention. Whatever its shortcomings, such a study must be a significant one : even if it failed of discovery or proof, the very attempt would by excluding barren territory serve to concentrate the efforts of other workers upon the more fruitful soil—though the reflection, perhaps, smacks more of consolation than of congratulation. However, our author has done a double and a positive service : not only has he worked his field with commendable industry and skill, but by this he has also brought more clearly into notice other rich unworked regions lying contiguous.

Prefacing this study is a useful bibliographical record of recent works relating to Old English syntax, which brings down to date Chase's *Biographical Guide* of 1896 and Wülfin'g's lists of 1897 and 1901. The body of the work will be analyzed and criticised chapter by chapter in the paragraphs below.

Chapter I, Genitive with Verbs, consists of two parts. First comes 'classification,' listing under ten categories all verbs governing the genitive. No examples are found here, since under the second division, 'citation,' these same verbs are all rearranged, alphabetically this time, with full exemplification from the text,

and with adequate cross-reference in each case to the proper category in the first portion. This method gives the book a practical perspicuity, making it very useable for accurate and rapid reference. The verb-lists stand out all the bolder to the eye and to the mind, because their clear outline is not dulled by ragged blocks of 'citation'; and these very citations are the more available for illustration because arranged alphabetically with reference to the verb in each.

The verb-categories, just mentioned, governing the genitive, are as follows: 1, Verbs of Giving and Taking (15); 2, Verbs of Use and Experience (19); 3, Verbs of Motion and Mental Activity (51); 4, Verbs of Oral Expression (16); 5, Verbs of Rule and Control (2); 6, Verbs of Believing and Disbelieving (6); 7, Verbs of Emotion (12); 8, Verbs with Instrumental Genitive (14); 9, Verbs of Separation (47); 10, Verbs of Helping (4); 11, Verbs with Genitive of Value, Crime, etc., (6).

In the first four classes named, the genitive often finds the accusative a vigorous rival. To decide their quarrel, appeal was made to Grimm's formula—'Der Akkusativ drückt reine, sichere Wirkungen aus, der Genitiv gehemmte, modifizierte.' Also with simple verbs of these four classes, the genitive is usual and the accusative, rare; but after the *ge-* compound of the same verbs, the accusative is the rule and the genitive, the exception. Thus the following verbs regularly take the last-named case, while their compounds with *ge-* take the accusative: *bycgan*, *ceapian*, *hleotan*, *streonan*; *costian*, *cunnian*; *bidan*, *earnian*, *gyman*, *hentan*, *munan*, *mynegian*, *neosian*, *tilian*, *wyrcan*.

In classes 5–8, the genitive represents an older locative or instrumental; while in class 9, after verbs of separation, it is the survival of an original ablative. In class 10, the verbs of helping, (*a-*) *helpian*, *geocian*, *miltsian*, show an occasional genitive of personal object, instead of the more usual dative; and in class 11, the genitive of value, crime, etc., corresponding to a similar usage in Latin and Greek, is a shrinking intruder into the domain of Old English.

This outline though brief is enough to show that the investigation of the Genitive with Verbs is complete in citation and very perspicuous in presentation. Few errors or inconsistencies have been discovered in this chapter. In class 2, page 14, *bitan* and *nytan*

should have the sign (?) suffixed, since reference to their respective citation-groups, pages 27, and 50, shows that the question of a genitive object with each of these verbs is an open one. *Bædan*, cited on page 23, seems to have been omitted from the category-list of class 8, page 18; similarly, *gewreccan*, cited on page 43, should, it seems, be found in class 11, page 20. Passing mention might be made of the inconsistency of translating in this class alone the verb-lists.

Coming next to Chapter II, Genitive with Adjectives, we find the same commendable clarity of arrangement and completeness of citation. The poetry, from the greater flexibility of its language, is more lenient than the prose toward this usage of the genitive. Ninety-four adjectives with this case are listed by Shipley in six classes, as follows: 1, Adjectives of Plenty and Want (25); 2, Adjectives denoting a Mental or Physical Quality (46); 3, Adjectives of Readiness and Desire (12); 4, Adjectives of Remembering and Forgetting (3); 5, Adjectives denoting Merit and Guilt (4); 6, Adjectives of Extent (4).

Chapter III, Genitive with Nouns, is confessedly incomplete—and the thorough work done in the two just reviewed tends in no wise to reconcile us to the sudden lapse here. Fifty-three pages are given to the genitive with verbs and seventeen to the genitive with adjectives, but the adnominal genitive is allowed a bare five—a contrast that is its own commentary.

However, in spite of this incompleteness and in spite of a total absence of analytic form, what this chapter does set forth is full of suggestion and interest; for example: the ablative genitive of the poetry, as in *Gen. 1427 him lifes weard frea ælmihtig freccenra siðra reste ageaf*, rest from his perilous journeys; the predicate genitive of quality, *Ex. 305 was seo eorla gedriht anes modes*, the host of men was of one mind; or of possession, *Ps. 99. 2 he us geworhte and we his syndon*. The prose has an interesting example of this usage, which I may add here, viz., *Dial. 165. 25 Næron ðis na ure weorc, ac hit wæron ðara haligra apostola*.

The earliest stage of the transition to the widespread prepositional construction for the genitive in Modern English is referred by Shipley to such constructions as the following one: *And. 1425 ðu gehete . . . ðæt ne loc of heafde to forlure wurde*, thou didst promise that not a hair of our head should perish. This transition, from



an adverbial *of* (from) + dative to an adjective phrase of origin or possession, is very easy, our author says; but he warns us to make allowance, especially in the prose, for a literal translation of the Latin *ex, de* + ablative.

A final item of interest in this chapter is the genitive in apposition with an original genitive force in the possessive adjective pronominal forms. Three instances of this usage are cited: *Gen. 985 and his blod ageat, Cain Abeles*; the remaining two are *Ps. 118. 3 and Itag. 167.*

Likewise Chapter IV, Genitive with Pronouns, is lacking in adequate citation no less than in definite statement of its subject. A rather dilatory discussion of the genitive after *eall* and *eall ðæt*, after the relative and demonstrative, and after pronominal adverbs constitutes the substance of the chapter. An interesting anomaly noted here is the omission of the pronominal word upon which the partitive genitive depends, as in *El. 325, georne sohton ða wiosotan wordgeryna, ðæt hio ðare cwene oncwæðan meahon swa tiles swa trages, swa hio him to sohte*, eagerly they sought those wisest in wordsecrets, that they might answer the queen whatever of good or evil she asked of them. The remaining instances of this usage are *Sal. 286 and Ps. 88. 7.*

In Chapter V, Genitive with Numerals, is a welcome return to the exhaustive, systematic, and orderly standards of work prevailing in the first two chapters. Interesting under 'compound numbers' is the word-order found in numerals composed of three significant figures:—either *units and tens (genitive) + hundreds*, or *units and hundreds (genitive) + tens*. The detached part always bears the alliteration and is usually connected in thought with what precedes by the addition of *eac* or *to*. After this and other similar introductory matter, the chapter closes with full citation of all numerical expressions found in the poetry. There are over a hundred of them, ranging from 1 to 100,000; and they form a valuable reference group.

The remaining chapters of the book are also well done. In VI, Genitive with Comparative and Superlative, Shipley lays stress upon the groundlessness of the assertion that the object of comparison after a comparative may be expressed by genitive, instead of by the dative-instrumental, when *ðonne* is omitted. The error of those who have argued for an Old English genitive of com-

parison, he says, arises from a mistaken interpretation of the case ending in such examples as *El. 1110, sunnan, beorhtran*, etc. Wülfing's single instance of this construction (*Syntax Alfreds* § 10<sup>a</sup>) Shipley will not allow:—*Bo. 176. 17 gif ðu ðe wilt don manegra beteran and weorðran, ðonne scealt ðu ðe letan anes wyrstan* (= *et qui præire ceteras honore cupis, poscendi humilitate vilesces*). In this, our author rightly contends, *beteran, weorðran*, and *wyrstan* are used substantively; and he translates:—‘If thou wilt make thyself the superior of many and more honorable, then must thou let thyself be the inferior of none.’

In Chapter VII, Genitive as Adverb, it is shown that the ideas usually expressed by this usage are those of time, manner, or condition; genitive adverbs of place are very rare in the poetry. Also, a noun in the genitive used adverbially is seldom accompanied by an adjective modifier.

Chapter VIII, Genitive with Prepositions, shows that only *wið* and *to* govern this case in the poetry. *Wið* + genitive follows (a) verbs of motion, (b) verbs of striving, and (c) verbs meaning ‘protect,’ to express the object guarded against. *To* + genitive has a limited occurrence as follows: (a) after verbs of motion to express the object of motion—a usage peculiar to the poetry; (b) forming a single phrase of degree, *to ðæs*. Besides the above uses, *innan* takes the genitive in one instance: *Ps. 142. 4 is me ænge gast innan hreðres* (*et anxius est in me spiritus meus*). Also, *utan* once: *Ps. 64, 8 ðeoda him ondraedað ðinne egesan, ðe eard nymað utan landes* (*qui habitant fines terræ*). However, I should think it possible here to regard *innan* and *utan* as adverbs, allowing the genitives in each sentence to depend upon *gast* and *eard* respectively.

Chapter IX is a very short one, citing five examples of the genitive used with *wa* and *wel* to denote the source of weal or woe. These citations are: with *wa*, *El. 628, Hym. 2. 6, Met. 1. 25, Ps. 119. 5*; with *wa*, *Hym. 2. 11*. Chapter X is a grouping for reference of all doubtful passages discussed; and a useful index of all those concerning which any comment is made closes the book.

The text, as a rule, is free from typographical errors; those noticed are the following: 22, *Cri. 1475 bitram* for *bitran*, *Ps. 118. 95 asecan* for *asecan* (following Grein's misprint); 25, *Gn. C. 60 biðad* for *bidað*; 26, *And. 1032 bad* for *bæd*, *Cri. 1508*

*wonhæle* for *wonhale*; 28, *Ori.* 392 *mostan* for *motan*, *Ori.* 1664 *cyniges* for *cyninges*; 30, *Ps.* 94. 9 *ðurh faene* (following Grein's error) for *ðurh facen*; 38, *Gen.* 1029 *fæde* for *fæhde*, *jtag.* 11 *ðæs* for *ðas*; 50, (*p.* 14) omitted after *nytan* l. 7; 51, *Met.* 26. 90 *onbihtan* for *onbitan*; 59, *Met.* 28. 44 *he* for *hie*; 73, *Jul.* 31 *geholde* for *geheolde*; 98. 16 *groups* for *group*.

Shipley's work is worthy of emulation in at least these three things: choice of subject, extent of research, and typographical form.

First, his choice of subject fills a definite gap in the investigation of Old English syntax—and a similar treatment of one of the remaining cases, the dative for instance, would seem a tempting dissertation subject in one of our advanced seminars; for he chooses most wisely whose subject fills in the larger outlines his predecessors have already drawn. Only in this way can the line of advance into Old English syntax be kept unbroken. The tyro, by whom much of this work is being done, too often breaks into, preëmpts, and half-cultivates new territory, instead of keeping steadily abreast of his fellows. To be original either in subject-matter or method is not to be erratic.

Secondly, the scope of the text examined in this work gives a certain firmness and repose to its deductions: it is a commonplace that the stability of results reached is in direct ratio to extent of research. It would seem out of place to stress nowadays this principle of Old English syntactical study, had not even this last year brought forth investigations of the 'one-text' type, whose deductions, resting on so narrow a basis, are worse than useless, because misleading.

Thirdly, for its clear typographic effect Shipley's study is perhaps the very best to appear—due in some degree, no doubt, to the author's journalistic training. This quality of philologic work, at least, in Old English, is too much neglected. The mind must be reached through the eye—we lack as yet the popular lecturer on Old English syntax—hence the practical economic superiority of clear, bold typography. It must be granted that the exigencies of such a study tax the compositor to the utmost. This is due chiefly to the blurring effect masses of illustrative excerpts give to the categories. Shipley's twofold division into 'classification' and 'citation' is an admirable way out of this difficulty: the first

gives an open, untrammelled outline, the second groups the examples quoted in perfect form for ready reference ; and I am inclined to think that this method, with the necessary adaptation, would help to bring order out of that eye-wearying chaos found in too many of even our best syntactical studies.

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*Studies in Modern German Literature*, by Otto Heller, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Washington University, St. Louis. Ginn & Co., Boston, 1905.

The book under consideration is characterized by a robust independence, a quality which is unfortunately quite uncommon in our critics of contemporary literature who are generally content to repeat well or ill founded statements. There is ample evidence of the author's immediate study of the books which he discusses, hence the criticisms are fresh and stimulating, even if one does not agree with all the conclusions which have been reached. The author's intimate knowledge of the larger field of German literature has enabled him to present his subject in true perspective, and the interesting comparisons with English and American books will be particularly welcome to the reader who accepts this book as a guide in taking up the study of 'Sudermann, Hauptmann, and the Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century.'

The present tendency to underrate Sudermann and exalt Hauptmann has caused a reaction on the part of the author, with the result that Sudermann is placed in a much truer light than commonly. Without becoming blind to the poet's defects, the author gives a lucid and sympathetic analysis of his characters and plots. While not all will agree with the analysis of single plays, as for instance 'Johannesfeuer' and 'Sturmgeselle Sokrates,' the chapter on Sudermann is the most significant contribution to our knowledge of the poet in recent years.

The author's cautious views on naturalism have probably prevented him from approaching Hauptmann in the same sympathetic spirit. Several statements in the book also lead the reviewer to the opinion that the author has been influenced unduly by the productions of the plays. Since Hauptmann frequently merely

suggests important details in outlining his characters, it is particularly dangerous to rely upon the interpretation of any actor, no matter how generally he may be recognized. This indirect method of depicting characters and situations however constitutes one of Hauptmann's best characteristics. It is hardly to be doubted that a full recognition of this fact would have led to different conclusions in regard to 'Friedensfest,' 'College Crampton,' 'Michael Kramer,' and 'Der Arme Heinrich.' That Hauptmann gave a free rein to his imagination in *Hannele* is hardly substantiated by the facts of the case, for nowhere has the poet based his work more directly and consistently upon real life. It is dream poetry, but these dreams are in all cases the direct reflexes of the child's experience. Since the author clearly does not agree with the suggestion, made by Richard M. Meyer in his 'Die deutsche Litteratur des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts,' that 'Die versunkene Glocke' must be approached through *Hannele*, he fails to see the intense naturalism of this work also. Unless it is recognized that practically all of the action of 'Die versunkene Glocke' is the vision of the wounded Heinrich, the play remains a bundle of inconsistencies. If we recognize this, however, almost all of the author's adverse criticism becomes untenable.

The third chapter contains a survey of the work of the women writers of the century. It is a brief and unusually trustworthy guide through a field of literature that critics have generally approached with a marked positive or negative bias. With remarkable terseness and clearness the author sketches the limitations of these works. Although the criticisms at times may appear somewhat harsh, the objections are vital and great work as that of Böhlau and Huch is as readily recognized as the popular poetry of Johanna Ambrosius is rejected as work of enduring art.

On the whole these 'Studies in Modern German Literature' are a most welcome contribution to recent German criticism. The skill with which the plots are sketched and the vividness of the language make the book highly attractive to the general reader, and the specialist will find it a necessary part of his equipment.

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*Elementary Swedish Grammar*, combined with exercises, reading lessons and conversations, by Henri Fort. London, 1901. Pp. iv + 169.

The author of this book has aimed to present in graded lessons the main facts of Swedish inflexions and syntax. Illustrative sentences and exercises in Swedish accompany each lessons (with connected text after the tenth lesson) and I think it may be said that the author has been very successful in the selection of his sentences ; rare words and unusual forms have been kept in the background and the student is familiarized with those things which characterize every-day, cultured spoken Swedish. The grammar suffers, however, from two very great defects, namely, in the manner in which the phonology is presented and in that it retains the old division of Swedish nouns into three genders. These defects are especially to be regretted since the book otherwise is much the most serviceable grammar for class use that we have. For the Swedish inflexions the book will, with the readjustment of nouns on the basis of four genders, be found to be a very useful book. The four gender division will also affect the rules for the article and the adjective, and of course the rules for gender will have to be modified.

In the phonology some of the mistakes are due to the fact that the author, a Frenchman, has used French spelling to represent the sound and that the revised English edition does not consistently substitute the corresponding English spellings. Some of the statements that are faulty or misleading will here briefly be noted :

Page 1. The name of *g* is *ge* (*gay* without the vanish) not *yay*. The vowels *e* and *i* do not have any vanish as *a* and *e* in English. *Q* is called *ku* (not *kü*) and *z*, *szetah*. *Oh* as the name of *h* is of course a misprint for *ho* (*haw*, *hø*).

Page 2. We should have preferred the terms 'back' and 'front' in the discussion of the vowels under a) and b). The statements under A are not exact enough. When long, *a* has a deeper sound than that of *a* in 'father,' and is furthermore slightly rounded. Swedish long *a* is very near that of Bavarian *a* in MACHEN, or approximately halfway between *a* in 'father' and *aw* in 'law' ; as commonly pronounced in central (and literary) Swedish it is slightly more rounded at the end than in the beginning (= *aq*, *a°*).

Short *a* in Swedish is entirely unrounded as in German, the corners of the mouth being drawn back. *E* has the sound of *ai* in 'sail' but without the vanish. Long *i* and *o* are also of course pure sounds.

The statement under *o* is unnecessarily elaborated. Swedish *o* has three sounds: 1), a sound halfway between European *o* and *u*. 2), slightly more open, being German *o* in *tod* shortened, though not quite so open. 3), open *o* as in English 'short, dong.' This last one is the characteristic short *o* and in Swedish quite short (as German *o* in *Gott*). The first value *o* has especially in stressed syllables; it is the characteristic long *o* in Swedish.

It is a mistake to say that the sound of short *u* is like *oo* in 'room,' in which case it would be identical with the sound of *ö* which is more correctly defined by the author as the sound of *oo* in 'soon.' The sound defined is that of *u* in South Swedish dialects but not that of Central Swedish. The tongue is lowered and drawn slightly farther back in pronouncing Swedish *u* than in German *u*; the sound is about halfway between German *u* and *o*.<sup>1</sup> Now long *u* is not the completely palatalized *u* of French *pur*; the tongue position is only halfway from that of European *u* to that of *u* in French (*ü* in German).

Swedish *y* is also more fronted than German *ü* (it is nearer *i*). Swedish *å* is pronounced something like *oa* in 'load' but in place of the vanish going from *o* to *u* it goes from *ø* to *o*, not *fro"ga* then but *fro"ga*. The short *a* of course has no vanish; it is *o* as in German *toll* (i. e. it is the same as open *ö*).

The quality of the two *ä*-sounds is not governed by their strength. *Ä* is everywhere open, having the ordinary open *a* sound of 'man' regularly; before *r* however, it has a very broad open sound, broader than *a* in 'cars.'

Page 4. Under *C* it would have been sufficient to say that *c* has the sound of *s* before *e*, *i* and *y*, (and *ä*), elsewhere it is a symbol for the *k* sound. It might also have been well to add that *c* is comparatively rare in Swedish, and that when it has the sound of *s* it is at present being replaced by *s*; when the sound of *k* it is replaced by *k*.

<sup>1</sup> We have the same sound in the Sogn dialect of Norwegian in such words as *tynna*, *dyr*.

Page 5. The note under 13 F is rather contradictory to the statement in 2 above it.

The statement under 14 G is unnecessarily long. The rule is that *g* has the sound of *y* in 'year' before palatal vowels in stressed syllables and after *l* and *r* in the same syllable ; elsewhere it has the sound of *g* in 'good.'

Page 6. Under *j* attention might again have been called to the silence of a consonant occurring initially in combination with it as *dj*, *gj*, *hj*, *lj*, (but not in *nj*). 17 K might be simplified as 14 G ; there would at any rate have been no reason for reversing the order in which palatal and guttural is discussed. For clearness' sake the palatal had best be given first.

In note 2 under 18 L the French spelling to represent the pronunciation of *värld* is misleading.

Page 7. 21 P. The note might further have been added, that *p* is not always mute in the combination *ps* ; it is *e. g.* pronounced in *psychologi*.

The statement under R does not convey much meaning to the beginner. In the greater part of Sweden *r* is a tongue-point trill as in Norwegian ; the velar *r* prevails in Southern Sweden. Before a dental is it a supradental forming with the dental one sound.

Page 8. In the ending *-tion*, *t* has the sound of *tsh* after *r* as well as after a vowel (25 T. b.)

The discussion of accent, §3, is rather brief. While the musical accent of Swedish (and Norwegian) is practically impossible to learn for a foreigner, some little account of it would have been eminently in place.

Page 9. 6. The allowable accent : *vaséntlig*, *ordéntlig*, *mån-átling*, might have been given.

Page 10. Gender. The Swedish language has four genders : the masculine, feminine, common and neuter. This classification is based on the substitutory pronoun used, which is *hann* for masculine nouns, *hon* for feminines, *den* for common gender nouns, and *det* for neuters. Masculine are nouns that stand for male beings ; feminine are those that stand for female beings ; other old masculines and feminines have combined into a common class, the substitutory pronoun of which is *den*. To this class Swedish grammarians give the name *réal*, for which the term 'common' may very conveniently be used. The editor's classification is the



old one into three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter. Among the corrections that will be made in accordance with the above are:

Page 11. §2. *En* is used as indefinite article before masculine, feminine and common gender nouns and the three of course have the same terminal article *n* or *en* (§3).

Page 13. §4. As plural terminal article *-ne* is used with masculine and common gender nouns of the second declension and nouns in *-are* of the fifth declension. *Na* may also be used with such nouns as *lärare*, pl. def. *lära<sup>r</sup>ne* or *lära<sup>r</sup>ena* (5th dec.) and *na* is used with nouns in *ande*.

Page 15. §3. The first declension comprises all feminine and common gender nouns in *-a*, but also a few that do not end in *a*, as *ros*, *rosor*.

Page 17. §1. 1 and 2 are to be changed so as to include common gender nouns. The ending *-nung* is also to be corrected to *-ung*.

Page 20. §1. 1 should be masculine and common gender nouns in *-ad*, *-nad*, *-skap*, and *när*. Those in *-an*, *-d*, *-t*, *-st*, *-het*, *-else* and *-ång* are of course common gender nouns, as also most of those under 3. The endings *-ik*, *-ion* and *-ur* are common gender. Under 3 it might have been stated that names of nationalities regularly go according to the 3rd declension.

Page 21. §1. a) 1. should include common gender nouns

2. should include common gender nouns.

Page 26. §1. Say masculine and common gender nouns in *-are* and *-ande*.

Page 30. §1, 3. The nouns are common gender whether they end in *-a* or *-e*.

Page 31. §3. L. The rule should include the common gender also; most of the nouns in question are of that gender. Similarly include common gender in 2 and 3.

Page 32. §5, 2. Substitute common gender for masculine.

Page 34. Gender of Substantives. Most classes included given under I are common gender. Masculines are, a) all appellations of male beings (under C this would include many of those in numbers 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, and 11).

Page 35. Exceptions 3 and 4, for 'feminine' substitute 'common gender.'

The list in II as in I are mostly common gender as governed by rule *a*. So on page 36, those in exceptions.

Those listed in exceptions 2 are neuters as for the use of the article, but *fruntimmer* and *kvinfolk* would be followed by the feminine substitutory pronoun *hon*. If the natural gender is masculine or feminine the corresponding substitutory pronoun is used.

Page 40. The nouns in column one are common gender as all in the second and third groups.

Page 48. Compound nouns are generally of the same gender as the last component part; for exceptions see *Modern Language Notes*, 1904, p. —, which applies to Swedish as well as to Norwegian.

The learner should note the identity of the indefinite singular of the adjective and the definite plural identical also in the fact that the masculine form may in both end in *-e*, though this is getting rare, more especially in the plural.

With the above corrections of the rules governing gender and declensions on the basis of four genders the book may be well used in as much as the four gender system only very slightly affects the adjective or article inflexions.

The way the comparison of adjectives is presented on page 54 is not the best. It would have been more exact to say that adjectives form the comparative and the superlative by adding; 1) *-are* and *-ast* respectively to the stem, or 2) *-re* and *-st* with mutation of the stem vowel. In words with final *a*, as *stilla*, the *a* suffers apocope before the comparative *-are* and the superlative *-ast*, these being the endings here, not *-re*, *-st* (as 3).

It would have been in place to give some account of the differences in use between the past article and the supine in Swedish (as, *hon är älskad*, *barnet är älskadt*, but *hon har älskat*, especially as Swedish distinguishes carefully between the two. There is nothing in the text to indicate to the student as it stands that he may not say *e. g. mannen har blifvit trott*, or *björnen är skjutit*.

The classification of strong verbs, page 72, will be rather confusing to the beginner. The grouping had best be entirely restated by the teacher on the basis of: 1) infinitives with the stem-vowel *i* followed by a consonant group; 2) infinitives with *i* followed by one consonant; 3) infinitives in *ä*; 4) infinitives in *y*; and 5) those in *a*, and 6) irregular verbs.

While it would have been desirable that the discussion of the phonology were more scientific and the subdivision of some of the grammatical classes were better and clearer, the book will be found to serve very well the purpose for which it is intended. There are so few helps available in English for the study of Swedish that this elementary grammar will certainly be welcome to teachers of the language. It is hoped that its defects will be corrected in a second edition.

GEO. T. FLOM.

*Goethe über seine Dichtungen.* Versuch einer Sammlung aller Äusserungen des Dichters über seine poetischen Werke. von Dr. Hans Gerhard Gräf. Theil I: Die epischen Dichtungen. Band 1, 1901; xxiii S., S. 1–492; Preis 7 Mk. Band 2, 1902; iv S., S. 493–697; Preis 9 Mk. Theil II: Die dramatischen Dichtungen. Band 1, 1903; xxii u. 443 Seiten; Preis 7 Mk. Band 2, 1904; vi u. 643 Seiten. Frankfurt a/M. Literarische Anstalt, Rütten & Löning.

*Wort und Bedeutung in Goethes Sprache.* von Ewald A. Boucke (*Litterar-historische Forschungen* herausgegeben von Dr. Josef Schick und Dr. M. Frh. v. Waldberg, xx Heft); Preis 5 Mk. Berlin, verlag von Emil Felber.

An Art und Umfang sehr verschieden, aber beide durch wirklichen Wert ausgezeichnet, gehören Gräfs *Goethes Äusserungen über seine Dichtungen* und Bouckes *Wort und Bedeutung in Goethes Sprache* zum Bedeutendsten, was die Goetheforschung bisher geschaffen hat.

Gräf imponiert schon äusserlich durch die Masse des Geleisteten. Bis jetzt sind vier dicke Bände erschienen, und noch sind nicht alle Dramen und nichts von der Lyrik behandelt. Aber des gewaltige Werk zeugt auch auf jeder Seite von der zuverlässigen Sorgsamkeit des Verfassers. Die berufensten deutschen Kritiker haben, soviel ich bemerkt, mit allen ihren bibliographischen Hilfsmitteln zu Gräfs Sammlungen nichts hinzugefügt und nichts daran ausgesetzt. Auch wir können nur das Gebotene mit Dank begrüßen. Gräf hat aus den verschiedensten Quellen Alles zusammengetragen, was

der Dichter je über seine Dichtungen sagte oder schrieb. Das Ganze ist übersichtlich eingerichtet und jede Einzelheit am richtigen Orte angeführt. Die Werke sind in drei Gruppen,—Epen, Dramen, Lyrik,—geteilt und innerhalb jeder Gruppe in alphabetischer Reihenfolge behandelt ; die Äusserungen über jedes einzelne Werk sind dann chronologisch geordnet. So tritt jeder Ausspruch sogleich und zwar, ohne viel weiteres Nachschlagen, in seinem natürlichsten Zusammenhang hervor. Über den jeweiligen Anlass zu den einzelnen Äusserungen geben sorgfältige Anmerkungen vielfach weiteren Aufschluss, und der gelehrte Verfasser liefert hier wohl auch dem mit Goethes Lebensgang vertrauten Forscher manch wichtigen Hinweis. Allerdings will dann noch jedes Wort des Dichters im höheren Sinne historisch, d. h. innerhalb der ganzen Entwicklungsgeschichte Goethes, verstanden sein, und von diesem, allerdings wohl nur von diesem, Standpunkt hätte sich eine durchgehend chronologische Anführung des ganzen Materials empfohlen.

Bei der Einschätzung aller dieser Aussagen wird natürlich auch stets die Tatsache zu berücksichtigen sein, daß ihnen des Persönliche untrennbar anhaftet, und wenn wir auch im Allgemeinen längst wissen, daß Goethe wie wenig Andere klar und unparteiisch über sich selbst urteilte, so wird doch erst jetzt, durch Vergleichung mit den aus andern Quellen erschlossenen Überzeugungen des Dichters zu beweisen sein, wie weit diese seine Objektivität in Wahrheit ging. Überhaupt ist es klar, daß bei verständiger Durcharbeitung des hier gesammelten Stoffes unter den angedeuteten Gesichtspunkten manche Züge in dem Bild Goethes, des Menschen wie des Dichters, erst recht klar hervortreten müssen, sowie daß dabei immer noch neues Licht von ihm ausstrahlen wird.

Von unmittelbarstem Nutzen aber ist uns Gräff, wenn wir nicht sowohl die ganze Persönlichkeit Goethes ins Auge fassen, als vielmehr die äussere und innere Geschichte seiner einzelnen Werke. Beim Studium und der Interpretation des Faust, z. B., waren uns schon die kurzen Auszüge aus Goethes Tagebuch willkommen, die Erich Schmidt seiner Ausgabe des *Urfaust* mitgegeben, und nun haben wir hier bei Gräff auf nahezu 600 Seiten Alles beisammen, zeitlich geordnet und mit den nötigen Erläuterungen versehen, von der etwas dunkeln Epistel an Kestner, vom Jahre 1773, bis zu dem gleichfalls schwierigen Brief an W. v. Humboldt, vom siebzehnten

März 1832 ; im Ganzen nicht weniger als 1131 Äusserungen Goethes über seinen Faust allein ! Dazu sind der Behandlung eines jeden Werkes kurze Einleitungen vorausgeschickt, die über Handschriften, Drucke, Theaterbearbeitungen und Aufführungen oder sonstige Punkte genügende Auskunft erteilen.

Der Druck ist durchweg klar und schön ; der Preis ist spottbillig im Vergleich zur Masse und Gediegenheit des Inhalts. Wenn sich immerhin Mancher den Privatankauf des grossen Werkes versagen muss, so sollte doch jedem Goetheforscher, dem lernenden sowie dem auch lehrenden, dieses unentbehrliche Hilfsmittel auf seiner Universitäts- oder Stadtbibliothek zur Verfügung stehen.

Boucke, *Wort und Bedeutung in Goethes Sprache*, erklärt den Sprachgebrauch des Dichters in Bezug auf eine grosse Anzahl von Wörtern, die dieser zu eigner Prägnanz entwickelt oder irgendwie in ihrer Bedeutung vertieft oder verändert hat. Frühere Untersuchungen, bes. die von R. M. Meyer, ferner die von Pniower, Knauth, Lehmann, Steiner, von Boucke natürlich benutzt und zitiert, ferner gelegentliche Beobachtungen, z. B. von Fresenius, Erich Schmidt u. A., sowie die Kommentare der Herausgeber hatten hier schon manches Wesentliche festgestellt ; unser Verfasser jedoch bietet weit mehr als seine Vorgänger. Er hat den schönen Gegenstand zwar noch lange nicht erschöpft, aber sein Buch ist schon jetzt ein überaus wertvoller Beitrag zur Erkenntniss nicht nur der Sprache Goethes, sondern auch seines Geistes. Boucke erläutert Goethe feinsinnig, treu, fast kongenial, und mit liebevollster Vertiefung in das Wesen des Menschen wie des Dichters. Er bringt nicht eine zusammenhangslose Anzahl von einzelnen Worterklärungen, sondern er hat den Muth und auf Grund seiner sicheren Stoffbeherrschung auch das Recht, zur Synthese fortzuschreiten. Er entwickelt die Bedeutung Goethescher Ausdrücke im steten Hinblick auf seine ganze Persönlichkeit, und anderseits enthüllt sich immer wieder aus der näheren Betrachtung seiner Sprache die bei aller Vielseitigkeit stets zu völliger Durchdringung und organischer Einordnung des Stoffes, zu einem Einheitlichen, Ganzen hinstrebende Natur des Dichters. In drei Gruppen gliedern sich die meisten der von Boucke behandelten Wörter : in der Welt des Sittlich-Geistigen herrscht als die 'Centralsonne' im Leben Goethes des Begriff des *Tüchtigen* ; im Mittelpunkt des Sittlichen steht ihm das Wort *rein*, und in der Geisti-

gen Sphäre stehen die eng zusammengehörigen Ausdrücke *wahr* (: *fruchtbar*), *prägnant*, *gegenwärtig*, (doch wohl auch *gegenständlich*) u. ä. Natürlich sind die drei Gruppen nicht durchaus von einander zu trennen. So wohnt, wie ich das wort verstehe, dem Goetheschen *rein* neben dem sittlichen doch auch weit mehr geistiger Gehalt inne als wir heutzutage, oder als andere Schriftsteller zu Goethes Zeit damit verbinden. Und überall herrscht bei Goethe neben dem Tüchtigen, alle Sphären durchdringend, das Motiv des *Positiven*, der *Förderung*, *Bejahung*. Boucke selbst weist natürlich auf Mephisto als den Geist der Verneinung hin; er hätte da auch den schönen Brief an Schiller anführen können, in dem Goethe von der *Negierung* als dem eigentlich teuflischen Element im Menschen spricht. Einige der etwa noch zu behandelnden Schlagwörter, die ich mir in meinem Exemplar angemerkt habe, mögen hier erwähnt werden: *bang*, *besitzen*, *Bildung*, *Breite*, *dunkel*, *edel*, *Entelechie*, *eräugnen*, *genieszen*, *Gewissen*, *Hoffnung*, *Humanität*, *Lässigkeit*, *Liebe*, (*Welt*)*literatur*; *Menschheit*, *Menschlichkeit*, *Mittelzustand*, *Natur* (= das *Werdende*), *sein*, *Seele*, *Vernunft*, *unsterblich*, *Zeit*, *zierlich*. Natürlich liesze sich noch viel hinzufügen. Aber was der Verfasser uns geschenkt hat, ist tüchtig und wahr; Boucke scheint mir Goethe den Menschen und Dichter richtig erkannt und rein und klar dargestellt zu haben.

G. E. KARSTEN.

### BRIEF MENTION.

**A Grammar of the German Language** designed for the thorough and practical study of the language as spoken and written to-day, by George O. Curme, Professor of Germanic Philology in Northwestern University. New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan Co., 1905.—Professor Curme's Grammar is based chiefly on material collected by himself from classical and modern literature and from the spoken language of to-day. The facts are stated fully and clearly, each in its right place, and, so far as possible, explained in the light of past and present linguistic developments and tendencies. This book is an honor to American scholarship; it is unequalled in Germany and will surely infuse new blood and vitality into the practical teaching and the study of the language, not only in our country but in Germany as well. It is not a text-book for beginners' classes; but every advanced student should become familiar with it, and every conscientious teacher, whether himself a German or not, must have it and use it. There can henceforth be no up-to-date teaching of German without Curme.

## CURRENT LITERATURE.

## PRESENT TENDENCIES IN THE GERMAN DRAMA AND NOVEL.

From now on regular reports upon current developments in German literature will appear in this place. It is not deemed necessary to defend this departure, as philology is not opposed to life, although it largely deals with what is dead to the feeling and the thought of those now living. It is self-evident that the philological methods employed in studying the past can be applied only in a very limited degree to the work of living authors, but we may do what the profoundest scientific investigators of a future period may not be able to accomplish, we may appreciate and enjoy the labors of the men and the women of our own time. We may not find the true perspective, but we may be deeply moved by their struggles and be lifted up by their aspirations and their ideals, undisturbed by the thought that a future generation may by scientific measurement prove that all this present life lacks the elements of real greatness. We cannot know whether contemporary literature is great or not, nor need we concern ourselves with this point, for by a natural law all that is near us is of peculiar interest and value to us.

The last few years have brought us a number of good German books. Not only their quality but also their common tendency is significant, especially in the drama. The recent appearance of two such beautiful and idealistic dramas as Lienhard's *Wieland der Schmied* and Wildenbruch's *Die Lieder des Euripides* accompanied by the rather cool reception of Sudermann's *Stein unter Steinen* and the half-hearted approval of Hauptmann's *Und Pippa tanzt* confirms the impression gained also from other signs that we are approaching a turning point in the development of the drama. Since the remarkable season of 1889-90, when Hauptmann and Sudermann aroused such wide interest by their *Vor Sonnenaufgang* and *Die Ehre*, the dramatical output has largely

been dominated by these two men and the general naturalistic tendencies they represent. Everywhere arose young enthusiastic men girded about with a holy zeal to defend these naturalistic principles. However much they differed among themselves, they all had a strong sense for the real and an intense interest in the actual conditions of modern life. Even Wildenbruch, so different by natural temperament, now and then fell into the same trend. The beautiful language of Goethe and Grillparzer was replaced by the plain and natural speech of every day, often even by dialect and the mere stammerings of excited people. Throughout the entire nineteenth century there is a steady growth of the sense for the real, but these first dramatic productions of Hauptmann and Sudermann appearing at an opportune moment and presented so earnestly with the ardor of youth and hope seemed to the young new revelations and were received as such. Of course, these two champions of the real were, on the other hand, fiercely attacked by older and more conservative men. Hauptmann and Sudermann, however, proceeded on their way undisturbed by this opposition. Others as Halbe, Schnitzler, Hartleben, Dreyer, Beyerlein have also gradually won for themselves a place in the sympathies of the public. Of these, Hartleben after obtaining a flattering success with his *Rosenmontag*, has been called away by death. All of these young men were received more or less warmly by certain classes of young people and each had his ardent admirers. To this group may be added other dramatists, as Georg Engel, Georg Hirschfeld, etc., who have found friends and supporters. They all, the little and the large men, were in a certain sense conquerors, in that they won new realms for literature by devoting themselves to special fields of observation. The very claim of these men that they were presenting, not themselves, but actual phases of human life almost disarmed criticism in certain influential circles, for the search after facts is the vital principle of scientific investigation which characterizes our time. To many others literature seemed about to embrace life and thus about to become one of the great popular forces of the new age. A great number, led on by the strong hopes of these dramatists and their critical supporters, endeavored to enter sympathetically into these special dramatical studies. The enthusiasm and public favor became at times almost unbounded. Now, however, after more than a decade has passed away, these scenes of actual life, often so



sad, or disgusting, or revolting and on the other hand often so devoid of every uplifting force, begin to tire the public and the people, sick of the realities that meet them everywhere in their own experiences, are eager to escape what once seemed to be the only proper theme of literature—pictures of actual life. A new group of literary men have sprung into prominence who have gained the sympathies of a large public by leading the thought away from the present and its realities and carrying it back into our earlier days, when hopes ran high and thought arose above the present towards the ideal regions of youthful dreamland and fancy. These pictures of youthful life have found a beautiful expression in a number of novels, especially Frenssen's *Die drei Getreuen*, Jörn Uhl, and *Hilligenlei* and Lauff's *Kärrekiek*. The last mentioned book is one of the truest pictures of idealistic youth-time that present literature affords. A sweet melancholy pervades it throughout and the lines are so faithfully drawn that by means of the gentle insinuating influence of the atmosphere of the story we gradually forget the hard realities of to-day and find ourselves again in our youth-time. We live over our old joys and old sorrows and at the close of the tale it is only with a reluctant feeling that we lay the book down to return to actual life. A number of other interesting books of this retrospective character are Wilhelm Fischer's *Die Freude am Licht*, Hesse's *Peter Camenzind*, Hollaender's *Der Weg des Thomas Truck*, Sommer's *Ernst Reiland*, Otto Ernst's *Asmus Sempers Jugendland*. Somewhat similar to these books is Baroness Heyking's *Briefe, die ihn nicht erreichten*, as we are also carried away from the present into the past life of another. Here it is not the life of buoyant young manhood conscious of its power, but it is the story of the hopes and fears of a gentle woman who cannot shape her own life, but must as a woman receive her destiny from the hands of another or the development of outward circumstances. There are such deep true tones of womanly feeling in the book that its influence will come to many as a benediction. That this recent prominent feature of retrospection in literature should take the form of the novel, not that of the drama, lies in the nature of the subject itself. The novel has for some time been kept in the background by the prominence of the naturalistic drama, but it is now having its turn and is receiving a large share of attention. The idealistic tendency so prominent in a number of these novels is also finding its way into

the drama as mentioned above. This is only natural, for the drama is an old well established stronghold of idealistic life. It may be quite premature to conclude from these few indications of the revival of the idealistic drama that naturalism will soon be displaced. Even if it should lose a good deal of its influence, it does not mean that it will lose its value to literature. After the storms of enthusiasm on the one hand and of prejudice on the other are past, this interesting phase of modern literature will be studied impartially and its real significance will become apparent. The lives of these men, especially Hauptmann and Sudermann, will become better known and the results will be brought into connection with their works and will add greatly to their value. How Goethe's *Iphigenie* and *Tasso* have gained by the profound study of the poet's life ! There are a goodly number of these naturalistic dramas that many students of recent German literature count among their richest experiences, for they, too, have experienced them along with their authors. Several of these works will probably become permanent factors in literature, for the achievements of such a pure and lofty striving borne up by the hopes of the youth of an age cannot be entirely lost, it is a part of the history of the age. Hauptmann has spoken things so true and so beautiful that several of his works may become a precious heritage to following generations. Criticism has been more severe upon Sudermann than upon his rival, but a more careful study of his life and his work will reveal much earnest and noble striving and will make the final judgment more favorable. We may despair too early when we predict the decline of these two leading writers simply upon the basis of the unfavorable impression received from their latest works. We expect them to fulfil every year the great hopes we entertained at the start and to write a great work every season, when Goethe wrote in his long life only five or six works of lasting beauty.

Closely connected with modern German naturalism in the drama is symbolism. Hauptmann, in *Die versunkene Glocke*, turned from the intense realistic scenes of modern life to the land of myth and wonder. He calls his work 'ein deutsches Märchendrama.' It seemed at first an abandonment of realism, but closer study reveals the old realistic aims, only in a symbolistic form, as if he would by means of the live concrete forms of fable and allegory be able to disclose more vividly the deep mystery of life. The success of this

work was pronounced. Later, he returned to the earlier realistic forms, but in the present year in *Und Pippa tanzt* he again employs symbolism. Another interesting symbolistic dramatist is Hugo von Hofmannsthal. His *Theater in Versen* is a collection of symbolistic dramas, which in spite of certain repulsive and unhealthy features contain striking beauties of a peculiar individual nature.

Although the future of naturalism in the drama is not secure, it has in another form come to stay, namely, in the so-called 'Heimatkunst.' Naturalism is a product of the city and at first busied itself almost exclusively with the evils of society and was thus in large measure negative, but its essential aim, that of representing faithfully the actual conditions of life as they are to-day, is distinctly positive and opens up a limitless field of work for the novelist. Every section of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland has peculiar conditions of society and culture and peculiar beauties of natural scenery that can never be exhausted. Here in the country sections men and women are healthy in both body and thought and young in hope, here there is a rich capital of human happiness and contentedness, a quiet, earnest activity in pursuit of modest attainable results which, if reproduced in the form of faithful pictures, will brighten and strengthen life to the tired and nervous people of the city. These pictures of 'Heimatkunst' differ materially from the older 'Dorfgeschichte' in that the author does not merely tell an interesting tale using a rural scene for the background, but will reproduce faithfully the life of his own home, as only he, the child of the locality can do, he who dreamed his boyhood dreams on its hillsides and rivers and laughed and cried, played and worked, suffered and hoped with its people. There is not a single section of Germany that has not its 'Heimatkunst.' The traveler that is hurled through the lowlands on a fast train and who later talks of the charmless German plain, must read works of the 'Heimatkunst' and learn from a genuine child of that section the long list of its beauties, its manifold sounds and sights and the bright life and high hopes of its people. The authors who have given to the life of their home a prominent place in their books do not belong to a clearly marked school, for often other distinguishing elements enter into their work. Hauptmann, classified above as a naturalistic dramatist, has in a number of his plays given us faithful pictures of life in his Silesian home. Thus 'Heimatkunst' plays a

rôle in different fields of literature and is destined to become even more prominent. Among the many writers who give us pictures of home life, a few are here mentioned : Rosegger for Styria in Austria, Timm Kröger, Bernhardine Schulze-Smidt, Max Dreyer, Jensen, and Frenssen for the North, Lauff and Clara Viebig for the West, Siegfried, Heer, and Lienert for Switzerland. Of their many interesting works we mention here a few, Siegfried's *Gritli Brunnenmeister* is a work of such simple classic beauty that it ought to become a favorite school text in our German classes. Lauff's *Kärrekiek* has been mentioned above and his *Frau Aleit* deserves mention here. On some other occasion this subject will be presented in fuller outline.

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## NEUERE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR.

### I.

In regelmässigen Berichten soll an dieser Stelle auf das Bedeutendste und Wichtigste hingedeutet werden, was die deutsche Literatur jetzt hervorbringt. Das ist keine leichte Aufgabe, wenn man die verwirrende Fülle von Publikationen bedenkt, die eben allwöchentlich den deutschen Büchermarkt überschwemmen, aber so schwer es auch sein mag, sich darin zurechtzufinden, so ergibt sich für uns doch ein grosser Vorteil daraus, dass wir ausserhalb aller der Strömungen und Bewegungen stehen, die sich jetzt mehr als je in der deutschen Literatur hervortun. Mit wenigen Ausnahmen gehört jeder, der künstlerisch und dichterisch schafft, einer bestimmten Richtung an, und es ist natürlich, dass auch die, welche kritisch über dieses Schaffen zu berichten berufen sind, gewissen ausgesprochenen künstlerischen Tendenzen huldigen. Von den grossen, der schönen Literatur wirklich dienenden Zeitschriften vertritt jede mehr oder weniger scharf ausgeprägt eine eigene literarische Richtung — die eine unter dem Deckmantel korrekter Objektivität und Unpersönlichkeit, die andere kampfbereit und mit offenem Visier. Um jede scharen sich die Schrift-

steller und Dichter, die denselben literarischen und künstlerischen Ansichten und Tendenzen huldigen, wie die jeweilige Zeitschrift, und die Kritik, die hier geübt wird, treibt die Subjektivität bis zur Einseitigkeit. Die Kämpfe, die auf diesem Gebiete ausgefochten werden, sind häufig von überraschender Bitterkeit; aber die Kampflust ist so tief im deutschen Charakter begründet und macht so viel vom Wesen des Deutschen aus, dass sie sich auch auf literarischem und künstlerischem Felde nicht wohl verleugnen kann. Der Lärm aller dieser Zwistigkeiten und Meinungsverschiedenheiten aber, dieser halb ästhetischen, halb sozialen, halb tendenziösen Zeit- und Streitfragen, die das deutsche Volk, soweit es der Literatur und Kunst Interesse entgegenbringt, bewegen und erregen, dringt nur gedämpft zu uns herüber; für uns gibt es kein literarisches Evangelium, an das wir unbedingt glauben müssen, keine Schule, auf die wir eingeschworen sind, keine Richtung, die wir als die alleinseligmachende anerkennen. Die Frage, die wir an ein dichterisches und künstlerisches Werk richten, ist die, ob es uns etwas zu sagen hat, das wert ist, mitgenommen zu werden ins Leben, ob es uns, individualisiert durch die Persönlichkeit seines Schöpfers, einen tieferen Einblick zu gönnen weiss in die Vielseitigkeit des menschlichen Herzens, und ob es uns—und dieses besonders—das deutsche Wesen, das so schwer zu verstehen ist, mehr und mehr zu erschliessen vermag. Denn für jeden, der nicht selbst ein Deutscher ist, bleibt dieses Wesen stets ein wunderbar bunt und vielseitig, wie die einzelnen deutschen Volksstämme und anscheinend ebenso unvereinbar. Und genau so ist es mit der deutschen Literatur. Was John G. Robertson—ich zitiere mit Absicht einen Engländer—einmal vom deutschen Roman gesagt hat, nämlich dass “this type, owing mainly to its subordination of narrative to the expression of sentiment and feeling, has never appealed to the tastes of foreign readers,” das gilt auch von den übrigen deutschen Dichtungsgattungen. Wer sie verstehen will, der muss den deutschen Charakter in seiner Vielseitigkeit kennen, der muss den Problemen nahe getreten sein, die das deutsche Volk bis in seine innersten Tiefen aufgereggt und aufgerüttelt haben. Wenn es je von einem Volke galt, so gilt es vom deutschen: dass die Literatur Leben von seinem Leben ist und Geist von seinem Geiste, und wie die Sprache ist sie, um mit Hum-

boldt zu reden, "kein fertiges, ruhendes Ding, sondern etwas in jedem Augenblicke Werdendes, Entstehendes und Vergehendes." Und nicht nur einzelne hervorragende Talente—die ganze Nation, das gesamte Volk arbeitet an ihr mit. In keiner Sprache wird alljährlich so viel gedruckt, wie in der deutschen, kein Büchermarkt weist allmonatlich solche Massen von Neuerscheinungen auf, wie der deutsche; mag aber auch die Kritik, die entsprechend der deutschen Tadelsucht in Deutschland meist mit beispielloser Rücksichtslosigkeit vorgeht, über alle die kleinen und kleineren Dichter mit Spott und Verachtung hinwegschreiten, sie beweisen doch das gewaltige ideale Ringen und Suchen des ganzen deutschen Volkes. Ringen und Suchen—das sind die Zeichen der jetzigen deutschen Literatur, und die sich strebend bemühen, können erlöst werden.

Es ist nicht meine Absicht, Kritik zu üben im gewöhnlichen Sinne des Wortes. Die historisch-kritische Methode, die den Beruf des akademischen Lehrers darin sieht, die Entstehung eines Werkes zu erforschen, es mit seinen Vorbildern zu vergleichen, Entwürfe, Vorarbeiten und Lesarten heranzuziehen—diese Art und Weise der Literaturbehandlung lässt sich auf neuere und neueste Werke schon so wie so nicht wohl anwenden. Hier gilt es nicht, niederzureissen, sondern aufzubauen. Nicht zu verneinen, sondern zu bejahen. Das Echte, was die deutsche Literatur hervorbringt, das Wahre und Wahrhaftige, mag es nun schön sein oder nicht—denn nach den unklaren Gesetzen der Schönheit, die man früher als die einzigen Führer hat gelten lassen, wird heute wohl niemand mehr den Wert eines Buches oder Kunstwerks beurteilen wollen,—soll hier hervorgehoben und besprochen werden, und ich mache nicht Anspruch darauf, dabei objektiv zu verfahren. Darüber ist man in der Geschichte und der Literaturgeschichte heute wohl hinaus, dass man sich rühmt, unpersönliche Urteile abgeben zu können. Kein Geringerer als Treitschke hat den Mut gehabt, dem letzten Bande seiner 'Deutschen Geschichte' die freimütige Erklärung vorzuschicken, dass er nicht *sine ira et studio* geschaffen habe, und ein soviel kühlerer Forscher wie Heinrich von Sybel hält es ebenfalls für nötig, darauf hinzuweisen, dass er "an keiner Stelle" seines grossen Geschichtswerkes seine "preussischen und nationalen Überzeugungen zu verläugnen versucht." Wenn aber bedeutende Geschichtsschreiber solche Bekenntnisse abgeben zu müssen glauben—sie, die eigentlich, um Ranke's Ausdruck zu gebrauchen, nur

erforschen sollten, "wie es eigentlich gewesen ist"—wie viel weniger kann ein Literaturhistoriker oder auch nur ein literarischer Kritiker, an den doch ganz andere Fragen herantreten, unparteiisch und unpersönlich urteilen! Und nun gar, wenn das Buch, mit dem er sich zu beschäftigen hat, Tagesfragen berührt, die ihn selbst bewegen! Doch gibt es auch hier eine Grenze: die künstlerische und ästhetische Bildung. Zieht man die Konsequenzen des Satzes von der persönlichen Kritik, dann kommt man endlich auf das banale Wort 'Geschmacksache:' jeder beliebige Geschmack kann dann Anspruch darauf erheben, ein richtiges Urteil zu fällen. Hier nun setzt die Frage ein, in wie hohem Masse der Geschmack gebildet, wie weit er gleichbedeutend sein soll mit dem ästhetischen Fühlen der Besten und Grössten eines Volkes, und ob es überhaupt Gesetze gibt, die dafür massgebend sind. Gewiss ist einstweilen nur die eine Forderung, dass der Kritiker fähig sei, ein Kunstwerk nachzuempfinden, dass er nicht nur zu zergliedern, sondern auch aufzubauen vermöge, dass er selbst ein Schaffender sei, der die Kunst literarischer Darstellung und den Stil der Persönlichkeit sein eigen nenne.

Einer der Nachteile, mit denen besonders die neuere deutsche Literatur zu kämpfen hat, ist die Tatsache, dass sie wie keine andere fremden Einflüssen ausgesetzt ist. Von allen Seiten strömen die ausländischen Muster förmlich auf sie ein. Die Übersetzungsliteratur ist ins Riesenhafte gewachsen: man kann ohne Übertreibung sagen, dass es kein bedeutenderes Werk der Weltliteratur gibt, welches man nicht in deutscher Sprache lesen könnte. Kaum findet sich eine deutsche Zeitschrift—von den grösseren Tageszeitungen gar nicht zu reden—die nicht in jeder Nummer längere Artikel über fremde Dichter und Schriftsteller brächte; es ist nur logisch, dass auch die besten Darstellungen fremder Literaturen aus deutschen Gelehrtenstuben hervorgegangen sind. Bei der Vorliebe für das Ausland, bei—um einen Ausdruck Adolf Wilbrandts zu gebrauchen—der "Anbetung des Fremden" und der "Auslandvergötterung," die dem Deutschen innewohnen, hat sich auch die deutsche Literatur nur zu gerne nach ausländischen Mustern umgesehen. Sudermann hat einmal die Ibsen, Tolstoj und Zola unumwunden als die eigentlichen Lehrmeister seiner Generation bezeichnet. Diese beispiellos dastehende Beeinflussung des deutschen Geschmacks, der deutschen Literatur und der deutschen

Kunst durch das Ausland zeigt unzweifelhaft einen Mangel an Selbstbewusstsein und Nationalstolz beim deutschen Volke—und doch liegt auch wieder ein Beweis von Selbständigkeit und Stärke darin, dass die deutsche Literatur sich doch am Ende immer wieder gewissermassen auf sich selbst besinnt, das Fremde von sich abschüttelt, nachdem sie das Beste davon in sich aufgenommen und verarbeitet hat, und sich gerade durch den Vergleich mit dem Fremden intensiveres Verständnis für das schafft, was die Seele des deutschen Volkes ausmacht.

Alle diese Punkte, die hier in Betracht zu ziehen sind, bilden eine Eigentümlichkeit der deutschen Literatur, und nur dieser. Die englische Literatur ist, von geringen Ausnahmen abgesehen, wesentlich englisch, die französische französisch, die italienische italienisch, aber die neuere deutsche hat in ihrem Gebiete ganze Gruppen von Dichtern, die zwar die deutsche Sprache gebrauchen, in ihrem Fühlen und Denken aber Ausländer geworden sind oder, was weniger anstössig klingt, Kosmopoliten. Selbst bei vielen der hervorragenderen Dichter und Schriftsteller lassen sich ohne Mühe stilistische Eigentümlichkeiten nachweisen, die vom Auslande importiert sind, wie auch nicht wenige Ideen. Allerdings sucht man diesen Einfluss jetzt nach Kräften zu bekämpfen : die 'Heimatkunst,' die in den letzten Jahren manches Gute und viel Mittelmässiges hervorgebracht hat, ist ein Protest gegen die Ausländerei. Etwas Neues ist diese Heimatkunst zwar nicht, nur dass sie, als sie zum Bewusstsein ihrer selbst kam, einen Taufnamen erhielt, und dieser Name wird einstweilen, obwohl er bereits einen etwas üblen Beigeschmack hat, nur für den Roman gebraucht. Einen grossen deutschen Roman oder einen bedeutenderen Berliner Roman hat die deutsche Literatur noch nicht hervorgebracht. London und Paris haben ihre Zeitromane, Berlin aber ist bis jetzt leer ausgegangen. Allerdings gibt es Berliner Romane die Hülle und Fülle, Paul Lindau hat sogar nach französischem Muster einen ganzen Zyklus mit dem Namen der Reichshauptstadt geschaffen, aber der starke lebensvolle Roman Deutschlands wurzelt in der Provinz. Und nicht nur der Roman. Jede deutsche Dichtung trägt die Stammesart und die Merkmale der engeren Heimat des Einzelnen, der sie geschaffen hat. Die Menschen in den plattdeutschen Idyllen des alten Voss sind ganz andere, als die Leute in den scherzhaften Gedichten Hebels, Immermanns westfälische



Bauern haben nichts gemein mit den biedereren Schweizern des Jeremias Gotthelf oder den etwas philiströsen Thüringern Otto Ludwigs. Willibald Alexis und Theodor Fontane schwärmen von den Sandwüsten der märkischen Heide und der Schönheit einsam ragender Föhren, Reuter, Klaus Groth und Storm erschliessen uns die gemütvollen Seelen norddeutscher Menschen, Freytag, Holtei und Hauptmann machen uns mit den Schlesiern bekannt; jeder Gau und jeder Stamm hat seinen besonderen Dichter, jetzt noch ebenso gut wie in früheren Jahren. Aber 'Heimatkunst' ist das neueste Schlagwort: die Zersplitterung und Kleinstaaterei, von der sich die Deutschen nur schwer losmachen zu können scheinen, ist damit literaturfähig geworden und auf den Schild erhoben worden, obwohl es eine wirkliche Zentralisation wie im politischen Deutschland so auch im literarischen niemals gegeben hat. Denn ein einheitliches Streben war und ist in der deutschen Literatur nirgends zu bemerken. Einzelne Richtungen sind dann und wann stärker hervorgetreten und haben gedroht, alle anderen zu überschwemmen und zu verschlingen, aber wenn der Sturm nachliess und die Flut anfang, sich zu verlaufen, zeigte es sich, dass trotz Naturalismus und Realismus die Romantik noch immer üppig gedieh, dass neben der neueren Schule die ältere weiterlebte, dass der Roman die Lyrik nicht zu verdrängen vermochte und das Drama nicht den Roman. Die Schlagworte verschwanden oder wurden durch neue ersetzt: was echt war in Literatur und Kunst, blieb bestehen und lebt weiter, gleichgiltig, aus welcher Schule es hervorgegangen.

Will man die Tendenzen der deutschen Literatur unserer Tage erkennen, dann muss man ein halbes Jahrhundert zurückblicken. Die stürmischen politischen Sänger, die der deutschen Revolution vom Jahre 1848 vorausgegangen waren, verstummten meist mit dem Sturz ihrer Ideale, und die Dichter der Reaktionszeit wendeten sich scheu vom politischen Leben und der Gegenwart überhaupt ab: die Bodenstedt, Redwitz, Scheffel, Roquette, Keller, Storm, Hammer und Gerok schufen damals ihre besten Werke. Man läutete nicht mehr Sturm, sondern predigte Frieden. Man versenkte sich in die Vergangenheit, schrieb Märchen und dichtete religiöse Lieder. Spielhagen errang damals den grössten Erfolg mit den 'Problematischen Naturen,' in denen er der Zeit einen Spiegel vorhielt, die viele Talente, aber kein einheitliches Talent besass, in der es viel Wollen, aber nur wenig Können gab, oder besser: das

Gute, was damals geleistet wurde, errang sich erst nach Jahrzehnten die verdiente Anerkennung. Was man bewunderte, waren die formvollendeten Poesien der Geibel und Heyse, die jedes starke Gefühl in wundervolle musikalische Verse umzuformen wussten, eine mächtige Herzensleidenschaft, einen lauten Ton, der ihre verfeinerten Nerven beleidigt hätte, liessen sie aber nicht aufkommen. Allmählich aber brach sich ein neuer Idealismus Bahn. Nicht Schriftsteller und Dichter fragen mehr nach den Leiden und Freuden des Volkes, sondern Bismarck greift ein und beginnt sein grosses Einigungswerk. Neben ihn tritt Richard Wagner, zwar als Poet nur von geringer Bedeutung, aber als Schriftsteller und Komponist auch für die Literatur ein Pfadfinder und Führer, der die alte Musik revolutionieren und eine neue deutsche Musik schaffen sollte. Bismarck vollendete sein Werk im Jahre 1871, Wagner legte im nächsten Jahre den Grundstein zu seinem Bayreuther Festspielhaus. Aber das Jahrzehnt, welches der Begründung des neuen deutschen Reiches folgte, brachte dem siegreichen Volke mehr Enttäuschungen als Freude. Zuerst zwar einen Aufschwung auf fast allen Gebieten, dann aber eine gewaltige wirtschaftliche Katastrophe. Aus der Genusssucht, die das Volk erfasst hatte, fiel es in eine tiefe Niedergeschlagenheit. Schopenhauer, dessen Hauptwerk siebzig Jahre zuvor erschienen war, wurde Mode und man erlebte das seltsame Schauspiel, dass die junge deutsche Nation, die kaum erst von Sieg zu Sieg geschritten war, dem hoffnungslosesten Pessimismus Altäre zu bauen begann. Damals wuchs sich die Sozialdemokratie zu einer starken Partei aus, damals hielt der Darwinismus seinen Einzug in Deutschland und die Werke der Büchner und Vogt, die dem Volke, das im Innersten seines Herzens nie aufgehört hatte, Idealist zu sein, einen undeutschen Materialismus predigten, feierten Triumphe. Gleichzeitig berauschte man sich förmlich an Grisebachs, des Herausgebers der Werke Schopenhauers, 'Neuem Tanhäuser,' in dem Pessimismus und Genusssucht wunderlich gemischt waren, jubelte noch einmal Spielhagen zu, der zwar als der dichterische Hauptvertreter des Liberalismus Bismarck niemals verstand, dafür aber in seinem Roman 'Sturmfluth' der Reaktion in der Gründerperiode das Werk schrieb, in dem sie sich wiedererkannte. Zu allen den vielen Enttäuschungen, die man seit dem grossen Kriege erlebt hatte, kam auch die: ein Aufschwung der deutschen Literatur, wie man ihn ersehnt hatte,

trat nicht ein. Es gab zwar unzählige Gedichte über den Krieg, und die Wiederaufrichtung des Reiches, es gab kleine sentimentale Kriegserzählungen, aber neben Geibels gewaltigem Hymnus 'Am dritten September 1870' hat sich nur wenig erhalten, was den Vergleich mit den französischen Kriegsschilderungen der Daudet, Zola und Maupassant vertragen könnte—genau so wie in der deutschen Kunst, die den Schlachtenbildern von Detaille und Neuville nichts Ebenbürtiges zur Seite zu stellen hat. Die Ernte der deutschen Siege in Frankreich blieb zwar auch für die deutsche Literatur nicht aus, aber sie kam erst später, erst, als sich das deutsche Volk wieder auf sich selbst zu besinnen begann, als es sich seiner natürlichen Einheit und Stärke bewusst wurde. Man mag Heinrich von Treitschke als Historiker anerkennen oder verneinen: dass sein ehrlicher Idealismus, sein Glaube an die Zukunft der deutschen Nation und die führende Rolle der Hohenzollern die Jugend mit sich fortriss und begeisterte, ist eine patriotische Tat, die von grosser Bedeutung auch für die Literatur wurde. Im Jahre 1879 erschien der erste Band seiner 'Deutschen Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert,' der, wie er in der Widmung an Max Duncker schrieb, in den Herzen seiner Landsleute erwecken sollte, was viele von ihnen verloren hatten: "die Freude am Vaterlande." Wohl hat man Treitschke, diesen gewaltigen Agitator, des Chauvinismus beschuldigt: er aber wusste, dass er kräftig dreinzuschlagen hatte, wenn er dem immer weiter um sich greifenden Skeptizismus der älteren Generation entgegentreten wollte—und dass sein Erfolg trotz aller Anfeindungen ein so mächtiger wurde, das beweist, dass er nur der Verkünder dessen war, was in der Seele des deutschen Volkes wohnte und was die junge Generation erfüllte. So liegt seine Bedeutung nicht eigentlich auf dem Gebiete der Geschichtsschreibung: er war der Wortführer der konservativen, national gesinnten Jugend, die von dem, was der Liberalismus in früheren Zeiten Grosses geleistet, nichts wissen wollte—dem hinreissenden Pathos Treitschkes gegenüber nahmen die kühleren, streng wissenschaftlichen Geschichtsforscher jener Tage den zweiten Rang ein. So wurde endlich auch die Literatur national. Zwei Dichter vor allem treten uns gewissermassen als Treitschkes Mitkämpfer am Anfang der neuen Bewegung, welche die deutsche Literatur erfasste, entgegen: Ernst von Wildenbruch und Detlev von Liliencron. Beide gleichen einander in ihrer heissen ehr-

lichen Liebe zu Kaiser und Reich, beide, so verschieden sie sonst von einander sind, standen nicht an, dieser Liebe in Dramen, Erzählungen und Gedichten lauten, zuweilen selbst lärmenden Ausdruck zu geben. Es war zu Anfang der achtziger Jahre. Damals erklang zum ersten Male der Ruf nach einer 'modernen Kunst'— einer Literatur, die das aussprechen sollte, was das deutsche Volk bewegte: man wollte nicht mehr die französischen Ehebruchs-dramen, nicht mehr die glatten, korrekten Romane der älteren Schule, nicht mehr die hübschen inhaltlosen Gretchengedichte, nicht mehr die witzelnden Feuilletons in Paul Lindaus Manier— man forderte mehr von der Literatur als Unterhaltung, man forderte etwas, das vom Herzen kam und zum Herzen sprach. Was es sein sollte, darüber hatte man noch keine klare Vorstellung, nur dass die neue Kunst national sein müsse, dessen waren sich wenigstens die bewusst, denen die Dichtkunst, ob Vers oder Prosa, mehr bedeutete, als Spielerei und Zeitvertreib.

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#### DANISH-AMERICAN PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS, 1904.

Immigration from Denmark to the United States is of much more recent date than that from Norway and Sweden. Barring the Danish proselytes brought to Utah by the Mormons in the fifties Denmark's contribution to our population was wholly unimportant until after the Danish-German War of 1864. The cession by Denmark to Prussia of the Duchy of Sleswick and the severe measures taken to Germanize the Danish inhabitants of that province was the direct cause of an extensive emigration to the United States. At the same time there were other factors that operated toward promoting emigration to the United States, such as letters from Danes who had previously settled here, and pamphlets and books published by others setting forth the advantage of this country, which brought about an increased emigration to America in the late sixties. There were no Danish settlements in America, however, until about 1870. But since then immigrants have come in large numbers and city colonies and rural settlements have sprung up in different parts of the country.

The Danes in the United States are most numerous in the following States : Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Nebraska, Utah, California, New York, and Michigan. Only to a very limited extent have they settled in the Southern States. The chief city colonies are found in Chicago, New York, Racine (Wis.), Omaha, San Francisco, Minneapolis, St. Paul and Council Bluffs.<sup>1</sup> The principal rural settlements are in Shelby and Audubon counties, Iowa, Lincoln county, Minn., Washington, Hamilton and Howard counties, Nebraska, Turner and Kingsbury counties, So. Dakota, Fresno county, California, and in the vicinity of Greenville, Michigan.

In these colonies and settlements, as well as in many others not here named, Danish churches have been organized where services are conducted exclusively in Danish and where children are given the opportunity to learn the mother-tongue. High schools and colleges have been established at Elk Horn, Iowa (the oldest, founded in 1878), Nysted, Nebraska, Blair, Nebraska, Tyler, Minn., Hutchinson, Minn., Des Moines, Iowa and Racine, Wis., where the Danish language is a regular part of the curriculum.

The Dane is conservative ; while he becomes a good American citizen, thrifty and law-abiding, nevertheless he does not readily give up his own language; in fact the majority of immigrant Danes never learn the English language sufficiently well to read an English newspaper with as much facility as a Danish.

To supply their present needs then, there has been a considerable development in periodical publications of various kinds among the Danes in this country. In 1872 the oldest of these, *Dan danske Pioneer*, began publication. Since then the number has grown to 27, which are regularly issued at present.<sup>2</sup> Most of these are weeklies, which devote the greater part of their space to news partly taken from American papers, partly from papers published in Denmark. Some have regular correspondents in Copenhagen and other cities of Denmark. They publish news from the various settlements, and occasionally, matter relative to the history of these settlements. Most of these papers are independent as to American politics and many are so with respect to the church. The different

<sup>1</sup> See *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Jan. 1905, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Not counting those that have ceased publication.

Danish church denominations, however, each have one or more organs. Thus The United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America publishes four papers: *Dansk luthersk Kirkeblad*, its official organ, *Danskeren*, a semi-weekly newspaper, *De Unges Blad i Amerika*, and *Børnebladet*. The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America publishes *Kirkelig Samler*, its official organ, and supports *Dannevirke*, a weekly newspaper, *Dagen*, a paper for the young, and *Børnevennen*. The organ of the Baptists is *Vægteren*, that of the Methodists, *Den christelige Talsmand*, and that of the Seventh Day Adventists is *Evangeliete Sendehud*. *Dannevirke* and *Danskeren* wield much influence in shaping the opinion of their readers. They devote much space to the discussion of school questions and the religious education of the young; they will also generally publish the news of the day in condensed form. Of the purely secular papers *Den danske Pioneer* is the one whose word carries most weight with its readers; the influence of the other secular weeklies is only local.

The politics of the home country are followed with intelligent interest. As a rule the sympathy of the Danish-American press is with *The Leftists*. During the eighties *Den danske Pioneer*, attacked the Danish prime minister Estrup and his party *The Rightists* so violently that it was forbidden the mails of the kingdom, but in 1900 it was again admitted. The socialistic organ *Revyen*, of Chicago, of course sympathises with the Social Democrats in Denmark. *Revyen* has the second largest circulation of Danish papers in this country and is very influential in its home colony.

The language and style of Danish-American papers differ much. In this respect *Den danske Pioneer*, *Revyen*, and *Nordlyset*, bear considerable resemblance to one of the leading dailies of Copenhagen, *Politikin*, a liberal Leftist organ which is noted for its lively and sarcastic style and the severity with which it usually criticises the opposing party. The language of these papers is characterized by numerous Anglicisms and Norwegianisms, the latter in part due undoubtedly to their rather considerable Norwegian patronage. In the advertisements especially there is frequently such a mixture of Danish, English, and Norwegian as to be quite unintelligible to the Danish readers in Denmark.

Of the monthlies the most widely read is *Norden*, which is probably the best written Danish paper in this country; it is illus-

trated, and its illustrations are generally excellent. The only annual publication is *Julegranen* (The Christmas Fir). In character it is very much like the Christmas issue of an American literary magazine. Both reading matter and illustrations are contributed by Danish-Americans.

The following is a complete list of Danish-American periodical publications in 1904, arranged in order according to the years in which they were founded :

- 1870 *Dan christelige Talsmand* (originally called *Missionæren*). Weekly. Edited by Rev. C. F. Eltzholtz. Published by The Norwegian Danish M. E. Church, Chicago, Ill.
- 1871 *Kirkelig Samler*. Weekly. Edited by Rev. P. Götke. Published by The Evang. Lutheran Church, Harlan, Ia. Circulation 1400.
- 1872 *Den danske Pioneer*. Weekly. Edited and published by Sophus F. Neble, Omaha, Nebr. Circulation 29,700.
- 1872 *Evangeliets Sendebud*. Weekly. Edited by Rev. C. A. Thorpe. Published by The International Publishing Association, College View, Nebr. Circulation 2,200.
- 1876 *Folkets Avis*. Weekly. Edited and published by E. Jensen, Racine, Wis. Circulation 2,000.
- 1877 *Dansk luthersk Kirkeblad*. Weekly. Edited by Rev. J. M. Hansen. Published by the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Blair, Nebr. Circulation 2,000.
- 1877 *Vægteren*. Weekly. Edited and published by R. J. Petersen, Harlan, Iowa.
- 1879 *Dannevirke*. Weekly. Edited by M. Holst. Published by M. Holst and N. U. Christiansen, Cedar Falls, Iowa. Circulation 2,500.
- 1881 *Børnevennen*. Weekly. Edited by M. Holst. Published by The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church. Cedar Falls, Iowa.
- 1881 *Ugebladet*. Weekly. Edited by C. Rasmussen. Published by C. Rasmussen Publ. Co. Minneapolis, Minn. Circulation 10,000.
- 1881 *Illustreret Familie-Journal*. Weekly and monthly. Published by C. Rasmussen Publ. Co., Minneapolis. Circulation 7,500.
- 1881 *Chicago-Posten*. Weekly. Published by C. Rasmussen Publ. Co., Chicago.

- 1882 *Skandinavisk Farmer-Journal*. Weekly. Edited by A. Sørensen. Published by C. Rasmussen Publ. Co., Minneapolis.
- 1888 *Kvinden og Hjemmet*. Monthly. Edited and published by Mrs. Ida Hansen, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
- 1882 *Bien*. Weekly. Edited and published by S. Hartwick, San Francisco, California. Circulation 2,500.
- 1890 *Børnebladet*. Weekly. Edited by Rev. L. Johnson. Published by The United Danish Ev. Luth. Church, Blair, Nebr. Circulation 4,000.
- 1891 *Nordlyset*. Weekly. Edited and published by John Volk, Brooklyn, New York.
- (1891) *St. Paul Tidende*, successors to *Hejmdal* est. in 1891. Weekly. Edited by C. Rosenmeier. Published by C. Rasmussen Publ. Co., St. Paul, Minn. Circulation 4,000.
- 1892 *Danskeren*. Semi-weekly. Edited by Rev. A. M. Anderson. Published by The United Danish Ev. Luth. Church, Blair, Nebr. Circulation 7,500.
- 1895 *Revyen*. Weekly. Edited and published by Chr. Botker, Chicago.
- 1895 *De Unges Blad i Amerika*. Monthly. Edited by Rev. J. Gertsen. Published by the United Dan. Ev. Luth. Church, Blair, Nebr. Circulation 1,000.
- ? *Perth Amboy Folkeblad*. Weekly. Edited and published by J. P. Holm, Perth Amboy, New Jersey.
- 1901 *Dagen*. Fortnightly. Edited and published by O. W. Lund, Minneapolis, Minn.
- 1901 *Julegranen*. Annually. Edited by M. Holst. Published by Dansk Boghandel, Cedar Falls, Iowa. Circulation 1,300.
- 1901 *Racine-Posten*. Weekly. Edited by J. R. Frandsen. Published by C. Rasmussen Publ. Co., Racine, Wis. Circulation 2,000.
- 1901 *Dansk Folketidende*. Weekly. Edited by A. Anderson. Published by Dansk Folketidende Publ. Co., Council Bluffs, Iowa. Circulation 2,500.
- 1903 *Norden*. Monthly. Edited by I. Kirkegaard. Published by Norden Publ. Co., Racine, Wis. Circulation 15,150.

P. P. HORNSYLD.



## SOME WORDSWORTHIAN SIMILES.

**S**PEAKING of an earlier stage in the growth of his imagination, the author of "The Prelude" remarks to Coleridge ("Prelude," II, 377-386):

Nor should this, perchance,  
Pass unrecorded, that I still had loved  
The exercise and produce of a toil,  
Than analytic industry to me  
More pleasing, and whose character I deem  
Is more poetic as resembling more  
Creative agency. The song would speak  
Of that interminable building reared  
By observation of affinities  
In objects where no brotherhood exists  
To passive minds.

What his amplifying song could not here refrain from uttering struck Wordsworth, 'perchance,' as a matter that might go almost without discussion—at least in a poem addressed to the reflective Coleridge. Yet had Wordsworth been writing a prose treatise for the public, and had he been dealing with the psychology of literary artists in general, instead of the mind of one individual artist, however representative, his pronouncement might have properly taken on a form even more explicit and assured. At all events he would have had good precedent for such assurance. The work on poetics commonly attributed to Aristotle, although it assumes poets to be 'makers of plots'—rather than 'makers of verse'—nevertheless regards the imaginative faculty as lurking, after the final analysis, in an innate command of figurative detail; as residing, therefore, less in the gross structure of a poem than in particular images. According to this view, and to play a little with etymology, we may credit the poet or maker with being a creator of figures or imagery even before he is a creator of fiction or plot:

It is a beauteous evening, calm and free,  
The holy time is quiet as a Nun  
Breathless with adoration.

("It is a beauteous evening . . .," ll. 1-3.)<sup>1</sup>

Similes of agitation are likewise typical :

Surprised by joy—impatient as the Wind,  
I turned to share the transport—Oh! with whom  
But Thee, deep buried in the silent tomb.

("Surprised by joy . . .," ll. 1-3.)<sup>2</sup>

. . . but the man,  
Who trembled, trunk and limbs, like some huge oak  
By a fierce tempest shaken, soon resumed  
The steadfast quiet natural to a mind  
Of composition gentle and sedate.

("Excursion," Book VI., ll. 143-147.)<sup>3</sup>

As a matter of fact, the rapid transition from tumult to repose is one of Wordsworth's favorite devices. So here :

. . . that Soul,  
Which with the motion of a virtuous act  
Flashes a look of terror upon guilt,  
Is, after conflict, quiet as the ocean,  
By a miraculous finger stilled at once.

("Borderers," Act I, ll. 169-173.)<sup>4</sup>

And here :

This Sea that bares her bosom to the moon ;  
The winds that will be howling at all hours,  
And are up-gathered now like sleeping flowers ;  
For this, for everything, we are out of tune.

("The world is too much with us . . .," ll. 5-8.)<sup>5</sup>

Occasionally in Wordsworth there is the touch of Homer :

. . . far into the night  
The Housewife plied her own peculiar work,  
Making the cottage through the silent hours  
Murmur as with the sound of summer flies.

("Michael," ll. 125-128.)<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>P. W., III. 20.

<sup>2</sup>P. W., III. 18.

<sup>3</sup>P. W., VI. 191.

<sup>4</sup>P. W., I. 83 ; cf. Mark 4 : 39.

<sup>5</sup>P. W., III. 21.

<sup>6</sup>P. W., I. 308.

I add a number more without remark :

Light as a sunbeam glides along the hills  
She vanished—eager to impart the scheme  
To her loved brother and his shy compeer.

(“Excursion,” Book IX, ll. 429–431.)<sup>1</sup>

... and the boat advanced  
Through crystal water, smoothly as a hawk,  
That, disentangled from the shady boughs  
Of some thick wood, her place of covert, cleaves  
With correspondent wings the abyss of air.

(“Excursion,” Book IX, ll. 490–494.)<sup>2</sup>

No fountain from its rocky cave  
E’er tripped with foot so free;  
She seemed as happy as a wave  
That dances on the sea.

(“The Two April Mornings,” ll. 49–52.)<sup>3</sup>

And while the Pony moves his legs,  
In Johnny’s left hand you may see  
The green bough motionless and dead :  
The Moon that shines above his head  
Is not more motionless than he.

(“The Idiot Boy,” ll. 77–81.)<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps he’s turned himself about,  
His face unto his horse’s tail,  
And still and mute, in wonder lost,  
All silent as a horseman-ghost,  
He travels slowly down the vale.

(“The Idiot Boy,” ll. 322–326.)<sup>5</sup>

In one way or another, Wordsworth knew a great deal about  
the joys of travel and discovery :

Before me shone a glorious world—  
Fresh as a banner bright, unfurled  
To music suddenly.

(“Ruth,” ll. 169–171.)<sup>6</sup>

Two lines from “The Thorn,”

<sup>1</sup>*P. W.*, VI. 300.

<sup>4</sup>*P. W.*, I. 292.

<sup>2</sup>*P. W.*, VI. 302.

<sup>5</sup>*P. W.*, I. 300.

<sup>3</sup>*P. W.*, IV. 213.

<sup>6</sup>*P. W.*, II. 116.

Not higher than a two years' child  
It stands erect, this aged Thorn

(*"The Thorn,"* ll. 5-6)<sup>1</sup>

remind us of various similar passages, among them the Wordsworthian couplet near the beginning of Coleridge's *"Ancient Mariner"*:

And listens like a three years' child:  
The Mariner hath his will.

Wordsworth rated very highly the imaginative quality in *"Peter Bell."* Was this partly on account of the similes in that poem? Three or four instances from it may not be out of place.

The Ass is startled—and stops short  
Right in the middle of the thicket;  
And Peter, wont to whistle loud  
Whether alone or in a crowd,  
Is silent as a silent cricket.

(*"Peter Bell,"* ll. 621-625.)<sup>2</sup>

By this his heart is lighter far;  
And, finding that he can account  
So snugly for that crimson stain,  
His evil spirit up again  
Does like an empty bucket mount.

(*"Peter Bell,"* ll. 801-805.)<sup>3</sup>

But as an oak in breathless air  
Will stand though to the centre hewn;  
Or as the weakest things, if frost  
Have stiffened them, maintain their post;  
So he beneath the gazing moon!—

(*"Peter Bell,"* ll. 846-850.)<sup>4</sup>

But, more than all, his heart is stung  
To think of one, almost a child;  
A sweet and playful Highland girl,  
As light and beauteous as a squirrel,  
As beauteous and as wild!

(*"Peter Bell,"* ll. 886-890.)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*P. W.*, II. 125.

<sup>2</sup>*P. W.*, II. 241.

<sup>3</sup>*P. W.*, II. 247; cf. Shakespeare, *Richard II.*, IV. 1. 185.

<sup>4</sup>*P. W.*, II. 248.

<sup>5</sup>*P. W.*, II. 250.

My list would surely be incomplete without an example from the poem in which, as one of the best of Wordsworthian critics, R. H. Hutton, averred, our poet reached the high-water mark of his power and technique, the "Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle":

Now Who is he that bounds with joy  
On Carrock's side, a Shepherd-boy?  
No thoughts hath he but thoughts that pass  
Light as the wind along the grass.  
Can this be He who hither came  
In secret, like a smothered flame?  
(*"Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle,"* ll. 72-77.)<sup>1</sup>

Nor should the passage be omitted that Wordsworth introduces, from his own works, in his "Preface to the Edition of 1815," as an illustration of the way in which the poetic faculty is employed 'upon images in a conjunction by which they modify each other':

As a huge stone is sometimes seen to lie  
Couched on the bald top of an eminence;  
Wonder to all who do the same espy,  
By what means it could thither come, and whence;  
So that it seems a thing endowed with sense:  
Like a sea-beast crawled forth, that on a shelf  
Of rock or sand reposes, there to sun itself;  
Such seemed this Man, not all alive nor dead,  
Nor all asleep—in his extreme old age.  
(*"Resolution and Independence,"* ll. 57-65.)<sup>2</sup>

'In these images,' Wordsworth explains,<sup>3</sup> 'the conferring, the abstracting, and the modifying powers of the Imagination, immediately and mediately acting, are all brought into conjunction. The stone is endowed with something of the power of life to approximate it to the sea-beast, and the sea-beast stripped of some of its vital qualities to assimilate it to the stone; which intermediate image is thus treated for the purpose of bringing the original image, that of the stone, to a nearer resemblance to the figure and condition of the aged Man; who is divested of

<sup>1</sup>*P. W.*, II. 142.

<sup>2</sup>*P. W.*, II. 121-122.

<sup>3</sup>*Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, ed. Nowell C. Smith, 1905, p. 160.

so much of the indications of life and motion as to bring him to the point where the two objects unite and coalesce in just comparison.'

As may be surmised from examples given above, Wordsworth, through the boldness and rapidity of his vision, often omits such steps of assimilation or 'coalescence' as he here unfolds; yet his most surprising comparisons are not on that account necessarily less 'just.' Similes must sometimes have flashed upon his inward eye with such a compelling claim to reality that, however remote the two objects compared might be 'to passive minds,' he was constrained to disregard all the steps of ordinary artistic gradation in uniting them. In such cases, to 'modify' might have involved a false and unworthy manipulation. Wordsworth's similes, no matter how abrupt at first sight, are a part of his truest experience. 'Many of my poems,' so he tells us<sup>1</sup>, 'have been influenced by my own circumstances, when I was writing them. "The Warning" was composed on horseback, while I was riding from Moreby in a snow-storm. Hence the simile in that poem,

While thoughts press on and feelings overflow  
And quick words round him fall like *flakes of snow*.'

It is not, then, on account of a superficial interest or peculiarity attaching to Wordsworth's similes that I have brought some of them together for inspection, but rather on account of their deep underlying truth—truth to their author and to the constitution of things as he saw it. At first blush a few of them may appear to be literary abortions, crude excrescences. But if it be generally admitted that Wordsworth saw more profoundly into nature than any other English poet of his era, we may be unsafe in rejecting even the least expected of his comparisons—for example,

Calm is all nature as a resting wheel

—without a considerable pause for reflection. To the passive

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, by Christopher Wordsworth, II. 486.

mind they may now and then be a stumbling-block, and to the unsympathetic, foolishness. Their truth and justice become apparent when they are dwelt upon with active sympathy by a mind that through habit is less inclined to condemn than to admire.

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MINOR NOTES ON THE *BEOWULF*.

21. **I**N a paper printed in *Mod. Phil.* 3. 445 ff., I translated l. 21*b*, after Grein and Sievers (*Beowulf und Saxo*, p. 190f.), 'in his father's house' (Grein<sup>1</sup>: *ærne*, Grein<sup>2</sup>: *inne*). But recently Professor Blackburn called my attention to the strong probability of . . . *rme* having actually been the original reading of the MS. (cf. Zupitza's transliteration and note) and after considering the merits of the few available words that have been proposed (*feorme* [Kemble], *bearme* [Bouterwek in 1854, Thorpe], *harme* [Bouterwek, *Z. f. d. A.* 11. 71]), I have come to consider *bearme* the most presentable candidate for admission, giving it however a new interpretation. I do not understand *on bearme* with reference to the *geong*(?)*guma* ('in his father's lap,'<sup>1</sup> 'in des Vaters Schutze noch' Bouterwek)—which would be very awkward—but with regard to *feohgiftum*, which may be credited, I trust, with the sense of 'present,' 'precious object to be given.' For *bearm* I venture to postulate the meaning of 'possession' which could easily have developed from its use in connection with verbs like *don*, *alecgan*, *cuman* (cf. also *fæþm* in l. 1210: *gehwearf þa in Francna fæþm*). So *fromum feohgiftum on fæder bearme* would in fact correspond pretty closely to Saxo's *domesticis stipendiis* (cf. Sievers, *l. c.*).

149*b*–151*a*. Since these lines as emended by various scholars are still as unsatisfactory as ever, another attempt at healing them may be pardoned. The suspiciously harsh collocation *gyddum* (MS. *gyddū*) *geomore* is got rid of by Trautmann's emendation *geomorum*, which however neither explains the gen-

<sup>1</sup>In its literal sense the phrase is found in *Dial. Greg.* 289. 18: *on his fæder bearne*.



esis of the scribal blunder nor removes the questionable 'mournful lays.' I make bold to suggest the possibility of *gihðu geomre* 'sorrowful grief (affliction),'<sup>1</sup> a phrase (of the type 'noun + weak adjective in the *a* line,' as *herestræl hearda* 1435, *beahsele beorhta* 1177, *bordwudu beorhtan* 1243, *breperbealo hearde* 1343, *herenið hearda* 2474, *herenet hearde* 1553, *wudu wynsuman* 1919), which is more fully explained by the following *þæt*-clause (cf. *Mod. Phil.* 3. 253; l. 2324: *þa wæs Biowulf broga geeyðed . . . þæt . . .*). The confusion of *gihðu* (*gehðu*)—*gihðu*—with *gyddū* may not unreasonably be attributed to the close association of *geomor* and *gid* (see *Beow.* 1118, 3150, *Andr.* 1548, *Wife's Compl.* 1).<sup>2</sup>

All the previously proposed insertions of a word after *forðam* 149<sup>b</sup> (*syððan*, *sorgcearu*, *socen*, *sarcwidum*) have been disapproved by Sievers on the ground that *forþon*, -*þan* is the regular form of the connective in the *Beowulf*,<sup>3</sup> and that *ðam* would accordingly seem to point to a following dative form (*Beitr.* 29. 313). But his own conjecture *for ðam socenum* rather impairs the style of the passage, since a new clause joined asyndetically would hardly begin with such a phrase. If we assume, however, that the original reading was *forðan*<sup>4</sup> *secgum*, it is not unnatural to suppose that a stupid copyist changed (perhaps 'corrected') *ðan* to *ðam*, and a later scribe inadvertently dropped *secgum*. Thus the hypothetical text would be: *forðan secgum wearð, | ylða bearnum undyrne cuð | gihðu geomre, þætte Grendel wan*, etc. Cf. also l. 2000 ff.

457. If Trautmann's shrewd conjecture *for gewyrhtum* (introduced in his edition) be adopted, another meaning will have to be put into the lines than the one appearing in his translation: 'Um taten hast du, mein freund Beowulf, und um hilfeleistung

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *geomor* in *Phenix* 139, 517.

<sup>2</sup> A curious relation between *gehðu* and *gid* has been detected by H. Kern, *Taalkundige Bijdragen* 1. 208 f. (Rather doubtful.)

<sup>3</sup> By the way, the MS. has *forðā* 2645 a, 2741 a.

<sup>4</sup> As to the function of *forðon*, see W. W. Lawrence's discussion in *J. Germ. Phil.* 4. 463 ff.—*secgas* is found as variation of *hæleþa bearn* in *Riddl.* 41. 97.

uns aufgesucht.' Considering that *for* presumably denotes cause rather than purpose (see *Mod. Phil.* 3. 453), and that *gewyrht* must be understood in a perfective sense (*H. Archiv* 109. 310), the following version of *for gewyrhtum* appears likely to come nearer the truth: 'because of deeds done [alluding to the good services rendered to Beowulf's father, l. 463 ff.] (and the resultant obligations you are under),' or, in other words, l. 457 f. would mean: 'from a sense of duty and kindness, my friend B., hast thou come to us.'

The corruption of *wyrhtum* to *fyhtum* is easy of explanation (in l. 2882 *wergendra* is misspelt *fergendra*), especially if it passed through an intermediate *wyhtum* (see *Mod. Lang. Notes* 18. 244).

Altogether this new emendation of Trautmann's is remarkably felicitous.

489 f. *Site nu to symle ond on sæl meoto | sigehreð secgū, swa þin sefa hwette.* The interpretation of this veritable *crux* has been materially advanced by Holthausen, who in his textual notes, *Z. f. d. P.* 37. 114 properly restored the nounal character of (*on*) *sæl* and thus effectively disposed of several fanciful solutions.<sup>1</sup> But a return to Kemble's *on sælum* is far from necessary (see *Mod. Phil.* 3. 258), and the novel emendation recommended by the latest editor: *ond on sǣlum weota | sigehreðgum secgum*, through strikingly acute, may well be called in question. Not only is the use of the verb *witian* strictly limited to the participial form *witod*, but the remark 'bestimme den siegberühmten männern' does not seem to be the most appropriate to the occasion. Keeping as closely as possible to the MS. reading, I would offer the following conjecture: *ond on sæl meota | sigehreð secga*. The existence of the verb *metian*<sup>2</sup> may reasonably be inferred from the Go. *miton* (construed with the accusative) 'consider, think over' (OHG. *mezon* 'moderari'), and the phrase

<sup>1</sup> Alliterating imperatives in the *b* line followed by *eall(es)* occur in the *Beowulf*: 2663 *læst eall tela*, 2162 *bruc ealles well*.

<sup>2</sup> Pogatscher did not hesitate to suggest a verb *formetian*, l. 169 (*Beitr.* 19. 544 f.).

*sigehreð seega* 'victory-fame of men' is matched by *wonsceaft wera* 120, *bealonið biorna* 2404, *hordmaðum* (em.) *hæleða* 1198, *gesipa* (Holthausen; or perhaps *seega*) *seledream* 2252; perhaps *wera hilde* 2298 (MS. *hwæðre*; ten Brink: *wer*). 'Sit now down to the feast and joyfully think of victory as your heart may prompt you.' Cheerful anticipation of victory is to be the note of the entertainment (in contrast with l. 473 ff.), just as the distinction gained by deeds of valor is emphasized in the parallel situation, l. 1782 ff.: *ga nu to setle, symbelwynne dreoh, | wigge weorþað*.

769b-770a. *yrre wæron begen, | reþe renweardas*. ten Brink thought of *rēnhearde* and Trautmann of *rēnheardan* for the curious *renweardas* (commonly taken as *rēn* (= *regn*)-*weardas*). It seems worth while to inquire whether the first element of the compound could not be *ren* 'house' (= the normal *ern*, *ærn*, Sievers § 179, 1, Bülbring § 518), and *renweard* = *seleweard*? The compound *rendegn* (= aedis minister) occurs in the *Erfurt Glossary* 1137.<sup>1</sup>

1125 ff. *Gewiton him ða wigend wica neosian, | freondum befeallen, Frysland geseon, | hamas ond heaburh*. Unwarranted conclusions have been drawn from a misinterpretation of these lines, leading in one case even to a 'correction' *Frysan* (Boer, *Z. f. d. A.* 47. 137 f.). Yet the situation is not obscure—assuming Bugge's interpretation of the main story to be correct. After the conclusion of the treaty between the two parties and the completion of the funeral rites, the Frisian warriors—presumably men who had been summoned by Finn in preparation for the encounter with the Danes—return to their respective homes in the country (*heaburh* is a high sounding epic term that should not be pressed), whilst Hengest stays with Finn in *Finnes burh* (where the latter is subsequently slain: *at his selves ham* 1147). If we were to infer that *Finnes burh* lies outside of Friesland proper, we might as well conclude that *Dyflen*

<sup>1</sup> [The same explanation has in the meantime been given by Holthausen in the second part of his edition (1906).]

(Dublin) is not situated in Ireland according to the *Battle of Brunanburh* 55 f.: (*gewitan him þa Norðmenn . . .*) *Dyfln secean, and eft Ireland*.

1199b–1200a. *Brosinga* (Grimm, *D. M.* 254 ff.: *Brīsinga*) *mene, / sigle ond sincfæt*. Neither 'jewel' nor 'ornamental casket' seems to be the proper rendering of *sincfæt*. It is much more likely to signify 'precious setting,' like *goldfæt* in *Phenix* 302 ff.: *stane gelicast, / gladum gimme, þonne in goldfate / smiða orþoncum biseted weorðeð*. The 'Brisinga mene' was known in heroic tradition as a collar of extraordinary value, consisting of (or, containing) 'precious gems in fine settings'—the singular forms *sigle* and *sincfæt* to be understood in a collective sense. That the necklace (*healsbeaga mæst* 1195) given to Beowulf is noted for its precious stones (*eorclanstanas* 1208), should not be overlooked in this connection.

A discrepancy, by the way, has been discovered between the statements of ll. 1202 ff. and 2172 ff., as in the latter passage Beowulf presents to Hygd the necklace bestowed upon him by Wealhþeow, but in the former Hygelac is reported to have worn it in his war against the Franks and Frisians.<sup>1</sup> Two explanations readily suggest themselves. Either Hygd gave the necklace to her husband when he set out on his unfortunate expedition,<sup>2</sup> or the poet entirely forgot his earlier account (1202 ff.) when he came to tell of the presentation to Hygd (2172 ff.). The second alternative is the more probable one, especially if we suppose that at an earlier stage of his work the author had not yet thought at all of queen Hygd, who indeed never developed into a definite, lifelike figure.

1248. *ge æt ham ge on herge ge gehwæper þara / efne swylce mæla . . .* The third *ge* has been struck out by a number of scholars (Ettmüller being the first), but it is no more objection-

<sup>1</sup> Grundtvig's desperate conjecture *hrægl* in place of *hring* 1202 (on p. 144 of his edition) gives no relief, as the *eorclanstanas* 1208 and the *beag* 1211 remain in the text.

<sup>2</sup> This is the view of Simrock (Transl., p. 184), who adds, however, questionable details.

able than the third *ne* in the following combination occurring in the *Institutes of Polity*, 9: *ne æt ham ne on siþe ne on ænigre stowe* (quoted from B-T., s. v. *siþ*). The third member of the series refers equally to the two contingencies mentioned before and sums up the situation: 'and that,' 'nor in fact' (Ger. 'und zwar,' 'und überhaupt nicht').

1404b. *gegnum for*. The most popular reading at present is Sievers' [*þær heo*] *gegnum for*, whereas Bugge favored [*hwær heo*] *g. f.*, and Cosijn thought of *gegnunga f.* Equally possible, it seems to me, would be (*gang ofer grundas*), [*swa*] *gegnum for*, or *gegnum ferde*. In the latter case, a scribe would have changed a weak verb into a strong one, as, conversely, in the *OE. Chron.*, A. D. 571 (A) *gefor* was (imperfectly) altered to (*ge*)*forþferde*. The subject would have to be supplied from *lastas* 1402, *gang* 1404 (referring to Grendel's mother), as Cosijn suggests.

1417b-1418. *Denum eallum wæs, | winum Scyldinga weorce on mode*. Trautmann's conjecture *wigum* has been endorsed both by Holthausen (in his edition) and by Schüeking (*H. Archiv* 115. 420). Still, *wine* is applied to the retainers also in l. 2567: *winia bealdor* (Thorpe: *Wedera*, Grundtvig: *wigena*). Similarly in Middle High German *goltwine* is used of vassals, see *Lexer* I. 1050 f.,<sup>1</sup> *Benecke-Müller-Zarncke* III. 704.

Arnold in his note on l. 1418 says: '... the earls or nobles in a Teutonic tribe might be called no less than the king, though in a lower sense, the friendly patrons and protectors of the general body of the freemen.' If this explanation be accepted, the designation of *Æschere* as *sinegyfa* 1342 is to be cited as a welcome parallel (see *H. Archiv* 115. 180).

2989. *he ƿ[am] frætwum feng*. Another instance of this very unusual construction of *fon* = 'receive' with dative (instrumental), which Sarrazin attributes to Scandinavian influence (*Engl. Stud.* 16. 84), and Sweet regards as Anglian (*Ags. Dict.*),

<sup>1</sup>*Lexer* explains 'freund, den man durch gold, durch geschenke erwirbt, fest hält.'

occurs in *Bede* 388. 16: *his ælnessan feng* = *percipiendae elemosynae gratia* (MS. T. 2<sup>d</sup> scribe, also C?; B, O, Ca *onfeng*).

3015a. (*þa sceall brond fretan*), *æled þeccan*. Against the change of *þeccan* to *þiegan* (Holthausen, *Anglia-Beiblatt* 10. 273) adopted in Trautmann's and Holthausen's editions, it is proper to urge 1) that the same function of *þeccan* is noticed in *Phenix* 216: *þonne brond þeccð / heorodreorges hus*, 365: *hine ad þeccð*, by the side of *þiegan*: 219, 505; and 2) that the use of the verb is in accordance with metaphors like *fyres fæðm*, *Beow.* 185 (*forgrípan*, *Phen.* 507), cf. *earmum þeccan*, *earme beþeccan* (Cosijn, *Aanteekeningen*, p. 10). It also follows that there is no call for Cosijn's etymology of this *þeccan* (*Beitr.* 8. 574).

3146. *windblond gelæg* (MS. *ǵ læg*). Müllenhoff (*Z. f. d. A.* 14. 242, cf. *Deutsche Altertumskunde* 5. 126)—seconded by Möller and Bugge—had serious doubts about the genuineness of this line, 'da bei einer grossen flamme der wind sich erhebt,' 'weil bei jedem leichenbrande der wind sich erhebt und an der verbrennung einen wesentlichen anteil nimmt,'<sup>1</sup> and even twenty years before him J. Grimm in his famous paper 'Über das Verbrennen der Leichen' actually assumed the reading *wind-blond (ne) gelæg* (*Kleinere Schriften* 2. 263). In fact, these doubts seem well founded—in spite of Cosijn's attempt to vindicate the author's observation of the natural phenomenon<sup>2</sup>—and the change to *windblond ne læg* (to be placed in parenthesis) is rather plausible. The scribe's blunder may have arisen from his thinking of the form *\*windgeblond (ne læg)*, since none of the other compounds with the stem of *blond* are used without the prefix *ge*: *argeblond*, *eargebland*, *sundgebland*, *yðgebland*.

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<sup>1</sup> Did he think especially of *Iliad* 23. 192 ff.?

<sup>2</sup> Cosijn, in his defense of the MS., is perfectly right in claiming pluperfect sense for the verb (*geliegan* ingressive = 'subside') and parenthetical function for the clause.

CYNEWULF'S *ELENE* 1262 f.

AFTER much discussion the meaning of the clause *þær him e(o)hfore / milpaðas mæt* 1262 f. is still a matter of speculation. Holthausen rightly understands *fore* as adverb, but asks "Was bedeutet aber *him fore*?" (Edition, p. 95). That we have to start from the local sense, was recognized by Cosijn, who translated 'vor ihm' but added the interesting remark: "Voor hem kan echter daarom niet op Cynewulf doelen, omdat de dichter stellig niet achter het paard liep of op zijn 'aardschen pelgrims-tocht' in een reis- of strijdwagen gezeten was."<sup>1</sup> Surely it would be erroneous to assume that strictly local sense which would make the author sit in a carriage, since he is no doubt thought of as riding on a horse. The proper interpretation, it seems to me, is suggested by a passage in the *Beowulf*: *ne mæg byrnan hring / æfter wigfruman wide feras / hæledum be healfe* 2260, in which *æfter* does not denote 'post obitum' (Grein, *Sprachschatz* 1. 53), but, literally, 'behind,' 'following,' hence 'along with.' Evidently the coat of mail 'follows' the warrior who bears it into battle (of *Beow.* 333: *hwanon ferigeað ge . . . græge syrcan . . . ?*), i. e., goes along with him (*hæledum be healfe*), or—we may say—he takes it along with him. Similarly, the horse which bears the rider (cf. *El.* 1196) may be considered as taking the lead and, in running *onward*, making the man, as it were, follow him: *þær him e(o)hfore milpaðas mæt*.<sup>2</sup>

A different conception, by the way, is expressed by the peculiar phrase *mearh under modegum*, *El.* 1193 (see *H. Archiv* 104. 291).

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<sup>1</sup>This is quoted from Trautmann, *Kynewulf*, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup>Those who think this interpretation too far-fetched, will find it possible to fall back on the sense of 'coram' (Rieger), which could be made to apply—though not without straining—to the man on horseback.

## PHENIX, 386.

IT seems very strange that in the passage *þæt he Dryhtnes mot æfter geardagum geofona neotan | on sindreamum and siððan a | wunian in worulde weorca to leane*, the phrase *in worulde* has not been challenged by any of the editors, though it is obviously out of place. Neither 'in that world' nor 'forever' could be accepted as suitable renderings. I think we need not hesitate to substitute for it *on wuldre* 'in glory,' or 'in heaven' (*Mod. Phil.* 3. 265), which is exactly what the context requires, and is also supported by the analogy of l. 475: *in wuldres byrig weorca to leane*.

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## SCHNAPHAN.

A SATYRE ON FRANZ VON SICKINGEN OF THE YEAR 1523.

THE author of this satirical dialogue is not known. The pamphlet is exceedingly rare. The original which this reprint follows belonged to the library of the bibliophile K. H. G. von Meusebach, a friend of Jacob Grimm, and is now in the Royal Library at Berlin. There is another copy at the British Museum (3905. d. 108) which Goedeke does not mention. He mentions however the copy that K. Heyse had in his collection (cf. *Bücherschatz der deutschen Nationallitteratur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1854).

The pamphlet belongs, as Panzer remarks in his *Annalen* II, 171, to the history of Franz von Sickingen, who has to bear the brunt of the attack, which is rather fierce and coarse at certain places.

According to the literary custom of those days, it is a conversation about Sickingen and his followers between different persons who are characterized not only in the rhymes on the title page but also in the preface to this dialogue.

Schnaphan represents the degenerate knight who has squandered his money, lost his home and who is now trying to make a living as an independent trooper, carefully avoiding however the service of the great lords and princes so that he may not be disturbed by them in his lawless doings.

Schnaphan and Bucer are characterized as the two privy counselors and chief generals of Sickingen. Putzer is Martin Bucer, whose name is closely connected with the reformation in Strasburg. He is pictured as a scholarly, but dishonest and unscrupulous adherer of the new faith, the type of the monks who left their order.

Steyninger, an evangelical knight, represents those nobles who cannot afford to support Sickingen openly, because there is too much for them at stake, but secretly they send him troopers.

Berner is one of those innocent knights who have been led astray by the ambitious Sickingen and joined the union of the nobles formed at Landau under his leadership. If they could get out of this league in a respectable manner they would be very happy indeed.

Eysenclat represents the class of the noblemen that does not worry about the outcome of this whole movement, for they are certain to get back whatever they may lose in this struggle from the rich merchants of Nuremberg and Augsburg when they are on their way to the great fair at Frankfort.

Last of all Siegler, a poor fellow, is a representative of the lower, uneducated class of priests who do not dare to speak their minds for fear of offending somebody and of losing their livelihood. They are almost scared out of their wits because they are unable to grasp the issue at stake in those turbulent days.

Bucer was very much put out over this publication, which pictures him by no means in a flattering way. His reply to it appeared in the form of a protest in which he advocated most forcibly that on account of the scandalous life in the cloisters nobody was bound by his vows to stay in the orders, but at liberty to leave them, without burdening his conscience.

This vindication of his own character contains, besides, some very important facts about Bucer's life.<sup>1</sup> He tells us that at the age of 15, at the advice of his grandfather Claus Buzer to whom he owes his education, he entered the newly founded cloister of the Dominicans at Schlettsadt. Here he stayed for fifteen years, but after having suffered persecution from some members of this order, especially from Jac. Hochstratten, he severed his connections with this brotherhood and was entirely released from all further obligations in March 1521. Franz von Sickingen

<sup>1</sup> For the following compare Panzer, *Annalen* II, 171.

assisted him at this time with money and clothes and sent him to the prince electorate Frederick of the Palatinate who appointed him his chaplain, and kept him at his court for a year, when Sickingen endowed him with the parsonage at Lanstatt. Later he preached at Weissenburg and when he was also obliged to leave this place, he went to Strasburg, where he worked with Capito along the same lines, helping to introduce the new faith into this important free city of the empire.

ERNST VOSS.

MADISON, Wis.

### SCHNAPHAN.

Disz buechlein hat schon schwenkh, vnd vil  
 Lüstlich, treffen doch das zil  
 Der warheyt, vnd den rechten gru<sup>n</sup>dt,  
 So Christus lernt mit seinem mu<sup>n</sup>dt.  
 Sein nam ist Schnaphan, merck mich eben,  
 Fu<sup>r</sup>t eyn armes reüter leben,  
 Die weil er Ewangelisch ist,  
 Sich besser dünckt, dann sust ein Christ :  
 Zu<sup>m</sup> Schnaphan ku<sup>m</sup>bt an alls gefer  
 Der Putzer ausz eym closter her  
 Entlauffen, wil auch Lütherisch sein,  
 Vnd keren zu<sup>o</sup> dem Steyninger ein,  
 Dem ritter vnd Ewangelisch.  
 Zwen Edlman seyt auch beym tisch,  
 Berner, Eysenclat mit namen.  
 Steyninger's knecht seet auch sein samem.  
 Ein armer pfaff ist auch jm hausz,  
 Der denckt wüe wil das spil hinaus,  
 Gnandt Sigler, tracht vmb jerlich fu<sup>e</sup>ter  
 Er wolt der Teuff het den Luther.  
 Keer vmb ein blat, vnd fahe es an,  
 Den Schnaphan wirstu basz verstan.

Vorred zu<sup>m</sup> leser mit anzaige was das buechlein junhalt.

Sei gegrue<sup>t</sup> mein allerliebster leser vernym disz buechlein Schnaphan genandt, welchs du auch nit mit geru<sup>n</sup>tzleter stirn, als ob es ein schmech buech wer, wo<sup>l</sup>lest annemen, sunder fro<sup>e</sup>lichs angesichts, als einen spigel, darjnnen du ersehen magst vnd erlernen, das seliglich leben der Neüen geha<sup>e</sup>ret gestrengen vorfechtern, Auszbreitern vnnd haubtlen<sup>e</sup>ten, alls sy sich nennen des Ewangeli Christi, was auch ir seliger fursatz vnd gemu<sup>e</sup>t sey, vnd merck eben das in disem buechlein, Zu<sup>m</sup> ersten auf dem veld, vngeuerlich zu<sup>m</sup> Creützgang zu<sup>s</sup>amen kumen, vnnd von den Turckischen handlungen, des verdampften Mamalückischen Frantzen von Sickingen vnd seines teu<sup>f</sup>lischen verpuebten vnverschembten aller bo<sup>s</sup>zheit anhangk, vnderrethen zwen des selben seiten, hochberümbter haubtmänner, Nemlich Schnaphan, von dem disz buechlein seinen namen hat, derselbig tregt dy person der armen ha<sup>e</sup>y losen<sup>1</sup> verdorben Reüter, dy sich allain im Stegrai<sup>f</sup>, als man spricht vnd mit Raiszdienen<sup>2</sup> ernerer Fursten vnd herrn damit sy allain Ertzbu<sup>o</sup>ben sein mo<sup>e</sup>gen, scheüichen zedienen, Vnd dann Putzer, ein hochgelerter verbu<sup>e</sup>ebter neüer Ewangelist, der etwe ein schacksmu<sup>e</sup>nich,<sup>3</sup> dy man dy Augustiner nennt gewest, der tregt dy person der Geistlichen, die aus den o<sup>r</sup>den lauffen Neüen glauben, vnd das man kein glu<sup>o</sup>bnus sol halten offenlich lernen, damit sy der welt lust, vnd zuuor des Reibeysens das dj kochin vnder dem fu<sup>e</sup>rtüech tregt an straff auch mo<sup>e</sup>gen genyessen, Dise zwen khern ein von wegen der zu<sup>o</sup>fallenden macht<sup>4</sup> (als sy nün etwas vil von Frantzen geredt haben) zu<sup>o</sup> eins vast Ewangelischen Ritters hauss der Steyninger genandt, derselbig Steyninger, tregt dy personen der Edlen die ha<sup>e</sup>mlich volck geschickt haben, vnd sich es doch nit annemen dorffen, das sy Frantzen gu<sup>n</sup>stig, dann sy haben laider zuuil vnnd sitzen zewol im lannd, derselbig Steyninger

<sup>1</sup> arm, elend, niedrig.

<sup>2</sup> Kriegsdienst.

<sup>3</sup> ? schack—Bedeutung unklar. Mit ntl. schacken = rapere zu verbinden ?

<sup>4</sup> lies : nacht.

hat einen knecht, der auch in disem buechlein zuzeiten ein vntterred thu<sup>t</sup> Vnd in des Steyningers hauss seien noch zwen ander Edlleu<sup>t</sup> einer genant der Berner, der tregt dy person der vnschuldign Edln, dy sich allein durch verfürung, sich zu<sup>o</sup> Frantzen verpundenn haben, mo<sup>e</sup>chten leyden sy wern wider mit fu<sup>e</sup>g aus solhm pünde, Der ander Eysenclat, der tregt dy person der Edln, den nit vil an keinem vnglu<sup>o</sup>ck gelegen, sunder verhoffen sich alles jrs vermuetwillens schadens an den kaufleuten. wann man gen Franckfurt in dy mesz zeu<sup>e</sup>cht, wider zu<sup>e</sup>erholen, Vnd hinder den sitzt ein arms tro<sup>p</sup>flein, der Sigler genandt, der gedenckt sein maynung allain jm syn, darff aber vor den andern egemelten Edln nit reden, der tregt dy person der armen erschrocken Pfefflein, in disem seltzamen leüffen.<sup>1</sup>

Diser aller maynung wirstu an yeglicher person worten auch was Erbergkaith hinder einem yeglichen, vnn<sup>d</sup> seins gleichen sey, wol vernemen, dann jr leben solicher Neüer ewangelischen haltung, ist ser heilig, vnd dem Ewangeli gemesz, wann ee jr einer dz klein gebo<sup>t</sup>tten Jesu Matthei, v. c. du solt nit schwern bey einem haupt, dann du kanst desselben ein lo<sup>e</sup>cklein nit weis noch schwartz machen, vberfu<sup>e</sup>ere, er schwier ehe bej gots leichnam, marter, wunden, plu<sup>e</sup>t vnd flaisch, vnd vill ander gu<sup>e</sup>ter ha<sup>n</sup>del, das sy vleyssig volbringen, jn Rauben Mo<sup>e</sup>rden Prennen vnd treülosz werden, das ich ytz von kurtz wegen zu<sup>e</sup>erzelen wil vnderlassen, es ist laider genu<sup>e</sup>g am tag. Doch mein lieber les<sup>e</sup>r, verstee auch nit, dz der gering auctor disz buechlins durch sollich den Pfaffen wol schmaichlen [Aij] oder wolgefallen, dann wo sy vorhin nit genü<sup>g</sup> wern ausgewaschen, het er auch etwas von dennselben hier jnen mo<sup>e</sup>gen furbringen, acht es aber an not sein, gebendt dir disz bu<sup>e</sup>chlein was zeu<sup>i</sup>l oder zewenig darjnn selbs zepessern.

Gehab dich woll.

Schnaphan Woher mendlen woher. Putzer. Gnad junckherr, Da her vber das Creutzgaw. Schnap, Sich potz macht

<sup>1</sup> Bewegung.

Pfaff bistu es wo hin auss sannd veltins chu<sup>r</sup> <sup>1</sup> wo kumbst du her. Putzer, sich schnap, jeh hab dein auch nit gekandt, jeh meint du werest ein Edlman, gest etwan da herausz spaciern, darumb sagt ich gnad junckher, Lieber kantestu mich zu<sup>m</sup> ersten nicht. Schnap. Na<sup>y</sup>n bey gots meyden. Putzer, Lieber wo poser wint ist als mir ytzt haben, do muesz man sich also stelln, jeh streich daher vber das Creutzgaw, bin willens zu<sup>m</sup> Liechtensteren, da weis ich ein gu<sup>e</sup>te tochter dy sitzt an der Babilonischen gefencknus, <sup>2</sup> dy will ich, es sey dann ka<sup>i</sup>n glu<sup>e</sup>ck dabey, erlosen, Als ich vormals zu<sup>o</sup> Lohental auch gethan hab. Schnap, Potz wunder, was haben dy himelhüern an dir erschen, das du sy all lo<sup>e</sup>sen muest, Potz flaisch wo kumbts du mit den hüern hin. Putzer, Lieber bin ich schon schwartz vnd heslich, so bin ich doch freu<sup>e</sup>ntlich, jeh fuer sy all meinem junckher Frantzen haim, der helt sy durch gots willn, in seinem frawenzimer, ausz dem Ewangeli, was ir dem wenigistn auss den meinen thuet, das thu<sup>t</sup> ir mir selbst. Schnaphan, Ey got geb dem Ewangeli sand Stolpriann, du Ewangelist, dein junckher greiff do nyden vmb sy, nymbt wo ers findt, so treibst du hüern zu<sup>e</sup>, dann habt ir zeschlemen vnd zu<sup>h</sup>helsen, bey einander, vmb einen gleichen pfennig, Aber ich vnd mein orden komen schier, dyweil wir Ewangelisch sein, an den petlstab, dann vorhin, ehe ich deinem junckhern dienet, Rait ich, ytzt muesz ich zefüessen gen. Putz, Wie so. Schnap, Pox krafft was fragst du. Ich hab gemeint wer Ewangelisch wer, dem gieng es, wie er selbs wolt, er to<sup>e</sup>rfft <sup>3</sup> nit sorgen, wie das voglein vnd dy plu<sup>e</sup>emblein anf dez feld so hats sant veltins khu<sup>r</sup>. Den Pfaltzgraffen, Landgraffn vnd fladen weiher <sup>4</sup> von Trier, aufgebracht, Vor denen stee wir in grossen sorgen, vnnd dy pesten kumen vmb ire heuser vnd flecken, das dünckt mich nit ewangelisch sein. Putz, es ist gu<sup>e</sup>t, es sol vnd muesz also sein, dann es stet jm ewangelio, selig sein dy verfolgung leiden, von der gerechtigkeit wegen, vnd selig seit

<sup>1</sup> Fluch.<sup>3</sup> braucht.<sup>2</sup> Anspielung auf Luther's Schrift.<sup>4</sup> verletzende Bezeichnung.

ir so sy euch thu<sup>n</sup>, vnd vbl nachreden, vnd liegen von euch als vbl, von meinen wegen, dann ewr Ion ist grosz im himl. Schnap, Pox leiden, mit dem nachreden vnd liegen, manst du mich ytzdt daran, das ich sagen muesz, wie negst ein onmechtig man zu<sup>o</sup> Fürfelt im wirtzhauss Frantzen vnnd seinem hauffen den wein ausschrier,<sup>1</sup> das in noch got schmeh, in den po<sup>s</sup>wichet hinein. Putz, wer war der. Schnap, jch waiss nicht aigentlich. Ich glaub aber er sey ein Pfaff gewesen, aber hat derselben leüt bescheisser einer wollen werden, Putzer, Ha, es ist des rechten korns, er forcht villeicht er würde meinem junckhern Frantzen auch zu<sup>o</sup> ta<sup>i</sup>l, vnd muest im den seckl speisen, darumb redt er im nichte gu<sup>t</sup>s nach. Schnap, der lecker hueb an spotweiss als wolt er Frantzen loben, redt her, vnd sagte, maint villeicht ich verstuendt es nicht. Ja ist es nit zu<sup>o</sup> erparmen das, das heilig Ewangelium vnd sein vorfechter die haubtlen<sup>t</sup> (dergleichen send der apostl zeit so streng nye gewesen) also po<sup>s</sup>slich sollen püntter<sup>2</sup> getru<sup>o</sup>ckt werden, Do fragt in einer lieber freundt wie, Do antwu<sup>o</sup>rt er, Lieber wist ir nit, wie auss vermo<sup>g</sup>,<sup>3</sup> das Ewangeli in verschiner<sup>4</sup> zeit, sich [Aij] versamlt haben zu Landaw, ain grosse buebnschafft solt sagen Ritterschafft in gots namen, als dann ir verschreibung jnn helt, vnd auch geschrieben stet, Wo zwen, oder drey versamblt sein, in meinem namen so bin ich mittn vnder jnnen, vnd do gemacht ein bru<sup>e</sup>derliche vereynigung, vnd ein neües recht, dann sunst kein Furst noch recht was, vnd denselben zu<sup>o</sup> haubtman vnd volstrecker gemacht, den Christlichn frumen Ewangelischen Frantzen von Sickhingn, derselb alsz bald er haubtman worden ist, vnd denselbign heiligen Landawers bundt hilff erlanngt, gedacht er dy jhenen, so nicht zu<sup>o</sup> der hochzeit desselben bundts wolten, darzu<sup>e</sup> zetreiben auss der gleichnüs des ewangelischen hausüaters, der dj armen hinein liesz treiben das erfüllt wu<sup>o</sup>rd sein hauss, vnnd noch vorbehaltung viler Bischoff, a<sup>b</sup>bt vnnd Stifft, dy auch auf der hochzeit sein solten, doch jn peser an

<sup>1</sup> anschwärzen.<sup>2</sup> unter.<sup>3</sup> Kraft.<sup>4</sup> kurzer, vergangen.

hochzeitlicher kleidung, dann erhofft sy auch Christlich zu<sup>o</sup> reformirn, oder in dy a<sup>e</sup>usserestn finsternu<sup>e</sup>sz zu<sup>o</sup>üerjagen. Allain den Mentzischen Breuthu<sup>e</sup>ter oder badknecht, jn seinem badhemad, ausgeschiedn, dann er wass villeicht Franntzen bekannt, hueb er, der, des erstn an, noch vbl solt ich sagen, wol verwarter, Er mit einer Erbern rot, dy Daudid viros sangwineos nennt, das seind dy Ewangelischen vorfechter, ytz zu<sup>o</sup> der zeit, wiewol vorzeiten warns krigszleüt, Hürnwirt. Mo<sup>e</sup>rder. Eebrecher vnd dergleichen. Aber dy Gramatigk ist ytz spützig worden, Liesz Layphan Ha<sup>e</sup>nslein von weinsperg vnd der Ampbtman von krayburg, seine getreu<sup>e</sup> Ra<sup>e</sup>t daheym, zu<sup>o</sup>ge aus vber den vngehorsamen vntrewen wunger,<sup>1</sup> oder brueder von Trier, der sein knecht, sein sone, vnd aigne vermonger,<sup>2</sup> zu<sup>o</sup>m dritten nit wolt ho<sup>e</sup>rn das er gelt gebe. Darumb er auch vorhin, von der christnlichen, das ist ytz wu<sup>e</sup>terischen kirchen verclagt het, wolt in treiben jnn gemainschafft der heiligen. Fing an zu<sup>o</sup>m ersten bruederliche jne zu schetzen, das po<sup>e</sup>sz gu<sup>t</sup>, das desselben von Trier, armen dardurch nit verdambt wu<sup>e</sup>rden, vnder der Frantz jre sele got befülhe, liesz jn nit vile, damit sy ir hertz nit zu<sup>o</sup> den schetzn, sunder zu<sup>o</sup> got setztn, Nam auch sand Wendl was er het, damit er fürterhin ka<sup>e</sup>ins sacks oder teschen vberfelt bedorfft. Er war auch an das, alt vnd nün mer verdrossen, swer zertragen, alles nach lere der heiligen Christenlichn, das ist wu<sup>e</sup>terischen Ewangeli, vnd kam darnach für dy heilig stat Jerusalem, das ist Trier, darjnnen het er gern besehen, das klaid<sup>3</sup> Jesu vnd seckhl ma<sup>e</sup>ister worden. Damit der. xxx. pfennig nit also po<sup>e</sup>slich vnd dy salb Magdalene nit mer so vnnützlich ausgeben, vnd verschu<sup>t</sup>, sonder dasselbig vnd dy armen, das sein dy kriegszleüt ausgetailt wu<sup>e</sup>rde, dann es wer bald winter, vnd het ir keiner zwen ro<sup>e</sup>ck, doch vil mer danu zwey schwert. Vnd derselbn gieng jme ein grosse schar vor. vnd ein grosse rot nach, Riten, Auch vil dy schriern all,

<sup>1</sup> ? beleidigend.<sup>2</sup> ?<sup>3</sup> Reliquie : der ungenähte Rock Christi.



O stranck her stranck her filij Diaboli, Wie solt ich sagen Osanna filij Daud. Aber nyemant aus Trier, streüt seine klaiden oder palm jm weg, wolt jne auch nyemant vber nacht behaltñ, wiewol er gern het vil gelernt jñ jrm templ, jñ sollicher clarer lauter Ewangelischer handlung sein erwacht der Pfaltzgraff Landtgraf, schicktn bald jre junger auff den hochzeitlichen tag gen Trier. Aber als bald Frantz mercken ward, das sy seins Ewangelischen gesetzn nit, sunder Seducirer warn, vñd nit hieltn von Frantzn auf erstentnus vñd er woll wu<sup>st</sup> aus Paulo, dz kain gemeinschaft Belial vnnd gots ist, macht er sich wider auff gen Bethonia id est Ernnberg zu<sup>o</sup>, vñd das volck jme nach wider ein grosse schar, hetten gern denn zoll als ich ho<sup>r</sup>, oder solt gehabt, so het er kein gelt, so werd sand Peter nit entgegen, das er visch vingen vñd in demselben den zoll gefunden. So war Judas auch mit dem seckl gen marckt gangen, vnnd do kain zalung verhanden, do gieng der her Frantz von dem perg herabe vñd lernet sy dy acht seligkait. Als wie da selig werde, dy armen dy trawrigen, dy verfolgten, vñd domit sy so sy ytzt sein junger wern derselbn seligkeit nit allain tailhaftig vñd man dann den negsten soll lieben, als sich selbs, gebotth er in, ein new gebott das sy dy jhenen so vor jne gu<sup>t</sup>et abgeschetzn was damit sy gar volkumen wurden, verpennen vñd nemen solten, alles das sy hetten, Wo<sup>l</sup>chs so geschehen zög er haim. So<sup>l</sup>liche ewangelische Christliche handlung dy ich mein khain Türek oder Tater Frantzn vbel angelegt oder den Trierischen volck vergo<sup>n</sup>net, kumbt nün dy vn Ewangelisch synagog vñd nymbt der Ewangelischen kirchen jre heüser vñd flecken, zwingt es auch annder daselb zu<sup>o</sup>thu<sup>n</sup>, als gegen Johann hilchin jm Rinckaw geschehen ist, das nit zu<sup>o</sup> erparmen, jeh wolt das vil mer noch erzeln, so muesz ich hinaus vor dz wasser abschlagen. Putzer, het es der schalek guet gemaint, er het es nit vbl geredt. Aber warumb sagest du nit sollich possen den junckhern des orts, dy sein auch ser gu<sup>t</sup> Ewangelisch dann hetn sy gewüst das der po<sup>s</sup>wicht solichs Frantzn zu<sup>o</sup> vnguet oder spot geredt, sein gepain het in nit weiter getragenn, Wie-

wol ich noch an dem nit vil gelegen ist. Schnap, Potz macht, wen mir der po<sup>e</sup>swicht wider hinein komen jeh wolt jne selbst erschlagen haben, aber er hat sich auss dem stawb gemacht. Ich war auch nün in einer zech bej vil Pfaffen dj hetn ein geseln stechen<sup>1</sup> ob einem todtu pauru gehabt, des nam ich mich nit ane das ich auch gu<sup>t</sup> Ewangelisch wer, vnder denselben was ein junger frysenlich<sup>2</sup> leckher, jeh wolt das ich jne solt erstechen, der hu<sup>b</sup> an vnd sagte, Ja was treibt Frantz für Ewangelische stückh, er treibt woll Bu<sup>e</sup>ebisch po<sup>e</sup>swichts stückh. Were er ewangelisch, so wer er demu<sup>t</sup>ig. Aber er wer gern ein Furst vber all fursten, Jtem er sol semfftmu<sup>t</sup>ig sein, so verheret vnd verprent dy armen, Er sol aufrichtig vnd getrew sein, so helt er weder brieff noch Sigl, dann wann er dy armen lang prantschatzt, so verprent er sie darnach darzu<sup>o</sup>, so solt er barmhertzig sein, dieselb sein barmhertzigkeit kennen die armen lewt Lottringischn Metzischen vnd Trierischn armen pawr ser woll, Ja wer ist durst den er hat zu<sup>o</sup> gerechtigkeit in dem so er vermaint vil gelts zehabn, tesche<sup>3</sup> ja vber kumbt er ainen der sy pringt, er schenneckt jm selbs tapffer ein, Nain warlich Christus hat in solhs nit gelernt im. v. vnd. vj. capitel Mathei. Es ist wol der Türck baser dann Machamet selbst der Teuffl hol in alls er lang wirdig wer gewest leibhaftig, Dabey sasss auch ein ander alter schalek der sagt warlich her jr redent recht, er lebt mer teufflich dann Ewangelisch, dann so er solt fridsam sein, so macht er alle vffru<sup>r</sup> vnd wo dy haylosen lecker sein, dj ir gu<sup>t</sup> mit hofirn, Huern, zu<sup>e</sup>sauffen, Rais dienen vnd got lestern po<sup>e</sup>slich verthan haben. Welche jre va<sup>e</sup>ter fromb, warhaftig Edl gewest, grosz stiftung vnd gepew volbracht habn die solch lecker ytz in wesen vnd pawe (Wie wol yne grosse guet verlassen) nit behalten mo<sup>o</sup>gen von wegen lauter jrer pueberey vnnd mu<sup>t</sup>willen, dy raisen Frantzen zu<sup>o</sup> vnd wellen Ewangelisch sein, heten es alles gern gemaine, Damit sy jre füllerey vnd pu<sup>o</sup>berey

<sup>1</sup> Lustige Leichenfeier.<sup>2</sup> Fehlt bei Grimm, Schmeller.<sup>3</sup> ?

desster pasz mo<sup>e</sup>chten hinaus pringen. Aber ich hof zu<sup>o</sup> got der gerechtigkeit die frumen Fürstn den sy abgesagt haben sollen jnen das ernennet recht vber das Ewangeliū machen, vnd der Hencker den Text zu<sup>e</sup> dem galgen hinausz versprechen. Schaw an lieber Putz Potz veltius willen, wasz solt ich darzu<sup>o</sup> sagen, jch kunth vnd torfft in kain widerparthey halten, jch gedacht in mir Sam mer Potz macht, Es ist schier vnu<sup>d</sup> also dy warheit. Putzer Lieber lasz dy Esl schmecken vnd schenden, got hat auch geliden, sein wir dann ewangelisch so muessen wir dann auch leiden, den der knecht ist nit mer dann sein herr, kunden wir vns nit rechnen lieber schnaphan, so sollen wir geduldig sein, dann wir haben den trost, dz wir in geduld besitzn vnser sell, Aber du soltést denselben pu<sup>e</sup>ffl knopffen nit so lang haben zu<sup>o</sup>gehört das sy Frantzen sein Eer also hiettn abgeschniten, sy mo<sup>e</sup>chten dich wider auf einen po<sup>e</sup>sen weg gebrocht haben, Die weil sy kein geschrift verstehen so schelten sy frantzns werk, warlich glaub mir es were dir nützer gewest, du werest dieweil auff knitlinger staig, oder bei knoblings creutz, oder pu<sup>o</sup>bin paum gewest, einem kauffman seins gelts minder gemacht, dann du solche nachred geho<sup>e</sup>rt ha<sup>e</sup>st, die dich in po<sup>e</sup>sen willen gebracht haben, Aber wonlon<sup>1</sup> es will dünckelln, wir wo<sup>e</sup>lln dahin ein ziechen, do haben wir ein ewangelischen herrn, ja do wollen wir basz von der sach reden, jch hoff es sol noch gu<sup>e</sup>t werden Schnaphan, gots element diser herr furcht den Pfaltzgrafn auch, dann er ist jm angeben, jn hat gerewt das er sein schlosz hewer hat lassen deckhen, Er der Steyninger furcht er hab es einem andern gedeckt, also geneüst er auch des ewangeliū. Putz, Lieber kum ich sol in wider mit der geselschafft erkuckln<sup>2</sup> das er nit trawrn soll, ob er schon vmb all sein gu<sup>e</sup>t kem, dann das ist suesz joch Christi. Schnaphan, Ist es kumen, vmb was einer hat, ein suesz joch, so ziech der Teuffl an demselbn, wen petln thu<sup>t</sup> wee, so gibt man wenig vergeben, wil es dann einer selbst nemen, so wil jme ye dy zeit zu<sup>o</sup> kurtz

<sup>1</sup> Wollen es lassen.<sup>2</sup> Beleben, erwecken.

werdenn, als mir oft geschehen ist, das mir der grunde schier lies stuende,<sup>1</sup> Aber zeuch hin zu<sup>m</sup> Steyninger hinein ich wil dir nach gen sieht man vns wol an, so sich ich es gern Putz, Ane des Steyningers thu<sup>r</sup> Hoia hoia. Steyninger, knecht schaw wer is daussen far schon, hastu geluck du kombst noch wol herein. Schnaphan Putzer, lasz mich herfür, der knecht kent mich, so durffen mir nit lanng bescheid gebenn, Knecht wer pistu daussen, Losa<sup>2</sup> stalbru<sup>d</sup>er, jeh bin da vnd sunst ein gu<sup>t</sup>er ewangelischer herr, thue auff knecht. seit jr auch gu<sup>t</sup> Lutherisch. Schnaphan, Potz marter, was fragst du, kenst du mich do wol, wer den der pfaff nit guet Lutherisch, sand veltin züch mit jm, Knecht, Lieber Schnap, jch treib mein schwenck, ziecht einher, vnd seyt wilkumen. Putzer, ein guet jar mein lieber schlucker,<sup>3</sup> jst der herr jn haim, Knecht, O ja Putz, so komen wir recht. Steyninger woher jr fromen woher. Putz tausent gueter jar gstrenger herr. Schnaphan, vil glu<sup>e</sup>cks gestrennger herr. Steyninger, woher also zu<sup>o</sup> fu<sup>e</sup>esz, wo sein die mu<sup>t</sup>zen<sup>4</sup> herr schnaphan. Schnaphan, Pox leiden ich weis nit jch halt ich hab meinen jm Trierischem landt verdruckhen jch hab ye keinen mer. Berner, Potz veltin schwager Eysenclat, wie ein vein gesindt kumbt da, jch mein got hab vns zu<sup>o</sup> samen tragen. Berner, es kumbt pfaff putzer der muesz hinn da etwas ewangelisch lernen. Eysenclat, was ist das fur ein putzer. Berner, kenst du in nit, Frantzen pfarrers zu<sup>o</sup> Amstel Ey lieber der selb lecker, der dy Nünen ausz dem kloster furt, Eysenclat, wer den mein pfarrer auch hie. Er mu<sup>s</sup>t ein guet stuckle von im lernen. Berner, wilkum putzer, woher so spat was lauffts du vmb. Putzer, guad junckher. Schnaphan, der lecker leu<sup>o</sup>gt junckher, er hat mir dausz gesagt, er wol zum Liechtenstern, vnnd aber ein Nünen haben, wie nün zu<sup>o</sup> Loben felt, seinem junckhern gee noch eine ab. Putzer, Ey wass sagst du, es ist nit meynung wie du sagst. [Bij.]

Berner. Pox macht Putzer. Putz dy Nünen, nün waidlich

<sup>1</sup> Die Zeit zur Verrichtung eines natürlichen Bedürfnisses mir zu kurz war.

<sup>2</sup> Höre.

<sup>3</sup> Bayer. Wb., II, 505.

<sup>4</sup> Pferd. Schmeller, I, 1706.

dy kocher<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>e</sup>chten jnen sunst verschimelen, Wa<sup>e</sup>ist du wol dz geschriben stett. Mert euch vnd erfult das erdtrich. Putzer, ja junckher ich spar mich nit, diser Text hat mir vor. xx. jarn wolgefallen, da ich schon noch in der ku<sup>o</sup>ten steckt. Eysenclat Hor pfaff ich muesz mit dir auf kuntschafft reden, lieber magstu den auch putzen. Putzer, ja junckher, den tag vnd nacht vngeuerlich zwelff mal. Darnach mir der harnisch gefellt, den ich putzen soll. Eysenclat, Pox veltin hab danck, vergebens bistu nit als ich ho<sup>r</sup> ann vrsach hüeren haubtmann in Frantzen ho<sup>r</sup> gewesen, dein sach stett wol. Steyninger, wol an jr schwa<sup>e</sup>ger es ist essens zeit hin zu<sup>m</sup> tisch. Berner, Eysenclat sitzt auff hin, Putzer Schnaphan da herfur, vnd knecht schenck tapffer ein, so wir gezechen, wirt dy sach leicht pesser bring es einer dem andern vnd seyt leicht synns. Berner wol an Steyninger, Es gilt dir den gar ausz vnd pitt fur den Putzer, der muesz beschaid thun, vnd darnach etwas Ewangelisch lernen, oder dy stiegen hinab. Putzer, junckher es darff der not nit, was ir wolt das wil ich auch. Steyninger, putz. lieber gesell wie sicht dich dy sach ane mit Frantzen vnd vnserm bunde, es wil der po<sup>e</sup>sz weg an, Herman von kranberg Johann hilchin. Thoman von Roserber vnnd Erlineckiner haben ein po<sup>e</sup>se raisz gethan, so sitzen vnnsere drey dy synn zu<sup>o</sup> Haydelwerg auch angeben, haben vns nichts gu<sup>o</sup>ts auf den Sumer zu<sup>o</sup>uersehen, so hat nün Frantz vnserm dem Pfalzgraffen auch abgesagt, das ist das po<sup>e</sup>sst flaisch, wolan wir sollen wol sein geniessen, das wir vmb vnser pawrn vnd heüser komen, Jch wolt gern Ewangelisch halten, jch furcht aber es sey zu<sup>o</sup> schwinde angefangen worden. Berner, Ja bey Chu<sup>e</sup>res leyden, jch wais wol das ich kein geho<sup>r</sup> zu<sup>o</sup> Haydelwerg han, schreib ich dahin mir wirt spützig geantwurt. Jch wolt jch glaubet als mein vater seliger, vnd wer der new wein wider jm vass. Eysenclat, es dunckt mich, samer sand Cu<sup>e</sup>reins leyden der Teufl sey im spil vnnd hab dy schantz verpletert,<sup>2</sup> Jch

<sup>1</sup> Obscoen. Gefäss, Behälter. DWb, v, 1560.

<sup>2</sup> Wiederholt schlagen mit etwas Breitem. Schmeller, I, 463.

bin selbst zu<sup>o</sup> Haydelwerg gewest. der himl ist trueb man siecht einen durch dy woleken an, felt der regen in vnser zirck<sup>1</sup> es wirt zeriessne sach darausz, vnd solt sy sand Cu<sup>e</sup>re flicken. Schnaphan, Ja lieber junckher, das ist dy vrsach das ich meinen Mutzen ainem wagenman hab verkauft, will der heckn den winter muessig sten, einer wais schier nit wo er ist, Jch endtritt negst den Pfaltzgraffischen pawrn kaum, dy stiessen auff mich bey Richerhausen im grüntlein, heten sy mich erwüschet, jch forcht ich leg auff alten haydelwerg, dann sy sagen man streck einem den glauben daselbst dreyer artickel lenger dann er sunst ist. Knecht, Jch bin vor gewest in des pfarrers haus der ist von weglstat von einem todtn gefresz komen vnd hat die abendteu<sup>e</sup>rische brief pracht, dy sol Frantz an den Teuffl vmb hilff geschriben haben, dy haben als ich glaub dj pfaffen daselbst aneinander zu<sup>o</sup>gestossen, weil Frantz auch irs herrn veindt ist, jnen solt einer aller heiligen marter anlegen. Steyninger, lieber sage war. Knecht, es sol sein Sigler das das pfefflein sitzt hinder dem offen, vnd gedenckt, fart schon jr marter hansen, euch wirt der pfeffer noch pasz gesaltzen, jr habt den selbst angefangen. Putzer, gestrenger her wo es euch nit verdryszlich wer, wolt jch auch mein meynung zu<sup>o</sup> disem handl fu<sup>e</sup>rbringen. Steyninger, mach her lieber pfaff mach her fro<sup>e</sup>lich. Putzer, gestrenger her vnd gunstig junckherrn, mich wundert, vnd befrembt ser hoch von euch als den verstendigen gegrundten vnd vessten im glauben. Steyninger O po<sup>e</sup>swicht putzer, wie kanstu sogar nit vedern lesen. Putz. [Bijj.], das er auch entsetzt von denn Fursten lanndung jr gen etlich torn freu<sup>e</sup>ndtn, forchtendt euch nit dergleichen geschehen.<sup>2</sup> Sigler, O es were langst zeit gewest, vnd were ma<sup>e</sup>niger biderman bey seinem guet beliben. Putzer, jch muesz schier sagen das euch solchs allain ausz zweyfflung im glauben zu<sup>o</sup>kumen, vnd nit wunder das ir schmechlich verdurbt vnd vnttergang darab erlidt. Sigler, es sol geschehen,

<sup>1</sup> Bezirk, Kreis. *Bayr. Wb.*, II, 1650.

<sup>2</sup> Unverständlich.

das geb gott bald ee dy bau<sup>m</sup> wider reisen. Putzer, wist ir doch woll wie Petro geschach do er auff dem Mo<sup>r</sup> zu<sup>e</sup> dem hern wandern wolt do er schier vndergangen was ausz zweyfflung, darumb gee der herr vnd sagt, du kleinglaubiger warumb hastu gezweyfelt, also sag ich euch. Sigler, Po<sup>s</sup>wicht putzer wiewol kanstu den schragen<sup>1</sup> des verführrens zu<sup>e</sup> marek setzn. Putzer, lieber junckher seit keckh als ewr hauptman der Franntz, der schier aller Fursten veindt ist, vnd furcht nit euch zu<sup>e</sup>wern vnnd zu<sup>e</sup> leiden durch Christum. Paulus spricht, wer wil vns schaiden von der lieb Christi, weder schwert, hunger, noch kümer noch der todt, habt ir nün eürn bundt in der lieb Christi vnnd des negsten angefangen. Sigler, ja das sy Christum lesteretn vnd dem negsten nemen was er het. Putzer, Hey so furcht euch nit von Christus vnnd des negstens wegen zu<sup>e</sup> leiden, schmeche schande verzagen, vnd po<sup>s</sup>ers, dann Christus spricht, selig sein dy verfolgung leiden von der gerechtigkeit wegen, vnd weyter, es wirt kumen dy zeit dz ein yeglicher der euch todt, meint er thu<sup>e</sup> got ein dinst daran, wann sy nit kennen meinen vater noch mich, vnd sy wern euch aus der Synagog stossen, secht lieben junckhern diser Text ist scho<sup>e</sup>n war weil ir jn der Teufflischen acht zu Nu<sup>r</sup>mberg seit ausgetriben, vnd ewr verfolger sein dy Furstenn warumb das ir dy gerechtigkeit wider walt auff erdtrich bringen dy vorhin lang gen himel gefarn ist, wie kumen dy Furstn darzu<sup>e</sup>. Eysen. sy kennen das ewangelium vnd sand Paulum nit, haben auch nyemant der sy es lernen mag, als mein junckher Franntz aus dem kennen sy auch Christum vnd sein vater nit, glauben allain dem Ro<sup>m</sup>ischn Enden Crist vnd seinen anha<sup>n</sup>gkhn. Weil nün dem also, furcht ir euch dann, wist ir nit der gerecht nit verlassen wirt, vnd das .x. gerechter als gu<sup>t</sup> wern, als ein thausesent vngerechter. an dem pu<sup>e</sup>ch der Streiter, Sigler, oder deiner hengkn ma<sup>s</sup>sigen gerechtigkeit lieber putzer. Putzer, Ja es ist war wie ich gehn hab, vnd ist es schon sach das ir verliern wert, dennach furcht euch nit,

<sup>1</sup> Schmeller, II, 600. Gestell.

hat doch Petrus sein vischgarn, Paulus ein wenig feld verlassen, Christus selb gar nichts gehabt, haben es doch alles bessessen. Also liebn herrn vnd junckhern seid getrost, wie es get, ewrs lons ist vil im himel, get es euch schon hie vbel, acht es sey gots wil, der suecht dy seinen, vnd verliert jr schon etwas hie durch seinen willen, es wirt euch hundertfeltig wider in der ewigen seligkeit, thu<sup>o</sup>t als habt ir vorhin nichts, so wert jrs alles besitzen. Sigler, O wie ein gu<sup>e</sup>ten tisch peicht vater hetest du geben, du trost wol bisz an galgen, hiengst aber selbs nit gern, du anmechtiger po<sup>e</sup>swicht. Eysen., Putz. du trost wol es gerat halt oder nit, doch wie es wil, slag sand veltins leiden zu<sup>o</sup>, wirt ich schon verderbt, zeuch zu<sup>m</sup> Frantzosen, wil dann dj narung bey im auch nit fürgang habn, so thu<sup>e</sup> ich als vor, vnd hoff zu<sup>o</sup> got, er lasz mir dester mer Nürmberger vnd Augspurger kauffleüt zu<sup>o</sup>sten, dz ich das mein wider, nit allain dort sunder auch hie hundertfeltig vberkome, jeh hab auch nit vil, es ist vmb ein po<sup>e</sup>sz pergheu<sup>e</sup>slein zethu<sup>e</sup>n, hab ichs jar nit gar hundert gulden einfallen, vnd wz ich sünst von meinen pawrn schetz. Berner aber ich verlu<sup>e</sup>r nit gern wz ich han, es wer mir zeuil so kan ich sonderlich auch nit mit den kaufleuten vmb gen, ich schemt mich auch sein, wo man es von mir saget, dann ich erst bey Frantzsn recht lern raisz dienen,<sup>1</sup> wil es ye vbl aus, so wil auch gelt geben. Jch hoff man nem es gern alles von mir an als einem andern, da mit ich wider bleib. Steynin, Potz macht, jeh hab schon vmb vertrage vnd gelt zu<sup>o</sup> geben geschrieben, bin auch schon verwont, durch einen heimlichen guetn freundt, es hab kein not man wer gelt von mir nemen, steyninger wolgeredt durch einen heimlichen guetn freundt. O frumer Pfaltzgraff also get es, traw ka<sup>e</sup>inem du kennst jne dann wol, die geselln lassen aneinander nit, dann es frist kain wolff den andern. Putz, also fro<sup>e</sup>lich hindurch, got wirt es mit euch haben, seyt keckh lasst euch nit erschrecken Jr erbern pu<sup>r</sup>g, Landstal, Drocheufels, Bairn vnd Kaltenfels auf gen, es fleust dy weil vil wassers den Rhein hinab, wert

<sup>1</sup>Berittene Kriegsdienste tun.



üch streu<sup>e</sup>bt üch, dann Christus wist ir wol hielt selbs nit das er gelernet, schlecht dich einer an den packen reck jm den andern auch dar, sonder do er geslagen was vor Annas, redt er dem sla<sup>e</sup>ger zu<sup>o</sup>, sprach warumb schlestu mich, darausz er vns zewern, vnd nit gar vnttertrucken gelernt hat, get es euch dann gar hinter sich, so thuet als dy Apostl, dy giengen frolich ausz den Synagogen wann sy geschlagen worden, vnd freu<sup>e</sup>then sich das sy wirdig wern zu<sup>o</sup> schmehen vmb Christus willen zeleidenn, also thuet auch ir Cristus wirt euch nit verlassen, get er von euch er wirt schon wider zu<sup>o</sup> euch kumen vnd nit verlassen als dy waissen, wie ir selbs zue gesagt habt. Sigler, jch hoff er wert nit lang ausz sein, der Pfaltzgraff wirt ein hauptman werden, das ir gesuecht werdet als ir wol verdient habt, dz ir souil Mort vnd prants gestiftt habt jn Trierischen landen, an altn vnd jungen des sich got von himel liesz erparmen. Eysenclat, Pox macht will man vns darumb fressen, das wir schon ein vberzogen haben, sein es doch nichts dann reutters<sup>1</sup> mer, so ist es alles dz wir gethan haben allain der gerechtigkeit zegu<sup>e</sup>t geschehen wir muessen villeicht hinwider pu<sup>e</sup>essen. Sigler, O thu es thu es der gerechtigkeit zegu<sup>e</sup>t, du werdest mit deiner gerechtigkeit langst, kopfens vnd Rederns vnd verprennens wert gewesen, got lasz dir dein gerechtigkeit er deyhen.<sup>2</sup> Steyninger on zweyfl wirt hinwider gepiessen werden, dann ir vill haben schonn dy zen gepleckt.<sup>3</sup> Sigler, es ist verdorbens gesind, es wirdt bald ein end mit jnen, Her got ist kain bair,<sup>4</sup> der Hencker hat schon dy klingen gewetzt, vil muessen darüber Steyninger, Potz leiden, Jr sagt vil von der gerechtigkeit vnd hin vnd wider peissen, nichts weniger send ir vil schon vmb dy heuser vnd vmb jr guet komen, es hilfft doch kein recht vnd erpieten mer, heut schickt man einem dy vier warnung, morgen ist man im kurtz vor dem haus, Sand Cürens plag, ich bin der Reiterei schier veindt

<sup>1</sup> Rutarius, Strassenräuber.

<sup>2</sup> Gedeihen = wachsen, zu gute kommen.

<sup>3</sup> Blicken lassen, zeigen.

<sup>4</sup> Hilfe, Ausweg, Bremse.

worden, mir schwindelt als darhinden. Sigler, Ey sollichs alles ist ein newe Fra<sup>n</sup>tzische Constitution dy haben des genueg, wer der knecht wider do, so heten wir villeicht anders, Knecht, ich bin hie vnd bring dy brief vom pfarrer. Steyninger, so hin schwager Berner, du pist der geschickest vnnder vnns lies was ist es. Berner, schrifft Frantzen von Sickingen An den Teuffl in der helle.

Volgt hernach der brieff an den Teuffl.

Dem hoch erschafft<sup>n</sup> Grosmechtigen fursten vnd herrn herren Lucifer, Ko<sup>n</sup>ig der hellen Furst der mittlen vnser region des lu<sup>ff</sup>fts vnd der gaist dy darjnen sein, meinem gnedigsten herrn, Hochgeschaffner Grosmechtiger ko<sup>n</sup>ig, furst vnd herr E. ka<sup>y</sup>. may. sind mein vndert<sup>n</sup>ig geflissen willig dienst alle zeit, Grosmechtiger herr. E. ka<sup>y</sup>. may. ist vngezweyfelt gu<sup>t</sup> wissen wie ich vergangener zeit ein lo<sup>b</sup>lich bundt zu<sup>o</sup> lanndaw, angefangen zu<sup>o</sup> trost der gerechtigkeit dy ich waisz grosz statt an barmhertzighait in E. key. may. gebieten, haben wir desselben bunds fromen verwonten, einem vnchristlichen pfaffen vberzogen, denselben von wegen seiner vnmiltigkeit, das er nit gelt wolt geben zestraffen, durch weches eur. key. may. reich als menigklich waisz hochgemert worden vnd noch werden soll, Aber dy hinderesz derselben gerechtigkeit vnd meines gu<sup>t</sup>tn furnemens haben mir sollichs f<sup>u</sup>rkomen, begern auch mich vnd des bundts verwont zu<sup>o</sup>uertreiben, als sy dann meynem Amman von krannburg vnd ander mer E. k. may. Emsig diener beschedigt haben, sollichs hab ich auch dem himelischen kayser clagszweis wo<sup>l</sup>len f<sup>u</sup>rtrogen, vnd bitten mich als seinen trewen hauptman des neuen Reiterischen Ewangelj bey recht zu<sup>o</sup>behalten, Aber mein potschafft ist mir durch seinen hinckeden Petrum verhindert vnd nit f<sup>u</sup>r gelassen worden, derselb hat auch mich mit worttn als dann angetasst, vnd sagt ich sey ein rauber, Mo<sup>r</sup>der, Prenner vnd glaubbru<sup>c</sup>higer po<sup>e</sup>swicht, hab vil mordts vnd vngluckh in Trierischen landen gestiftt, dann man vil kleiner kinder funden dy das grasz fra<sup>e</sup>ssen, als das viech, etlich

vor hunger todt, etlich noch an prüssten der todtn mueter saugende, welches ich dann ytzt sein las, verhoffens denselbn hincketen schalck zu° seiner zeit auch darumb haim zu°süechen, das ich wais mir allain von jme geschehen, Darumb das ich etwann Diether von hentzschüschn zu°geschrieben, er sol kainen heiligen mer (als sich der hincket Petrus scheltn last) bitten, vnd ir bild aus der kirchen tragen, vnd sunst da er der alt schalck nye sey gen Rom kumen, vnd sein vicari daselbs, der war anterchrist sey, Darumb dy weil nün ich vor dem obristen kayser nit hab mo°gen fürkumen, wie wol ich sein nit sonderlich acht, vrsach, das seiner. mai. reich weit von mir gelegen vnd dann. E. key. mai. das ander haubt der welt nach jme, bin ich verürsacht dieselbn E. kay. may. vmb beschu°tzung mein vnd der meinen an zernüffen, von welchs wegen, vnd das Ewr. kayser. maie. gnad dester ehe mo°cht erwerben, gib ich mich zu°uor derselben Ewr keyserlichen maiestat sambt gantz meinem bundt, vnd bundts verwonten allen helffern vnd helffern helffern, vnuerschaidenlich in der pessten form vnd gestalt, wie dann das beschehen sol vnd kreftig ist zu° leib vnd sel aigen, Vnd bitt darauff Ewer keyserlich maiestat vntterdenigklich, mich vnd die meinen gnediglich anzenemen, und für derselben leib vnd sele aigen zu° beschutzn vnd schirmen, vnd wo für mich gezogen, als mir nit zweifelt rettung zu°thun, das wil ich mich sollichn ergeben, vnd der billichkeit nach zu° Ewr keyserlich maiestat, als gnaden annemer aller dy ir hilff begern gentzlich vertrosten, vnd mit leib guet, vnnd sambt allen meinen verwonten vntterdenigklich verdienen, Geben vnder meinem zingiesz<sup>1</sup> zu° Lanstal Am zehend tag Nouembris, Anno etc. xxxij.

E. K. M.

vndertheniger Frantz von Sicking,  
Gern kho°nig am Rhein vnnd Hertzog zu Francken.

<sup>1</sup> Für Siegel.

Wider schrift des Teuffs an Frantzen von Sicking. [Cij.]

Dem weitbekanthen vnnserm lieben getrewn Frantzen von Sickingen gern ko<sup>n</sup>ig am Rhein vnd hertzogen zu<sup>o</sup> Francken.

Vnnsern gru<sup>e</sup>s gnad vnd gu<sup>n</sup>st, zu<sup>u</sup>or Weitbekanther lieber getrewer, Dein geschrift beger, vnd bitt haben wir vernomen, wann aber du dich vnd dy deinen vns zu<sup>u</sup>or veraigest,<sup>1</sup> wildt verlassen dein dienst des oberistn himelischen kayzers, der dir zu<sup>o</sup> weit hilff zethu<sup>n</sup> gelegen, vnd wir negstes regiment der welt nach jme haben, Wiewol wir auch nit gern mit jme vnd seinen verwontn zeschaffen haben, dann er vber vns eins wunderlichen seltzamen gemu<sup>e</sup>ets ist, vnd dann vnss wol wissendt, das du vnnser Reich nit wenig gemert hast, vnd versehen vnns getrewe dienst vnd merers nütz von dir, vnd du dann dich vberzu<sup>o</sup>gs besorgst, soltest vnd magst du dich gantzlich zu<sup>o</sup> vnns verlassen, das wir dich mit sichparlichen vnnd vnsichparlichen vnsern embsign dienern, wollen auff deiner widerparthei Costn vnd schaden zerett<sup>n</sup> nit vnderlassen, dann ye mer du jne laides vnd schadens zu<sup>o</sup>wendest, ye mer du dich zu<sup>o</sup> vnser günt tu<sup>e</sup>est neygen, wir wollen dich auch aller deiner werckh dy du in solchen u<sup>e</sup>best nit vnbelont lasen, das hastu dich zu<sup>o</sup> vnnsern gnaden gantzlich zu<sup>u</sup>ersehen, Wann wir ab dir vnnd den deinen lanng ein grosz wolgefallen gehabt, wollen wir dir auss sonderlichen gnaden vnnd gu<sup>n</sup>st nit verhalten. Geben in vnser wonung apud Stigiam paludez an. xvij. tag Nouembris Anno etc. vnnsers hellischen Regiments in Tertio.

Steyninger, Potz veltin, jr schwa<sup>e</sup>ger, wie gefallen euch dise mer, sol Frantz des Teuffs diener sein. Berner, Pox krafft es ist erlogen, Frantz hat es nit gethan, es ist etwe über jne erdacht worden. Sigler, ob es schon erdicht wa<sup>e</sup>re, besecht es jr recht, es ist der warheit nit vneben, schadet euch nit ob man euch vil po<sup>e</sup>sers erdicht, dann ir habt es auch lanng getriben.

<sup>1</sup> Versprechen, zu eigen geben.

Eysenclat, Sammer potz macht, wu<sup>e</sup>st ich ein lecker, der ein solhs vber Frantzen erdecht, jch wolt ein schwertz schaiden auss jme machn, vnd solt ich jme noch. x. jar porgen. Schnaphan, Pox element es ist ein po<sup>e</sup>sz stu<sup>e</sup>ck, doch frag ich nit vil dar nach, würt nit mer dann vff vnser seits geholffen das sy oblege, sannd Stolprians leiden schlu<sup>e</sup>ge darzu<sup>o</sup>, vnnss hülf der Teuff oder sein mu<sup>e</sup>ter. Putz, nit also schnap. Seien wir ewangelisch nachfolger Christi, so sollen wir nichts mit dem teuff zeschickn haben. Sigler, Ja wol geredt, ist Räuberey, Prennen, Mordt stifft, den armen das ir nemen, Christum nach folged, Nünen auss den klostern füeren, kain gelu<sup>o</sup>bd haltenn wol gethan, so wirt der Teuff nit mit euch zeschaffen haben Jch versich mich aber gantzlich, er hab euch langst ir erlo<sup>e</sup>sen pu<sup>e</sup>eben ewr tail himelreichs zu<sup>o</sup> aigen abgekauft vnd schon bezalt. Knecht, bej got herr der pfarrer sagt es seien nit Tant<sup>1</sup> mer es sey war, das der Franntz dem Teuff geschriben hab, Er woll es biss sonntag offentlich auff der Cantzel predigen. Steyninger, got geb dem pfaffen sant Anthonis leiden, Er hat es von seinen schalecks pfaffen richten jne mir zetratz<sup>2</sup> also ab, jch to<sup>e</sup>rfft jne pox jamer wol von der pfrundt geheyen<sup>3</sup> vnd durch platten lassen schlagen. Sigler, peysz jm ein creutz ju arsch, so schleufft jm der Teuff nit hinein. Eysenclat, Pox leyden ich habs meinem lecker auch gethan, Nür mit den püebn dem wasser zu<sup>e</sup>, wollen sy nit guet Lutherisch sein. Berner, Samer pox macht, torpfft ich sy woll all zu<sup>m</sup> Teuff jagen, jch hab der dieb wol. xvj. in meinem gebiet, vud dy pfrunden Raisigen knechten geben, dy beschirmetn doch das land vnd machten arm leüt, wie dann jr art ist Knecht, Junckher jch wolt das ir meinem herrn ains darauff brecht, das er es auch thet, dy schelmen verjagte, vnd dy pfründten den knechten gebe, so wyre mir villeicht auch eine. Sigler, ein drek auff das maul, du wainest gern so hast du ein weil zesaugen. Putzer, lieber junckher. xvj. pfaffen zehaben ist torhait, ainer wer genüg, Nür mit in an galgen, sy thuen nichts

<sup>1</sup> Erdichtet.<sup>2</sup> Zum Trotz.<sup>3</sup> Werfen, schmeissen.

dann das sy dy leut vmbs gelt bescheyssen. Eisenclat, dannek hab Mu<sup>n</sup>ich das du dy warheit sagst, du muest bey gots macht mein pfarrer werden, jch vermag es an frantzen, es gilt dir ein gu<sup>t</sup>z darauff. Putzer, got gesegen dir jne jch warts gern. Sigler, der Teufl gesegen jme auch, O Putzer Christus, vnd Paulus haben dich nit zu<sup>e</sup>sauffen gelernt. Steyninger, das hort ich gern, saufft das irs speüt, es ist pesser, du<sup>r</sup>ch vns gethan, dann vnser veindt. Putzer, brings dem schnaphan, als mir zu<sup>o</sup> mit freyden.

Gu<sup>e</sup>ts muets zu<sup>o</sup> disem zül, drütz der vns were,  
Zu<sup>o</sup> Vlm saint der ka<sup>u</sup>fleut vil, dy muessen vns all ernern.

Putzer Amen

Sigler

Zu<sup>o</sup> Nu<sup>r</sup>mberg stett ein Galgen hoch, do wart der Hencker ewr noch, jr werdet jme werden eben, Sing auch Amen. O du amechtiger dieb Putzer, dann mein text ist des Schnaphan auss der melodia.

#### Beschlusz.

Also hastu mein lieber leser *das gemein leben*, werck vnd Conuersation dy meins bedunkens nit wenig von allem vbl, als poser vorsetziger Rauberei, Mordt, Zu<sup>e</sup>sauffen, Gots lesterung vnd Teuflisch nachfolgung gespeist vnd faist gemacht ist, *der Neüen Reiterischen ewangelische* id est, Lesterer Cristum, welchs in jrn wercken vnd volkumentheiten, gleichen den Jungern Pauli, dy er dem Sathan gab, derselbig wirdet jne an zweyfl den lon vnd kron jrs schweysz vnnd flaisch vo<sup>l</sup>lligklich zegeben vnuerdrossen vnd willig sein, Aber wiltu selig werden, verlasz das Ewangeliu vnd Paulum gar nit von jrn wegen, Sunder lere sie vnd volg demnach, wirst du on zweyfl dem himelischen preitgam zu<sup>o</sup> was zeit du kumen, mit aufgethaner thu<sup>r</sup> entgegen haben.

THE CLÉOMADÈS, THE MÉLIACIN, AND THE  
ARABIAN TALE OF THE "ENCHANTED  
HORSE."

IN an earlier paper<sup>1</sup> I have tried to show that Geoffrey Chaucer knew the *Cléomadès*, a French romance of the thirteenth century written by Adenet le Roi. My evidence for this position was, very briefly : the wide popularity of the French poem ; certain associations of Adenet with the English court ; and the similarity in general and in many details between the Old French romance and the English fragment. In order that I may project my study against a sufficient background, I here present an account of the prose redactions of the *Cléomadès* and some observations of my own and of others about the relations between this romance and the *Méliacin* of Girard of Amiens. My discussion will show, in the first place, that we have, including the Squire's Tale, a fairly continuous chain of versions and editions of the *cheval de fust* story, extending from the thirteenth to the latter part of the eighteenth century and, in the second place, that we must probably allow for one or more literary forms of the story antedating the *Cléomadès*.

I.

I will begin with a French prose redaction without date but probably published about 1480 and printed at Lyons. It bears the title : *Cy commence le livre de Clamades, fils du roy d'Espaignol et de la belle Clarmonde, fille du roy Carmant*. In Lyons, again, appeared another quarto, dated 1488. There

<sup>1</sup> *Publ. of M. L. A.*, XIII, 346 ff.

were other adaptations published in Troyes and Paris, the exact number of which I have been unable to ascertain. De Tressan affirms that his version is founded upon "l'ancienne édition Française . . . du commencement du seizième siècle sans date, imprimée en caractères gothiques et fort rare." With the means at hand, I cannot determine de Tressan's original,—perhaps it was the Lyons edition assigned by Paris to 1480. Nor is it clear upon what was founded the redaction in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*, February, 1785; although there are several points of likeness between this and the version of Mme. L. G. D. R., published in 1733. The preface to the 1785 version tells us nothing definite:—"Ce roman, dans l'origine, passe pour être espagnol; et c'est en cette qualité que Madame L. G. D. R. le publia en françois en 1733. Mais ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'il n'a point le goût du terroir, et qu'il ne présente nulle part le caractère de l'esprit castillan. Il n'en est pas moins attrayant par l'imagination, le merveilleux, et l'intérêt qui y regnent. Il ne lui manquoit que d'être écrit. On sait qu'un Roman, qui n'a que ce défaut, est à repaire. C'est un service que lui rendit un Amateur illustre, M. le Comte de Tressan, en 1777 (1<sup>er</sup> vol. d'Avril)." The preface then goes on to say that another man of letters was busy at the same time with a similar task, but that he decided not to publish his redaction after de Tressan's had appeared. Certain persons, however, having read his manuscript and compared it with de Tressan's version, discovered that the two *rifacimenti* varied widely; then followed the edition of 1785.

The only Spanish text about which there seems to be any certainty is the prose version of the early years of the sixteenth century, which bore the title: *Historia del Cavallero Clamades y de la linda Claramonda*. Of this there were two editions: one at Burgos, 1521, 4<sup>o</sup>; the other, in the *Bibliothèque royale*, dated 1603, and bearing the inscription, *Alcala de Henarez, chez Juan Gracian*. We seem to have here the redaction referred to by de Tressan, where he says that the *Cléomadès* was translated into Spanish prose. De Tressan also mentions a



modern translation of the Spanish text in which the facts are altered. This is the stupid redaction of Madame Le Gendre de Richebourg, 1733, to which the form in the *Bibliothèque* for 1785 is related.<sup>1</sup>

We have, then, so far as I have been able to discover, the following versions (or better redactions) of Adenet's poem :— 1) edition at Lyons, 1480(?); 2) edition at Lyons, 1488; 3) an undetermined number of other French *rifacimenti*; 4) the Spanish prose text of the early sixteenth century in two extant editions, dated 1521 and 1603 respectively. Madame Le Gendre de Richebourg's edition, 1733, is apparently a reproduction of 4. To these two the form of the story in the *Bibliothèque des Romans*, 1785, is somehow related. Distinct from them and founded upon one of the French *rifacimenti* is the redaction of the Count de Tressan, published in the *Bibliothèque*, April, 1777.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Avantures de Clamades et de Claramonda tirées de l'Espagnol, par Madame L. G. D. R., à Paris, chez Nyon fils, Quay de Conty, 1733. Avec Approbation et Privilège du Roi.*

<sup>2</sup> In the version of Mme. L. G. D. R., there is a dragon of cork instead of a horse of ebony; the three African kings constructed their gifts with the aid of a fairy. The dragon's body was covered with scales made of mother-of-pearl; its wings were made of feathers of the most beautiful birds of India; it was operated by steel pins. Prince Leopatris, Clarmondine's suitor, makes war upon the King of Salerno, while Clarmondine is in that king's household, being treated by Cléomadès—the physician. While Méniade is busy fighting, the lovers contrive to escape. Soaring over the opposed armies, they notice that Méniade and Leopatris are about to engage in single combat. Cléomadès calls to them and they give up the fight.

Similar to the above, as I have asserted, is the redaction in the *Bibliothèque* for 1785. This is obviously, however, an effort to make as much of a burlesque as possible :—The hen and chickens sing in concert as melodiously as nightingales. The silver statue with the trumpet is far more accomplished than its fellow in the other forms of the story. Shortly after it has been given to the king, it walks to an unfortunate little slave,—Don Diego Spadille by name,—pounces upon him, grasps him firmly, and then sounds the trumpet with fearful sound. This is enough to show the absurdly garbled form of the Cléomadès story that we find in the 1785 prose redaction.

I have been unable to consult any of the prose redactions except the two in the *Bibliothèque* and Mme. L. G. D. R.'s. For general information upon the

## II.

Before discussing the relations of the *Cléomadès* to the *Méliacin* by Girard of Amiens and to the Arabian stories of the "Enchanted Horse," I shall have to give a summary of Adenet's poem:—

Ynabele, daughter of the King of Spain, is married to Marcadigas, son of Calvus, King of Sardinia. They have one son, Cléomadès, and three daughters, Elyador, Feniadis, and Marine. Marcadigas, in the absence of his son, is, with great difficulty, defending his land against five kings, one of whom he has challenged to single combat. In the meantime, Cléomadès, hearing of his father's hard case, returns from France, is knighted at a festival, and enables Marcadigas to

prose versions of the *Cléomadès*, I am indebted to the *Histoire littéraire*, xx, 718. See, further, *Bibliothèque des Romans*, April, 1777, 168 ff.

It might be mentioned in this note that certain elements of the *Cléomadès* appear in the "Valentine and Orson," of which we have only a prose version to be dated, according to Gröber, some time after 1489. Of these may be mentioned the wooden horse of Pacolet, the names of Trompart and Esclarmonde, Esclarmonde's feigning madness in order to escape from the king of Inde-la-Major, and the lover's disguise as a physician. So far as we can discover, the *volksbuch*, or the lost poem upon which the *volksbuch* is founded, simply absorbed these particulars from the Old French romance. There seems to have been a metrical version of the Valentine and Orson in the first half of the fourteenth century. Fragments of a Dutch redaction are ascribed to the second half of the fourteenth century. In any case the lost French poem was not older than the *Cléomadès*. See Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 792 ff.; *Romania*, xxvii, 326; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xx, 679 ff.; Grässe, *Lehrbuch einer Literaturgeschichte*, II, 277-278; Grässe, *Trésor*, VI, 237-238 and VII, 486; Chauvin, *Wallonia, Janvier-Février*, 1898, 9. The writer in the *Histoire littéraire* speaks of V. and O. as a "roman qui, pour le dire en passant, n'est qu'une grossière contrefaçon du poème d'Adenès." On the other hand W. Seelman, *Valetin und Namelos*, LV-LVI: "Das Zauberpfand des Pacolet cap. 24 ff., ist dem Roman de Cléomadès entnommen, dessen Benutzung auch cap. 31-39 und 60 deutlich zeigen. Man darf diese Capitel eine contrefaçon grossière des Cléomadès nennen, mit diesem Ausdruck aber, wie die *Histoire littéraire de la France* 20, 679 f., tut und viele nachschreiben, den ganzen Roman de Valentin et Orson characterisiren zu wollen, würde ungerechtfertigt sein."

overcome the champions of the opposing side,—Garsianis, King of Portugal ; Bondart le Gris, King of Gascony ; Galdas des Mons, sire of Toulouse ; Agambart le Long, King of Aragon ; and Sormant le Rous, King of Galicia.

At this time there are in Africa three kings who have great riches ; their kingdoms are adjacent ; greatly they love one another. Each of them knows a great deal of “clergie,” necromancy, and “astronomie.” Two of them are seemly enough, but the third, named Crompart, is “lais, petis et boçus.” These three kings, having heard of the radiant beauty of the three Spanish princesses, hold a council, at which they decide to proceed in state to King Marcadigas and ask him for his daughters. Crompart, thinking uneasily of his ugliness, suggests that each of them should give the king “un jouel de très grant richece,” in order to predispose him in their favor.

“Quant il se furent arréé  
Après ce ont pou sejouré.  
Tant ont li uns l'autre attendu  
Que ensamble sont revenu.”<sup>1</sup>

The African kings bring their gifts to Marcadigas on his birthday. Melocandis brings a man of gold with a golden trumpet ; Baldigant, a hen with six chickens, all of gold and able to walk and sing ; Crompart, a horse of ebony that can travel as swiftly as an arrow shot from a bow. Marcadigas, well pleased with these gifts, offers his visitors anything they desire. They at once ask for the three princesses. The two older sisters are satisfied with their handsome suitors, Melocandis and Baldigant, but Marine is deeply distressed by the request of Crompart. The unhappy girl takes her trouble to her brother, Cléomadès, who promises to protect her from the displeasing suitor. In the meanwhile all the gifts are to be tested and Cléomadès is to try the horse.

When Cléomadès mounts the magic steed, the man of

<sup>1</sup> *Cléomadès*, ed. van Hasselt, 1843 ff.

gold vigorously sounds his trumpet, but it is to no purpose. Crompart goes in front of the horse, turns a little pin, and horse and rider are presently lost to sight. Crompart is then placed in confinement, and the nuptials of his brother kings are indefinitely postponed.

Cléomadès, borne quickly through the air, learns, in time, the mechanism of his wonderful horse. He descends upon the roof of a tower, passes through a trap-door, and enters an apartment in which he finds a table well supplied. After partaking of the food, he comes upon a "grant villain," and later, having crossed a corridor, enters a chamber where four maidens are asleep. The castle is Castle Noble, the apartments are those of the princess Clarmondine, and the maidens are the princess herself and her three attendants, Florete, Gaieté, and Lyadès. Cléomadès makes bold to kiss the princess; she awakens and asks him whether he is not Bleopatris, to whom her father has promised her. He says that he is, and she then asks him to withdraw while she dresses. Later, when the lovers are surprised by the girl's angry father, our resourceful hero is not found wanting. Every three years, he says, the persecuting fairy folk have him carried away on a wooden horse that takes him rapidly over the world, exposing him to serious dangers. Carmant, Clarmondine's father, sends to the roof of the tower for the strange device. Cléomadès, when later he is condemned to death, asks for the privilege of dying upon his horse. The request is granted and the hero makes good his escape.

After Cléomadès returns to Seville, the nuptials of his two older sisters are celebrated. Crompart, who has been banished *from* the court, remains in the neighborhood attending the sick. He could not go home because he had committed certain crimes, which, according to the custom of his country, must be expiated by a seven years' exile.

Cléomadès, after an impatient stay at Seville, sets out once more on his magic horse for Castle Noble. Arriving there in the daytime, he hides until nightfall in a grove adjacent

to Clarmondine's apartments. He then enters her chamber, awakes her with two kisses, and tells her that he is Cléomadès, son of the King of Spain. As the sun is rising, Cléomadès and Clarmondine effect their escape, Cléomadès shouting to King Carmant that he is Marcadigas' son.

When the travellers reach Seville, Cléomadès leaves his *amie* in a garden just outside the city, while he goes to prepare a suitable reception for her. Crompart then meets with Clarmondine and, noticing his ebony horse, takes in the situation at a glance. Having persuaded the girl that he is her lover's emissary, sent to escort her to the court, he soars away with her. Clarmondine, who finds herself in a perilous situation, tells Crompart that she is a silk-weaver of Lombardy, engaged by Cléomadès to work for his sisters. While the two are resting in a meadow, Crompart is overcome by the hot sun, and Clarmondine, oppressed by sorrow and fatigue, falls asleep.

In this condition, the beautiful princess and her ugly abductor are found by Meniadus and his followers, while they are out hunting. That was a good flight of the hawk, exclaims the poet, that brought Meniadus to Clarmondine. The King of Salerno commands that Clarmondine shall be escorted to his palace with the greatest consideration, but that Crompart shall be thrown into prison. During the night the wicked King of Bugia expires and next morning Meniadus sues Clarmondine for her love. She obtains a respite of three months. When this period is almost at an end, she decides to feign madness, in order to escape the importunity of the King of Salerno.

In the meantime there is an unsuccessful search for Clarmondine at Seville. Cléomadès finds one of her gloves but no other trace of his lost mistress. He will search for her throughout the world. After traversing many countries, he comes to Greece, where there is a war in progress with Primonus, King of Chaldea. Our hero first helps the Greeks to conquer the Eastern king and then presses on through Sicily to Venice. Thence he travels by wild and unfrequented ways,

while at home his mother and sisters are distracted with sorrow and his father has died of grief. One night Cléomadès reaches the castle of Mount Estrais. After he has been well received, he is told that a strange custom prevails at that castle: every man entertained there must on the following morning either leave his arms and horse behind or singly engage two knights. Cléomadès, having chosen the latter alternative, fights the two knights and is victorious. Notwithstanding the ungenerous custom that they strive to maintain, his vanquished opponents appear to be courteous chevaliers. One of them, who has been badly wounded, is sorrowful because he will now be unable to go to the rescue of a damsel wrongfully accused. The maiden in the case is Lyadès, one of Clarmondine's attendants. She, together with her companions, has been charged with treason by Bleopatris, the disappointed suitor of the princess. Durbant and Sartant, the two knights against whom Cléomadès has contended, are in love with two of the accused damsels. Cléomadès promises to take the place of Sartant, the wounded knight.

With Durbant and the minstrel Pinchonnet, Cléomadès, disguised, sets out for the court of King Carmant. The party is first lodged at an inn, near Castle Noble, a location from which Cléomadès wishes to move because he cannot look with composure upon Clarmondine's home. Durbant accordingly finds new lodgings in Verde Coste, the house of Lyadès' father. In the tournament that follows, Cléomadès and Durbant successfully defend the damsels charged with treason, and then return with them to Verde Coste. There the girls discover the identity of Cléomadès. The hero, still accompanied by Pinchonnet, now takes the road to Rome, searching for his beloved through many countries until he reaches Salerno, the kingdom of Meniadus. Instead of asking toll, this ruler requires all comers to tell him news of the strange lands through which they have travelled.

When Cléomadès has reached Salerno, he goes to an inn. There he learns of Clarmondine's madness. Suspecting the true

nature of her malady, he obtains a false beard and the habit of a physician. Thus attired, he secures an interview with the king, as a result of which he is conducted to Clarmondine's apartment. Cléomadès, who has Clarmondine's glove filled with herbs, easily makes himself known to his beloved. She speedily shows marked symptoms of improvement and calls for her horse. The new physician advises that this harmless whim of his patient should be indulged; the horse is accordingly produced and the lovers make good their escape. As they soar away, Cléomadès calls out that he is the Prince of Spain and that his companion is Clarmondine, daughter of the King of Tuscany.

Pinchonnet now tells Meniadus the whole story of the adventures of Cléomadès and the fair Clarmondine. He then goes to Verde Coste and recounts to Lyadès all that had happened. Finally he takes his story to Carmant, who learns with joy that his daughter is safe, and to Durbant, to whom he makes known the strange knight's identity.

After stopping several times to rest by the way, Cléomadès and Clarmondine reach Seville in safety. There follows a magnificent feast to which almost everybody in the story is bidden, even the five kings conquered by Cléomadès and his father. Besides the weddings of Cléomadès, Melocandis, and Baldigant, the following nuptials are celebrated:—Meniadus marries Marine; Carmant marries Inabele. Further, Pinchonnet is knighted and Durbant and Sartant are made dukes.

The *Méliacin*, which closely resembles the poem just summarized, is, as a whole, still in MS., although excerpts have been published by Stengel<sup>1</sup> and Keller.<sup>2</sup> There are four extant MSS.<sup>3</sup>:—1455, 1589, 1633, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*;

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, x, 460 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Romvart*, 99 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire littéraire*, xxxi, 171 ff.; for a minute study of MS. 1455 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, see:—*Über das Verhältniss der Handschrift D von Girard d'Amiens' cheval de fust* (no. 1455 des f. fr. der Pariser Nationalbibliothek) zu *Adenet le Roi's Cléomadès*, Albert Römermann, Greifswald, 1903 (*Inaugural-Dissertation*); also, Giulio Bertoni, *Sui manoscritti del "Méliacin" di Gerard d'Amien*, Halle, 1903; *Ztsch. f. roman. Philol.* xxvii, 616–621.

2757 in the *Bibliothèque Riccardienne*. MS. 1455 in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* is the only one that calls for special comment. Here the first 2912 lines are taken from the *Cléomadès* to make good an imperfection at the beginning of the MS., the copyist making the necessary changes in proper names. The point of connection between the substituted portion and what was left of the *Méliacin*, is where the hero arrives for the first time at the house of his *amie*. Finding a table abundantly supplied, he satisfies his hunger. He then enters the room in which the giant is asleep and stops to look at him. Just here the copyist takes up the *Méliacin*. Since, however, the giant's bed is not described in the *Cléomadès* but is described in the *Méliacin*, the copyist had to insert a few lines of his own to bridge a slight gap. Moreover, he made the mistake of supposing that the first line of his imperfect manuscript referred to "léopards," instead of "cierges." It should be noted, too, that he condensed somewhat the excerpt from the *Cléomadès*, giving us 2400 lines instead of 2912. The meaning of all this is obvious:—Some copyist of the *Méliacin*, noting the close similarity between that poem and *Cléomadès*, undertook to supply from Adenet's poem certain deficiencies in a manuscript of Girard's.

The two poems are, indeed, in the main course of their narratives so closely similar that I shall not need here to summarize the *Méliacin*. There are, however, notable points of difference between them, which I shall indicate later. These have led doctors to disagree as to the true relations between the romances, although it may be said that the weight of authority favors the opinion that Girard's poem is not derived from Adenet's. Gröber affirms that the *Méliacin* is based upon a "blosse Nacherzählung" of the *Cléomadès*.<sup>1</sup> Chauvin,<sup>2</sup> Tobler,<sup>3</sup> and Paris,<sup>4</sup> on the other hand, think that the two poets were

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss* II, 787.

<sup>2</sup> *Pacolet et les Mille et une Nuits*, Wallonia, Janvier-Février, 1898, 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XI, 421 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Romania*, XXVII, 325 ff. (Review of Chauvin, *Pacolet et les Mille et une Nuits*.)



indebted to a common source, Chauvin holding that this was a Spanish poem, which was an amplification of a version contained in an old Spanish translation of the "Thousand and One Nights," and Paris that it was an abridged French form of a Spanish oral version. Referring to the differences between the romances, Chauvin observes:—"De ces différences, on peut conclure que Girard a suivi plus fidèlement son modèle; s'il avait seulement imité Adenet, il aurait bien pu modifier certains faits, mais non faire coïncider ces modifications avec la source même à laquelle Adenet avait puisé. Il a donc connu la même source qu'Adenet." Tobler's opinion, although not so positive, is similar. He disagrees with Michelant's view that Girard in the concluding verses<sup>1</sup> of his poem has taken too much credit unto himself. Michelant had gone so far as to say that the *Méliacin* "n'est autre que le roman de *Cléomadès*." Tobler, on the other hand, judging from the excerpts of the romance published by Stengel and Keller, is inclined to think that Girard's poem is probably an independent redaction of the source of the *Cléomadès*. In any case "von einfacher Aneignung fremden Gutes durch Girardin keine Rede sein kann."

<sup>1</sup> The words are:—

Gerardins d'Amiens qui plus n'a  
oi de cest conte retraire,  
n'i veult pas menconges atraire  
ne chose dont il fust repris :  
ainsi qu'il a le conte apris,  
l'a rimé au mieux qu'il savoit  
et s'amender riens i avoit,  
il n'i faut que le commander,  
que peu est chose ou amender. MSS. fr. 1589.

*Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins*, 178; *Der Roman von Escanor von Gerard von Amiens*, herausgegeben von Dr. H. Michelant, Tübingen, 1886, xxiv-xxv. Michelant writes: "Une troisième œuvre qu'il intitule *Méliacin* et *Célinde*, qui n'est autre que le roman de *Cléomadès* d'Adenet le Roi et qu'il s'attribue sans le moindre vergogne dans les vers suivants qui terminent le poème, (the verses given above). . . . Il faut convenir que Gérard ou Gérardin était doué d'une dose d'effronterie peu commune; il ne se gênait pas pour "menconges atraire" et il y a "où amender" pour rétablir la vérité."

Paris is also in favor of a common source: "Dans les deux poèmes français, et par conséquent dans leur source commune, on trouve le récit d'un combat judiciaire, livré par le héros, qui n'est pas et ne pouvait pas être dans l'arabe: d'où il suit que la source commune de ces deux poèmes avait déjà modifié l'original et y avait introduit cet épisode. Mais s'en suit-il également, comme le pense M. Chauvin, que cette source fût un poème espagnol, poème dont il ne s'est d'ailleurs conservé aucune trace, et que ce poème fût lui-même emprunté à une traduction castillane, exécutée dès le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et également perdue, des *Mille et une Nuits*? J'en doute. Tressan dit, il est vrai, avoir vu de Cléomadès 'un exemplaire en vers espagnols' dans la bibliothèque de M. de Paulmy; mais on connaît le peu de sûreté des allégations de Tressan, qui, deux lignes plus loin, parle de la 'traduction espagnole' du commencement du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle sans paraître se rendre compte que c'est une traduction du poème d'Adenet. Tressan, dit M. Chauvin, 'n'avait pas l'habitude, d'affirmer ce qui n'est pas'; peut être ne l'affirmait-il pas sciemment, mais il était bien facile à tromper, et il paraît ici avoir pris pour un poème espagnol le poème d'Adenet, dont il existait en effet un exemplaire chez M. de Paulmy (aujourd'hui à l'Arsenal): *das kam ihm*, dirait-on en allemand, *so spanisch vor*. Il serait surprenant, quoi qu'en dise M. Chauvin, que ni de ce poème ni de la version supposée des *Mille et une Nuits* (quel trésor c'eût été pour les conteurs!) il ne nous fût resté aucune vestige, aucune mention."

The opinions of Tobler, Chauvin, and Paris about the relations between the Old French romances are based, in part, upon a comparison of the poems with the well-known Arabian Nights story of the "Enchanted Horse."<sup>1</sup> Of this tale there are three

<sup>1</sup> It has been often noted that the Arabian story is essentially the same as that of the romances. See, particularly, de Martonne, *Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires de France*, x, 395-403 (1834); Keightley, *Tales and Popular Fictions*, 41 ff.; Loiseleur, *Les Mille et une Nuits* (*Édition du Panthéon littéraire*), 610; Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, 1865, II, 491; Chauvin, *Wallonia*, Janvier-Février, 1898, p. 10.—van Hasselt, *Cléomadès*, I, XXII, curiously

Arabian versions:—1) Bulak (1297, II, 189–201), Beirut (III, 19–38), Bombay (II, 216–233); 2) Habicht (translated by Weil); 3) Galland. Of these 3 varies notably from the other two; 2 in many particulars varies from 1.<sup>1</sup>

As Chauvin has noted<sup>2</sup> the Habicht version is nearer the Old French romances than the Bulak version is:—In Habicht and in the romances the visitors arrive on a feast-day, which in the Arabian tale is New Year's Day, and in the romances the king's birthday. The gifts in the romances are more nearly paralleled by those in Habicht. Again, in Habicht and in the romances we are told in the beginning that the disappointed suitor is ugly, whereas in Bulak this important detail does not appear until the story is well advanced. In Habicht and the

overlooking the Arabian story, writes: "Mais nous n'avons pu retrouver, ni dans le *Romancero* ni dans aucune autre source de l'ancienne littérature hispanique le moindre trace de l'action développée par le ménestrel brabançon." Paris, too, had at first taken no notice of the Oriental tale, but he makes his excuses in reviewing Chauvin's article published in *Wallonia*; see *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XI, 421 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Chauvin (o. c. 12 ff.), thinks that the Habicht version is older than the Bulak. He bases this opinion upon the supposed inferiority in plan and execution of the latter form:—"Ainsi, bien que l'enchanteur qui a fabriqué le cheval soit fort laid, comme on l'apprend au cours du récit, cette circonstance ne semble pas avoir d'influence sur le refus qu'on lui fait de la main de la princesse et qu'on ne s'explique pas trop. Puis la princesse se montre fort peu réservée en se jetant dès l'abord au cou du prince sans aucune retenue. Enfin, on peut encore critiquer la fin de l'histoire de l'enchanteur ou, pour mieux dire, l'absence de conclusion en ce qui le concerne. En somme, la forme du conte dans l'édition de Boûlâq fait l'impression d'une rédaction assez gauche et plus fidèle pour les faits que pour les motifs qui les ont amenés." On the other hand, Habicht "est plus ancienne que l'autre, puisqu'elle conserve, par exemple, la mention de la fête du nouvel an, que le rédacteur de l'édition de Boûlâq semble avoir supprimée par scrupule religieux.—D'autre part, elle lui est, littérairement, beaucoup supérieure. Son auteur est à coup sûr, un conteur habile, sachant sacrifier les données inutiles, s'attachant à présenter des motifs et à donner, à son récit, de la suite et de la cohésion. . . . D'abord sa perfection artistique nous prouve que c'est le *rifacimento* d'un homme de talent, tandis que la version de Boûlâq est le résumé d'un écrivain plus soucieux de conserver les faits qu'il a entendu conter que de concevoir et d'exécuter une œuvre vraiment littéraire."

<sup>2</sup> *Wallonia*, Janvier-Février, 1898, 10 ff.

Old French poems, the king gives his daughter to the ugly suitor, she complains to her brother, and the prince then makes trial of the horse; in Bulak there is nothing about the princess' being granted to the objectionable suitor and then complaining to her brother. In Habicht and in the romances, once more, the hero pretends to be a suitor to whom the girl had been promised by her father; in Bulak the stranger,—a very violent stranger by the way—passes as that son of the King of India who has just sued for her hand and been rejected on account of his ugliness;—in her surprise over the beauty of the young man before her, she throws herself into his arms. The burning of incense, moreover, which appears in Bulak at the close of the story, has no place in Habicht and in the romances. Chauvin notes further that Habicht, although much nearer the romances than Bulak, does not accurately represent the hypothetical text known in the thirteenth century. In one regard Bulak seems nearer this assumed common source of the *Cléomadès* and *Méliacin* than Habicht does. According to Bulak the prince, having reached the country in which the princess is held captive, learns of his *amie* first from the people with whom he converses outside of the castle and then from the imprisoned magician. This duplication, it is pointed out, must have appeared in the text followed by Adenet and Girard, since the former selected the people's conversation, the latter, the revelations of the magician. One other point might be noted: The *Méliacin* represents the captured hero as offering to fight five knights. Here Girard comes nearer the Arabian versions than Adenet, whose hero asks for the privilege of dying upon his horse.

The Galland version of the "Enchanted Horse" varies from Bulak and Habicht in important particulars. The tale, with a number of others, is not contained in the three extant volumes of Galland's manuscript, which were deposited, after the death of that famous scholar, in the *Bibliothèque du roi*. Nor does the story as given by Galland appear in any of the Oriental texts that we now have. The assumption that its variations from the Bulak and Habicht versions might be due to Galland's

ingenuity is not only unlikely, in view of the variations themselves, but is in the main discredited by the manuscript of Galland's diary. We read there under date of Monday, March 25th, 1709 : "Le matin j'allai voir M. Paul Lucas qui estoit sur le point de sortir. Je m'arrestai avec M. Hanna, Maronite d'Halep, qu'il avoit amené d'Halep ; et M. Hanna [me conta] quelques contes Arabes fort beaux, qui [sic] me promit de les mettre par écrit, pour me les communiquer." Further under date of Monday, May 13th, 1709 : "Le Maronite Hanna me raconta ce conte arabe: Dans une Feste publique qui des plus habiles tant du pays que des estrangers faisoient [voir ?] au Roy plusieurs sortes de raretez, un Indien lui presenta un cheval de bois, etc."<sup>1</sup>

During, then, the first month of the year 1709, a Maronite Christian from Aleppo, named Hannâ, who had accompanied to Paris the celebrated traveller, Paul Lucas, communicated to Galland several stories,—among them the history of the Wonderful Lamp, Bâbâ 'Abdallah, Sîdî Noûmân, the Enchanted Horse, Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Paribânnoû, etc. Zotenberg, after an examination of the manuscript, thinks that we are justified in believing that the circumstantial analyses, traced in Galland's diary with a rapid hand, are faithful and in part literal reproductions of the narratives told him. Such is the channel, according to Zotenberg, through which these famous stories have reached the Occident. One important question, now, arises: What is their source? Evidently the Maronite had not invented them, and Zotenberg is persuaded that the stories, as told, were not entirely improvised. The Oriental probably had in his possession the text, a partial copy of which he communicated to Galland, and the whole of which has now disappeared.

The testimony furnished by Galland's diary seems, then, to

<sup>1</sup> These excerpts from Galland's diary may be found in Zotenberg, Hermann, *Histoire d'Ala al-Din ou La lampe merveilleuse. Texte arabe publié, avec une notice sur quelques manuscrits des Mille et une nuits*, Paris, 1888.

warrant a recognition of Galland's version as a true folk-tale variant of the tale of the "Enchanted Horse." The fact that the only extant record of it belongs to the early part of the eighteenth century does not mean that the form is comparatively modern. Such evidence is neither here nor there in an effort to determine the antiquity of any folk-tale. So far as one can see, the story told Galland by his entertaining Oriental friend might be just as old as the versions that I have called *Habicht* and *Bulak*. If we ask the Galland version to speak for itself, the answer must be that its comparative simplicity, its avoidance of duplication, points to an early version of which *Bulak* and *Habicht* represent later stages. In any case, whether old or young, this valuable variant of the tale of the "Enchanted Horse" deserves our attention.

The beginning of the Galland version differs notably from what we find in *Bulak* and *Habicht*: On the *Novrouz*, which is the first of the year and of spring, the solemn feast was celebrated at the court of *Schiraz*. After many ingenious artisans had given gifts to the king and received their rewards, the assembly was about to break up. Then appeared an Indian with an artificial horse richly caparisoned and to all appearances a horse of flesh and blood. The visitor said that his horse would soar through the air, swiftly transporting its rider to distant parts. Wishing to have some proof of this, the king asks the Indian to go to a distant mountain and return with the branch of a palm-tree. The owner of the horse turns a pin, flies away, and soon returns with the branch. The king now offers to buy the wonderful steed. The Indian will give it up only in return for the king's daughter; he himself had acquired possession of it by giving his daughter to the maker and by promising at the same time never to sell it. The courtiers laugh at the Indian's insolent proposition and prince *Firouz Schah* is especially indignant. The young man, undertaking to test the horse, mounts it and turns the fatal pin.—The rest of the Galland version does not differ notably from the others except for the episode of the prince's first visit to his

*amie*. In Bulak, Habicht, and the romances, this is unsuccessful and the hero goes back later to get his beloved. In Galland, the prince, after a long sojourn with the princess of Bengal, which is suggestive of fairy-mistress stories, brings his bride safely back to Persia. Both in the matter of the gifts, then, and in the incident of the hero's visit to the heroine, the Galland version exhibits greater simplicity than the other forms of the story.<sup>1</sup>

From the comparison given above, it appears that, of the three Arabian versions of the "Enchanted Horse" story, Habicht and Bulak are the more important in an investigation of the question immediately before us; and of these Habicht is somewhat more significant than Bulak. We are now prepared to ask: 1) What was the source of the *Cléomadès*? 2) Was the source of the *Méliacin* the same as that of the *Cléomadès*, or was the former romance derived from the latter? It is more convenient to treat the second problem first.

The weight of authority I have shown to be in favor of a common source for the *Cléomadès* and the *Méliacin*. For one thing, as I have said, the romances differ in important particulars. The names are not the same in a single instance; the scene of the *Méliacin* is laid in Asia, instead of Spain; the three visitors to the king of the *Grande Ermenie* are clerks, whereas in the *Cléomadès* they are kings. Much more important than these differences in detail are many divergencies in the incidents. *Méliacin*, when taken captive by Celinde's father, asks for his horse, not that he might die upon its back, but that he might bravely contend against five warriors. Instead of the contest at the castle of the discourteous custom, the *Méliacin* tells of the

<sup>1</sup>The form of the story, exactly as it is found in the MS. of Galland's diary, I have obtained through the kindness of Dr. C. M. Underwood, Jr. The copying was done under Dr. Underwood's special supervision. It appears from this copy that the story as we find it in Galland's edition of the *Arabian Nights* is in all essentials the story told him by the Maronite Christian. For a version of the "Enchanted Horse" story recorded very recently, see *Indian Fairy Tales*, Mark Thornhill, London, 1888; 108 ff.

hero's giving battle to a giant Robéron. Moreover, there is in the *Méliacin* a long episode following the defence of the accused damsels that is not paralleled in the *Cléomadès*:—Sabel, the rival suitor for Célinde's love, laid an ambushade upon the road by which Méliacin was returning after his successful defense of Célinde's maids-in-waiting. In the fighting that follows, Sabel is taken prisoner. Later, Sabel's father, Natalus, King of Serre, besieges the castle in which the hero has taken refuge. The account of the war that follows extends over many thousand lines. At length Méliacin is taken prisoner and condemned to death; but with the help of the châtelain's wife, he effects his escape.

When these differences are considered in connection with the relation between the French romances and the Arabian story, one can hardly believe that Girard's poem is derived from Adenet's. The relation I speak of is this: in two places where the *Méliacin* differs from the *Cléomadès*, it agrees with the Arabian version. The first incident is the trial by combat proposed by the hero when he is captured by the girl's father: in the *Méliacin* he would justify himself in a contest against five knights, and in the Arabian story he would fight the king or his whole army. The second incident is the imprisonment of the hero beneath the cell in which the ugly suitor is confined.

These are small points. They are not of a kind to modify the structure of the story or to deflect its course. But that is not the question. If, indeed, these points of difference should suit some novel conception of the story, they would be for the problem before us of less importance; because in that case they might easily have originated independently. It is rather the little turn or incident,—some ear-mark, so to speak—nothing vital to any original reconstruction of the story—that helps the investigator to detect indebtedness. And such we have here. What is more, the *Cléomadès* in the particulars noted is better than the *Méliacin* and the Arabian story. It is more reasonable, less awkward. This is certainly true in regard to the second incident I have mentioned. From the point of view of narra-



tive art it is obviously better to kill Clamazart or Crompart soon after the heroine is rescued from him. At any rate, is it likely that, if he had been dead in Girard's source, he would have been revived by that poet for the sake of so awkward a device as we find in the *Méliacin*?

It appears, then, that the Old French romances are sufficiently alike to warrant the inference that one is derived from the other or that they go back to a common source. The *Cléomadès* is certainly not derived from the *Méliacin*, because the latter was not written until after Adenet's poem. The *Cléomadès* was written between 1275 and 1283. The first of these two dates is that of the return to France of Blanche, widow of the Infanta of Castile, bringing with her presumably the story of the *cheval de fust*; the second marks the death of King Philip, husband of that Marie, to whom Adenet near the end of his romance alludes as Queen of France. The *Méliacin*, according to Paris,<sup>1</sup> seems to have been written between 1285 and 1291. Paris finds his reasons for this assignment in the miniatures found in mss. 1633 and 1589. One of the persons in the group there represented is apparently King Philip the Fair, who came to the throne in 1285, and the other, the Countess d'Alençon who was dead in 1291. Such evidence seems to show that the *Cléomadès* is not derived from the *Méliacin*. Nor does it seem likely from what I have said above, that the *Méliacin* is derived from the *Cléomadès*. The conclusion at which we arrive, then, in the light of the similarity of the two romances, is that they go back to a common source.

A further question is: What is this common source? Tressan, in his introduction to his prose version of the romance writes: "Le roman de *Cléomadès* est très ancien; j'en ai vu un exemplaire en vers espagnols dans la bibliothèque d'un savant, qui fait le meilleur usage des Trésors qu'il a rassemblés."<sup>2</sup> Paris, as I have pointed out, rejects de Tressan's testi-

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire littéraire*, xxxi, 190-191.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliothèque des Romans*, April, 1777.

mony. Chauvin, on the other hand, accepts it: "Malgré les circonlocutions énigmatiques dont de Tressan aime à se servir, comme on le faisait de son temps par horreur pour les renseignements précis, il faut reconnaître dans le savant qu'il cite de Paulmy, dont la bibliothèque est devenue celle de l'Arsenal. Peut-on rejeter ce témoignage si précis au sujet de l'existence du poème espagnol? Nous ne le pensons pas, car de Tressan n'avait pas l'habitude d'affirmer ce qui n'est pas et on se demande, d'ailleurs, quel intérêt, quel motif il aurait pu avoir ici pour ne pas dire la vérité. Et qu'on n'objecte pas les infidélités dont il est contumier dans ses résumés; en cela, il était de son temps et de son pays, où, sous prétexte d'accommodation au goût français, on se faisait un vrai devoir de mutiler les œuvres littéraires anciennes ou étrangères."

Assuming that a lost Spanish poem was the common source of the *Cléomadès* and the *Méliacin*, Chauvin indicates that this poem must have included the judicial combat in which the hero of each romance engages for the sake of certain attendants of the heroine. Since this episode appears in none of the Arabian versions, it is clear that the Spanish poem was not a translation pure and simple of the Arabian tale; it was already a *rifacimento*. Besides, this *rifacimento*,—still following Chauvin,—presupposes a previous translation of the Arabian story into Spanish, because the exact reproduction of so many details points to a written source rather than a story known to the poet only by oral tradition. Chauvin further supposes, as we have seen, that this source was contained in a Spanish version of the *Thousand and One Nights*. He calls attention to the obvious facts that communication between the Mohammedan and Christian civilizations was largely by way of Spain and that an extraordinary amount of early Spanish literature has undoubtedly perished.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For this and other references to Chauvin's discussion, see *Wallonia*, Janvier-Février, 1898; especially pp. 18-19. In regard to Chauvin's hypothetical Arabian Nights in Spanish, see, René Basset, *Revue des traditions populaires*, XIII, 283-285; consult further *Revue Bibliog. belge*, x, 287; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1898; *Luzac's Oriental Lists*, ix, 92.

The rather good case for the lost Spanish poem is materially strengthened by further evidence. Among Adenet's distinguished friends were: Queen Marie, by whose family he had been notably favored; Blanche of France, the king's sister and after 1275 widow of Ferdinand of Cerda, infanta of Castile; Robert II, count of Artois and nephew of Philip the Bold, and Mahaut, Robert's daughter. All of these persons are associated with Adenet's best known poem, the *Cléomadès*. The poet himself tells us the occasion of his work:—

“ Je m'esmay forment de l'emprise  
 Comment l'aie bien à chief mise ;  
 Mais ci me fait reconforter  
 Que me daignierent commander  
 Que je ceste estoire entendisse  
 Et à rimer l'entrepreïsse  
 Deux dames en cui maint la flour  
 De sens, de biauté, de valour.”<sup>1</sup>

The poet will not reveal the names of the ladies for fear of displeasing them:—

“ Leur nons ne vueil en apert dire ;  
 Car leur pais aim et dont leur ire,  
 Si que bien sai que je morroie  
 De duel, se fait ne dit avoie  
 Riens fors leur plaisir et leur gré.  
 Pour ce seront leur non nommé,  
 Se je puis, si couvertement  
 K'entendre ne puissent la gent  
 Les noms d'eles, quand les liront,  
 S'on ne leur monstre où li non sont.”<sup>2</sup>

Later in the form of an acrostic the names are given: La Roine de France, Marie, and Madame Blanche.<sup>3</sup>

One more passage:—

“ Qui de ceste estoire vorra  
 Avant savoir, il convenra  
 Que il la matière tant quiere  
 Que il la truist, se il l'a chiere ;  
 Car les dames qui m'en conterent

<sup>1</sup> 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 25 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 18531 ff.

Ce qu'en ai dit, n'en deviserent  
Fors tant que dit vous en ai ci.  
Dieu de lor commant moult merci." <sup>1</sup>

There is some danger, to be sure, of putting too fine a point upon the poet's words; and yet this testimony gives us about as strong evidence as we can expect to find for the position that Adenet first heard the *Cléomadès* story from his royal friends. More particularly we have good reason to suppose that Blanche, widow of the Infanta of Castile, whose nine years sojourn at the Spanish court had given her ample opportunity to learn something of Spanish literature, communicated to Adenet the tale of the *cheval de fust*. This contention is supported by the evidence of a miniature which heads the ms. in the Arsenal,—conjecturally identified by van Hasselt with the very copy presented by Adenet to Robert II, Count of Artois. The miniature represents the Queen of France, reclining upon a couch of state, her left hand supporting her head, her right holding a flower. Beside her are two ladies seated upon cushions: one is Blanche, daughter of St. Louis; the other Mahaut, daughter of Count Robert II. These identifications are made on the evidence of the different devices upon the dresses of the ladies. Blanche is pictured with her hand raised in the attitude of one speaking, and the queen and Mahaut are apparently giving profound attention to her words. Adenet, half-kneeling before the couch of the queen and to be recognized by the rebeck upon his knee and the minstrel's crown upon his head, seems to follow with deep interest the story of Blanche. Such evidence as this miniature furnishes certainly strengthens the antecedent probability that Adenet received from the widow of the Infanta of Castile the story of his most famous poem.

When we scrutinize all of this evidence, we can easily believe that there was a Spanish version of the *cheval de fust* story in one form or another. That the tale is Oriental is beyond question, and no one will deny that a great body of

<sup>1</sup> 18519 ff.

Eastern, especially Arabic, stories found their way into Spain. To suppose that our poet fashioned a folk-tale into a very highly finished romance would be to invest folk-lore with a dignity that it in all probability did not have in the thirteenth century. The attitude of writers of romances toward the *märchen* has not, I think, been very closely defined; but the assumption that a poet, such as Adenet, would have used such material pure and simple as the foundation of his romance is at least open to serious doubt. The probabilities clearly point to a more or less literary form with which Blanche of Castile was acquainted. Paris' *argumentum ex silentio* hardly carries conviction. If we endorse what seems to me the more reasonable contention of Chauvin, we shall suppose that there was a Spanish literary version of the *cheval de fust* story which went back—by several stages perhaps—to the Arabian tale. The dangers, however, of assuming a Spanish Thousand and One Nights are considerable. Whether, too, the lost Spanish version was in prose or verse is not easy to determine. The comparative scarcity of a prose vernacular literature in the thirteenth century would lead us to suspect that it was a poem. In any case, there is considerable support, in the way of external and internal evidence, for de Tressan's positive assertion that he saw a Spanish poem on the subject of the *Cléomadès*.

In brief my conclusions are as follows:—It is extremely probable that the *Cléomadès* and the *Méliacin* had a common source and that this source was a lost Spanish poem; the nearest approach to this Spanish poem is furnished by the Habicht version of the Arabian tale; next in importance to the Habicht version is the Bulak; third and last is the Galland version, which the quoted entries in Galland's diary prove to have been current as a folk-tale. In a subsequent paper I purpose to discuss, in general, the folk-tale analogues of the *Cléomadès*.

H. S. V. JONES.

## GOTHIC AND ENGLISH ETYMOLOGIES.

(1) GOTHIC *Stilan* IN LATIN.

A DIRECT comparison of the Germanic group of which Goth. *stilan* may be taken as the representative with *στερ-ίσκει* 'robs' is phonetically invalid (see, e. g., Uhlenbeck *got. Woert.*, s. v.), though it may be ultimately true that the root STEL- is not alien to the root STER-. Stokes (in Fick's *Woert.* II, p. 314) gives what I regard as correct non-Germanic etymons in O. Ir. *slat* 'robbery' (from \**stlatto*-) and Lat. *stl-ata* 'piratical ship.' The Latin glossaries amply attest this definition and it should pass without question, unless *stlata* be proved a borrowed word. I would see a further indubitable cognate in *tollit* 'lifts' (cf. the gloss *tollit* 'aufert, adimit,' and Eng. *lifts* 'steals'); *stl-ata* (with suffix like *pirata*?) belongs with *tollit*, both from a root with "movable" s-, s)TEL-/s)TOL-. The gloss *stlattarius* 'portator armorum,' if correctly transmitted, attests the sense of *tollit* generalized as in *tulit* 'portavit.'

Further cognates I would find in Lat. *mu(s)-stela* 'weasel' ('mouse-thief'), *stelio* (*stellio*) 'rogue'<sup>1</sup> and, in juridical Latin—of uncertain age but probably archaic—*stelionatus* (suffix as in *peculatus*?), glossed by 'crimen, quando una res duobus venditur, quomodo huius raptus huius speculatus' (? read *peculatus*), and further by *ἐπίθεσις* ('imposture') ἡ *χλεύη* ('jest'), and *κακουργία*.

The word *stelio* 'rogue' is attested by Pliny, N. H., 30, 89,

<sup>1</sup> [Walde in his etymological Latin lexicon has also correlated *stelio* and Gothic *stilan*, but as the above essay was in the hands of Professor Karsten fully two years ago, I think it right to let my paragraph stand unchanged. Proofnote, Jan. 10, 1907.]

and by Apuleius, *Met.* 5, 30, and has been restored for *ms. scelio* in Petronius, *Cena*, 50. Pliny explains this use of *stelio* as a metaphor from *stelio* 'lizard,' *steliorum nomine in maledictum translato*. The metaphor may of course have gone conversely, from 'rogue' to 'lizard,' in view of the lizard's bad name (cf. Columella, 9, 7, *venenatus stelio*: Vergil, *Geo.*, 4, 242, *favos ignotus adedit | stelio*). The Romans seem to have explained to themselves the name of the *stelio* in at least two ways: (1), if we may trust a gappy citation of Verrius by Paulus-Festus (see de Ponor, I, p. 454), as 'qui virus stillat'; (2) as 'qui stellas in pelle habet,'<sup>1</sup> cf. Ovid, *Met.*, 5, 461, *variis stillatus* (others read *stellatus*) *corpore guttis* 'bedropped (bestarred?) with many drops.' To these ancient explanations may be added the possible derivation from *\*sterlio* (but *stellio* is not the best orthography): O. Bulg. *ja-šterŭ* (cf. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, s. v., *eidechse*).

If Leo Meyer (*Griech. Woert.* III, p. 57) is right in supposing a connection between *γαλῆ* 'mustela' and *γαλεώτης* 'stelio,' the same connection probably obtains between *mu(s)-stela* and *stelio* and, in view of the late Lat. *furo* 'weasel' (= 'the thief,' *par excellence*), it seems not improbable that *-stela* may have enjoyed an independent existence out of composition in the sense of 'weasel.' An association-group weasel × lizard may well have existed, whether we account for it on the ground of resemblance (1) in color or (2) in furtive habits. For (1) we may cit Germ. *kupfer-eidechse*, Ital. *ramarro*<sup>2</sup> 'lizard' (: *aeramen* 'bronze'), Gr. *χαλκίς* 'lizard' (: *χαλκός* 'bronze'), bearing in mind the reddish-brown color of the weasel.

Lat. *stolo* 'sucker' (of a tree) may also be referred to the root

<sup>1</sup> But Pliny, l. c., 29, 90, expressly denies that the Italian *stelio* was spotted; hunc (sc. *stelionem*) Graeci coloten vocant et ascalaboten et galeoten. In Italia non nascitur, est enim hic *plenus lentigine* (much spotted), *stridoris acerbi*, et *vescitur <araneis>*, quae omnia <a> nostris *stelionibus* aliena sunt.

<sup>2</sup> Also explained as a derivative of *ramus* 'bough.' If this be correct, then *stelio* 'lizard' is ultimately akin to Lat. *stolo* 'sucker, sprout' (see below). Further compare Sk. *pallī* 'lizard' with *pallavas* 'twig.'

STEL- 'to steal,' at least if we suppose it to exhibit the metaphor of Germ. *räuber* 'sucker;' a like notion in Eng. *parasite*, applied to growths like mistletoe, favors the direct comparison of *stolo* with στελής 'mistletoe.'

But *stolo* can hardly be separated from (1) στολος 'thole (-pin)'<sup>1</sup>, στελεόν 'handle,' Germ. *stiel*, Eng. *stale*, στάλιξ/σταλὶς 'stake'; cf. Skr. *sthānūs* 'peg,'—all cognates of (2) Skr. *sthālam*, *sthañ* 'elevation, height,' *sthālā* 'pile of earth' (see Uhlenbeck, ai. Woert. s. vv.). The latter, in their turn, should not, in my opinion, be separated from Skr. *talam* 'surface,' O. Bulg. *tilo* 'floor,' Lat. *tellus* 'earth.' The following, without the movable s-, are more closely allied in meaning to the former group, O. Eng. *þel*. 'board,' Eng. *thole* 'peg,' *thill* 'shaft;,' here also belongs Lat. *telum* 'spear-shaft.'<sup>2</sup> At any rate, this derivation has greater simplicity than the current derivation of *telum* from \**tex-lom* (: a root \**tex*-). The semantic problem is apparently complex. At one extreme stands Skr. *sthālā* 'pile of earth,' at the other σταλὶς 'stake,' Eng. *thill* 'shaft,' but the semantic bridge is ready to our passage in Lat. *vallum* 'sthālā,' but *vallus* 'σταλὶς.'

The base, which we must now write s)T(H)EL-, is further attested in Skr. *sthalati* 'stands' (Dhātupāṭha), O. Bulg. *stel-jā* 'sterno,' *stolū* 'table, stool,' O. H. G. *stal* 'standing place,' O. Pruss. *stallit*<sup>3</sup> 'stare,' στέλλει ('figit), ornat, parat.' But this base, though proethnic, was probably itself derivative. At least, as many etymologists have independently observed, s)T(H)EL- accords rather closely with s)THĀ-<sup>4</sup> 'to stand,' even though we are not yet prepared to classify the phonetic relation between them. If, then, we define STHEL- by 'stare,' Skr. *sthālā*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. στελ-μονίαι 'studded pads to protect hunting dogs' (see Xenophon, Cyn. 6, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the Latin glosses, without initial s-, *tolor* 'hasta,' *tolus* 'τριπτήρ' (= 'pestle'); and note Vergil's vigorous metaphor *telorum seges* (Aen. 3, 46), which is reminiscent of *stimulorum seges* (Plautus, Aul., 45).

<sup>3</sup> Here belongs Lat. *prae-stolor* 'I stand (waiting) before,' in which the connotation 'I wait' prevailed.

<sup>4</sup> Movable s- because of O. Ir. *táu, tó* 'sum.'



'mound' is to be explained as a 'standing place,' and *σταλὶς* 'stake' is explicable like Doric *στάλα*. The meanings of the various derivatives of *STHEL-* are best accounted for by starting with a nominal idea like 'stake,' which developed into various verbal concepts as 'to prop, set up, lift; pile, spread out; arrange in rows, ornare.' It may seem hard, in a word of generalized meaning like *στέλλει* 'ornat, parat,' to discern the original sense, but I long ago pointed out (*Am. Jr. Phil.*, 13, 465) that there were some special senses of *στέλλει* cognate with the sense of *tollit*, notably the nautical use 'furls;' for the ancient sail was undoubtedly furled by a process of 'hoisting, lifting' (see Baumeister's *Denkmaeler*, III, nos. 1656, 1657, 1687, 1700, 1703): cf. also *τέλλει* 'erhebt.' Meanings like those of *stolo* 'shoot, scion, sucker' are discernible in *τᾶλις*<sup>1</sup> 'virgo' (cf. *virga* 'stolo,' and *παρθένος*: *πτύρθος* 'virga'), *τηλεθάον* (*ἔρνος*) 'blooming (scion)', O. Bulg. *talya* 'ramus virens.'

## (2) GREEK COGNATES OF GOTHIC *Spillon* 'TO TELL.'

Uhlenbeck (*Got. Woert.*, s. v., *spillon*) mentions with qualified approval Froehde's equation of *spillon* with Lat. *-pellare* in *appellare* 'to accost,' but that the sense 'accost' is of secondary development in Latin seems perfectly clear (see e. g., the *Thesaurus*). The notion of speaking to, addressing some one is a connotation: thus *appellare* is, in fairly close etymological rendering, 'to strike up with,' whence the sense 'to accost,' much as in Fr. *accoster*. The primary sense is still clearer in *interpellat* 'breaks in, interrupts,' a metaphor again freshly in evidence in the "butts in" of the slang dialect.

The dictionaries fight somewhat shy of Lat. *pellit*, questioning its connection with *πάλλει* (so both Stowasser and Menge, to mention recent Latin and Greek dictionaries that regard etymological questions). There can, in my opinion, be no doubt

<sup>1</sup> With secondary *ā* from lengthened *ô*?

of this connection;  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$  = 'quatit' (shakes, brandishes) and  $pellit$  = 'quatit' (strikes, beats); note also  $\pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$  =  $pepulit$  (Brugmann, KVGr. § 651). The root to which these belong is s)P(H)EL-, found in Skr.  $ph\acute{a}lati$  'bursts' ('splits,' intrans.),  $sphut\acute{a}ti$  'bursts,' of which Gothic preserves a trace in  $spilda$  'tabella' (see Brugmann, Gr. II, § 680). The verb  $spillon$ , if denominative to  $spill$  'tale, fable,' may be purely a Germanic development, and so not likely to be found in any cognate language. If  $spill$  first meant—as Eng.  $spell$  'incantation' would suggest—something written on a tabella, an announcement, the derived verb  $spillon$  would mean 'to announce.' On the other hand, if Uhlenbeck is right, as I believe, in reckoning Eng.  $tale$ ,  $tells$  among the cognates of Skr.  $d\acute{a}lati$  'bursts' (see his ai. Woert. s. v.), by the same token Goth.  $spillon$  may be connected with the root s)P(H)EL-; cf. also Fr.  $deviser$  'colloquium habere,' which is derived from Lat.  $divisum$  'divided' (i. e. 'split'), and note the semantic evidence given by Germ.  $mittheilt$ , Eng.  $imparts$ . One may mention, apropos of semantic groups like Eng.  $tells$   $\times$  Skr.  $d\acute{a}lati$  'splits,' the vulgar use of Eng.  $splits$  = 'blabs' (tells on).<sup>1</sup>

The rendering  $blabs$  suggests a closer non-Germanic cognate for  $spillon$ . For  $blabs$  is onomatopoetic, with a kindred motif to  $babbles$ , which has the two meanings of (1) 'speaks inarticulately like a child,' (2) 'tells tales, blabs.' We may accordingly group  $spillon$  'to tell tales' with  $\psi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  (for  $*\sigma\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ ) 'babbling, speaking inarticulately,' with the understanding, of course, that  $spillon$  has reached a sphere of higher dignity.

It remains to discuss  $*\sigma\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ . Is this an onomatopoetic word or does it contain the root s)P(H)EL- 'to split, break, strike?' The latter seems the more likely, but we may leave the point open, and proceed to search for other Greek cognates of s)P(H)EL-. With  $\psi$ - $\sigma\pi$ -  $\psi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  'shears,' Aeolic  $\sigma\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ;

<sup>1</sup> Prellwitz in his Etym. Woert., s. vv.  $\epsilon\rho\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\upsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\zeta}$  twice suggests the association-group  $cries$  aloud  $\times$   $breaks$ ,  $splits$ ; further note Lat.  $iactat$ , Germ.  $anstoesst$  'utters.'

ψάλιον 'curb,' Aeolic σπάλιον; ψέλιον 'bracelet,' Aeolic σπέλιον. In both ψάλιον and ψέλιον the original sense was 'strip, slip - spill,' in short. The cognate to which I attach particular importance is σπολάς 'leather garment,' akin to πέλ-τη ('leather') -shield,' and to Lat. *pellis* 'skin,' but even more closely to *spolium* 'skin stript from an animal, shed by a serpent' (Lucretius 4, 62, cf. the gloss λεβηρίς), whence by transfer 'spoils taken from a slain enemy.' The same semantic relations obtain in σκῦλον (σκύλον) 'spolia': σκύλος (σκῦλος) 'pellis.'

To the root s)P(H)EL- belongs also πέλας 'near,' for which the etymological definition is rather 'touching,' Germ. 'anstossend;' here note the gloss *adpellit* 'προσπελάζει,' both used of bringing a ship near to land and each becoming now and then intransitive = 'to draw near, approach.' A more violent sense in Skr. *sphālayati* 'causes to strike,' cf. the Latin gloss *speltum* 'telum missile;' παλτόν 'dart;' also note πέλλα 'stone'; Germ. *fels* 'cliff,' semantically clarified by Eng. *sea(u)r* 'rock, cliff' (: *shears*).

It has been the practice hitherto to compare σπολάς with στολή, στολῆς (: στέλλω) 'garment,' and to write for both a base SK<sup>w</sup>EL-. But the generalized στέλλει means 'sets up, erects, dresses' (= ornat), as pointed out above, and στολή is a word of general sense like 'dress' (= ornatio). The whole range of meaning is exhibited in Fr. *dresser*, from *directiare* 'to erect, set up,' as continued in Eng. 'to dress.'

But the base SK<sup>w</sup>EL- seems attested by Aeolic σπελ- = στελ-.<sup>1</sup> The evidence therefor consists of the following glosses, unattributed as to dialect, (1) εὔσπολον· εὐείμονα, εὔσταλέα, (2) σπολείσα· σταλείσα, (3) σπελλάμεναι· στειλάμεναι, (4) κασπελῆ· στορνύει, (5) κασπολέω· ὑποστρέφω (emended to ὑπυστορέσω).

As to (1), εὔσπολον, we are sure enough of the definition to

<sup>1</sup> But note in Aeolic inscriptions ἀποστάλντες, etc. (see Hoffmann, *Dial.*, II, p. 355).

hazard a guess that it contains a cognate of *σπολάς* 'leather garment,' though - *σπολο* - may have been generalized to 'dress.' As to (2) and (3), an explanation is difficult because the definitions of *στειλάμεναι* and *σταλείσα* may enjoy nearly all the range of *στέλλω*. But if we restrict *στειλάμεναι* to the sense of 'vestientes,' a connection with *εὔσπολον* and *σπολάς*, generalized to 'vestis,' might still hold for *σπελλάμεναι*, while *σπολείσα* may be interpreted 'vestitus, ornatus.' Here I mention the old explanation by Doederlein of Lat. *palla*, *pallium* 'mantle,'—words perhaps ultimately of Greek provenance (cf. Stowasser, Lat. Woert. s. vv.), and cognate with *pellis* 'skin.' If originally Greek, and the Latin glosses write *πάλλιον*, then *pallium*: *πάλλει* (:s)PEL-) reminds of *περιβολή*: *βάλλει*, Lat. *am-ictus*: *iacit*.

Glosses (4) and (5) have a literary attest in Sappho, 81, *καὶ μὲν τε τύλαν κασπολέω* 'and down I spread the cushion;' cf. *ibid.*, 50, *ἔγω δ' ἐπὶ μαλθάκαν | τύλαν σπολέω μέλεα*, 'but I upon a soft cushion spread my limbs.' In either case 'I throw, cast' (= *iacio*) makes a good rendering, and supports the connection of *σπολεί* with *πάλλει*, Lat. *pellit*. The rendering 'I lay' (cf. *iacet* 'lies,' intrans. to 'lays') leaves nothing to be desired. The connection with *πάλλει*, Lat. *pellit*, is further confirmed by a study of the Epic verb *πίλνεται*. It is customary, following Hesychius, I suppose, to define *πίλνεται* by *προσπελάζει*, and this is at least sometimes a suitable definition, e. g. (1) in Odys. 13, 95, *νήσῳ προσεπίλνατο ποντοπόρος νηῦς* 'ad insulam appellebatur—navis;' cf. also (2) Il. 19, 93, *ἐπ' οὔδαι | πίλνεται* 'solo (non) appropinquat'; and (3) Hymn. Dem. 114 *τίπτε . . . οὐδὲ δόμοισι πίλνασαι* (MS. *πιλνᾶς*) 'cur . . . domibus non appropinquas?'

In other cases *appropinquat*, *appropinquare facit* makes a very inadequate rendering for *πίλνεται*, e. g., (4) Hesiod, Op. 509, sq. *πολλὰς δὲ δρυὺς ὑψικόμους ἐλάτας τε παχείας | οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης πιλνᾶ* (sc. *βορέας*) 'multas autem ilices pinusque magnas in saltibus deicit Boreas; (5) Il. 23, 368, *ἄρματα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν χθονὶ πίλνατο πούλυβοτείρῃ | ἄλλοτε δ' ἀίξασκε*

μετήορα 'currus (= rotae) modo ad solum appellebantur modo saliebant aërii;' (6) Hesiod, Theog. 703 (describing a storm) ὥς ὅτε Γαῖα καὶ Ὀυρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθε | πίλνατο . . . | τῆς μὲν ἐρειπομένης, τοῦ δ' ὑψόθεν ἐξεριπόντος: these words seem to conceive of earth and heaven striking (πίλνατο) together to produce thunder. There remain but two other instances, (7) Odys. 6, 43, οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλναται 'neque nix cadit' (= deicitur); (8) Il. 22, 402, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται | κνανέαι πίλναντο<sup>1</sup> 'in utramque partem capilli—cadunt' (= deiciuntur).

In admitting that πίλναται · προσπελάζει satisfies completely for examples (1), (2) and (3), we must not forget that *adpellit* is glossed by προσπελάζει, and that in both the root s)PEL-signifies 'to bring near by striking or driving' (cf. the Hesychian gloss πιλνάμενον · πηγνύμενον), Germ. 'anstossen.' In examples (4), (5) and (6) the violent sense of 'iacit' is apparent, as in πάλλει and *pellit*. In (7) and (8) the sense of 'iacit' has become intransitive, nearer 'iacitur' than 'iacet,' however. In this connection we may note that Eng. *throws* (precisely = πάλλει) had an intransitive force 'falls, tumbles,' now grown obsolete.

The cognation of Aeolic σπολεῖ · στορνύει with πίλναται is most transparent in example (4), where πιλνᾶ == 'deicit.' In both the Sappho examples σπολέω = 'deicio' offers a very good rendering. But we find the best illustration of the meanings of πίλναται and σπολεῖ in Lith. *pilti* (1) 'prügeln' (= pellere), (2) 'aufschuetten' (= struere: sternere, στορνύναι).

### (3) ENGLISH *steelyard* 'BALANCE.'

The earliest authority for this word is Cotgrave's French Dictionary (1660), which defined *crochet* as "a small hook . . . a Romane beam or *stelleere*, a beam of iron or wood," etc. The word *stelleere*, out of which *steelyard* has grown by

<sup>1</sup> Πίλναντο is the reading of the best MSS., was known to Eustathius, and to the scholiasts of Didymus, others of whom favored πίνναντο.

popular etymology, meant obviously 'beam, scale-beam,' and it does not seem venturesome to suppose it cognate with Eng. *stale* (also spelt *steal*, *steel*, *stele*; and cognate with Lat. *stolo*, treated above) 'stalk, stem, handle, rung of a ladder,' etc. The root s)T(H)EL-, discussed above, has the sense 'to lift' in Lat. *tollit*, and is also defined by 'to weigh,' on account of *τάλαντον* 'balance, scales.'

That this root ever meant 'to weigh' I do not believe. I interpret *τάλαντα* as 'scale-beam,' and derive it ultimately from the root s)THĀ- 'to stand,' extended by an *l*-determinative; perhaps *τάλ-αντα* is a compound, and meant originally 'beam-ends' (-*αντα* : Germ. *ende*, Skr. *ántas*). The Homeric word *στα-θμός* 'balance' (cf. Lat. *sta-tera*) is a certain derivative of s)THĀ-,<sup>1</sup> cf. the locution *ίστᾶν σταθμῶ τι πρὸς τι* (Herodotus), and note that *ἴστημι* means 'I weigh' (see Lidd. & Sc., s. v. A. iv). As the *σταθμός* and *τάλαντα* were beams used in weighing, so later *stelleere* was a name independently given to the scale-beam. Not only are we not justified in deriving the late, and isolated Eng. *stelleere* and *τάλαντα*, both = 'beam of a balance,' from a root s)T(H)EL- 'to weigh,' but we may infer no such root from *τάλαντα* : Skr. *tuḷā* 'beam of a balance.' We are only justified in inferring a nominal base s)T(H)EL- 'beam,' and from this base the three nouns may each be said to spring, though, as *stelleere* is not of record prior to 1660, it cannot be held to be a transmission of the original base in the specific sense of 'scale-beam.'

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<sup>1</sup>The form of *σταθμός* pictured in Fougères, Vie Publique et Privée, No. 690, in which the beam is balanced on a standard, will illustrate the applicability of the name *σταθμός*.

SEGIMER ODER: GERMANISCHE NAMEN IN  
KELTISCHEM GEWANDE.

I.

“IDG. e,” heisst es in Kluge’s *Vorgeschichte der Altgermanischen Dialekte* (Paul’s *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, I. Bd., 2. Aufl., Strassburg 1897, S. 356 ff.) “erscheint in den germanischen Elementen der antiken Überlieferung als *ē*, wo in jüngerer Zeit nach § 133 nur noch *ī* gilt . . . . ; solche alte *ē* stecken in *Segimerus Segimundus Herminones Gepides*. . . . Neben diese Zeugnisse stellt erst Amm. Marc. *Sigismundus* und Vellej. Paterc. *Sigimerus*.”

Vellejus Paterculus gilt also Kluge zusammen mit Ammianus Marcellinus als Vertreter einer jüngeren Zeit, die das “alte” *e*, wie wir es z. B. bei Tacitus in dem Namen *Segimerus* finden, zu *i* hat werden lassen. Bekanntlich aber hat Vellejus sein Geschichtswerk im J. 30 n. Chr. unter Tiberius veröffentlicht, also nicht nur reichlich 360 Jahre vor Ammian, sondern auch noch 69 Jahre vor der *Germania* des Tacitus. Wer sich die Zeitunterschiede so zurechtlegt wie Kluge, der kann aus den alten Autoren allerdings merkwürdige Dinge herauslesen.

Und doch ist dieser Schnitzer in der Chronologie vielleicht nicht einmal der schlimmste Fehler in Kluge’s Behandlung der von antiken Schriftstellern überlieferten germanischen Namen. Der Hauptfehler seiner Methode besteht darin, dass er die überlieferten Namen, so wie sie vorliegen, als echt germanisches Sprachgut hinnimmt, ohne zu fragen, woher diese Namen stammen und ob sie genau genug überliefert sind, um der germanischen Lautlehre als Grundlage zu dienen. Allerdings steht Kluge mit dieser Methode nicht allein; sie ist vielmehr unter

den Germanisten heutzutage weit verbreitet.<sup>1</sup> Aber es gibt auch rühmliche Ausnahmen, vor allem Müllenhoff in seiner *Germanischen Altertumskunde*.<sup>2</sup> Wie Müllenhoff durchweg strenge Quellenkritik den antiken Autoren gegenüber übt, so ist er auch bei den Eigennamen darauf bedacht, ihre Herkunft und den Gang der Überlieferung zu ermitteln. Wir werden im Verlaufe der folgenden Untersuchung oft genug Gelegenheit haben, uns auf Müllenhoff zu beziehen.

Die Nachteile des von Kluge angewandten Verfahrens machen sich, aus naheliegenden Gründen, besonders bei der Darstellung des Vokalismus fühlbar. Was Kluge uns (a. a. O. 356–357) als "Vokalismus der von den Römern überlieferten germanischen Elemente" bietet, ist ein Gemisch aus keltischer, germanischer, griechischer und lateinischer Lautgebung, das allerdings trefflich zu den besonderen Ansichten stimmt, die sich Kluge von dem urgermanischen Vokalismus gebildet hat (in diesem Sinne sagt Kluge "dass der germanische Vokalismus zur Römerzeit bereits galt"), aber von dem urgermanischen Vokalismus, wie er sich aus unbefangener

<sup>1</sup> Ähnlich verfährt z. B. Wrede bei seinem Versuche, aus ostgotischen Eigennamen, die in lateinischer Umschrift überliefert sind, eine ostgotische Lautlehre zu gewinnen. Sein Verfahren ist mit Recht von F. Kauffmann in seiner Rezension der 9. (von Wrede besorgten) Auflage von Stamm's (bezw. Heyne's) "Ulfilas," *Zs. f. dt. Phil.* 31 (1899) S. 90 ff. gerügt. "Es ist ganz unmöglich," sagt Kauffmann u. a. (S. 94), "aus dem ostgotischen Namenmaterial auch nur *einen* Paragraphen ostgotischer Grammatik zu entwickeln. Vom ostgotischen Dialekt wissen wir gar nichts. Denn unser Namenmaterial besteht, von seiner Dürftigkeit abgesehen, aus Umschriften, die in der italienischen (bezw. lateinischen) Orthographie des frühen Mittelalters gehalten zunächst vulgärlateinische Zeugen darstellen, für die gotische Sprachgeschichte jedesfalls erst verwertet werden können, wenn eine systematische Behandlung des orthographischen Systems die lateinischen Bestandteile zu eliminieren ermöglicht." Kauffmann zeigt weiterhin, dass Wrede aus diesen Namen mit Unrecht z. B. älteres *e* und *eu* für *i* und *iu* des Ulfilas entnimmt. Die Sache liegt eben bei den ostgotischen Namen nicht nur im ganzen sondern vielfach auch im einzelnen genau so wie bei den Namen, die uns hier beschäftigen werden.

<sup>2</sup> Ich darf wohl Müllenhoff noch zu den Germanisten der Gegenwart rechnen, obwohl er ja längst nicht mehr unter uns weilt.



Vergleichung der germanischen Sprachen ergibt, weit entfernt ist. Auch ich glaube, dass die wesentlichen Eigenheiten des germanischen Vokalismus bereits zur Römerzeit ausgeprägt waren. Aber der germanische Vokalismus, wie ich ihn ansehe, unterscheidet sich wesentlich von dem, welchen Kluge ermittelt hat.

Ich will im folgenden einen der von Kluge benutzten Namen herausgreifen, um zu zeigen, wie man bei Verwertung solcher Namen für grammatische Zwecke zu Werke gehen sollte. Das Gebiet scheint zunächst ein sehr beschränktes. Aber es wird, denke ich, die Untersuchung zu einigen Ergebnissen führen, die für die römisch-germanischen Namen überhaupt von Interesse sind.

1) Bei der Beschreibung Germaniens im 1. Cap. des 7. Buches seiner Geographie (p. 291 f.) erwähnt Strabo die Namen der vornehmen Germanen, die beim Triumph des Germanicus im J. 17 n. Chr. als Gefangene einhergeführt wurden. Es befand sich unter ihnen, neben Thusnelda, ihrem dreijährigen Sohne Thumelicus und anderen: *Σεσίθακος, Σιγμῆρου* (oder *Σεγμῆρου*) *νῖδος τῶν Χηρούσκων ἡγεμόνος*. Müllenhoff (Dt. Altertumskunde IV, S. 48) ist der Meinung, Strabo habe den Triumph des Germanicus selbst mit angesehen. Jedenfalls muss sein Bericht bald nach dem Ereignisse geschrieben sein, zumal er die Zeit desselben nur um wenige Jahre<sup>1</sup> überlebt hat. Leider aber lässt sich bei dem verwahrlosten Zustande der Überlieferung aus den von Strabo erwähnten Namen kaum etwas für die Sprachgeschichte gewinnen. Wie gründlich der Text verderbt ist, mag man daraus entnehmen, dass der als *Οὐκρομπος* überlieferte Name bei Tacitus (*Ann.* II, 16. 17) als *Actumerus* oder *Catumerus* begegnet (vgl. Müllenhoff a. a. O. IV, S. 542). Der auf *Σεσίθακος* folgende Genitiv ist in den Handschriften als *αἰγμῆρους* oder *αἰγμῆρου* überliefert, wofür die älteren Herausgeber (z. B. Casaubon) *Σιγμῆρου*,

<sup>1</sup>Nach Müllenhoff a. a. O., III, 214 schrieb Strabo die ersten sieben Bücher seiner Geographie in den Jahren 18 und 19 n. Chr., und zwar in Rom.

die neueren (seit Kramer) *Σεγιμήρου* einsetzen. Man wird, denke ich, zugeben müssen, dass die Lesung *Σεγιμήρου* der handschriftlichen Überlieferung am nächsten steht. Doch lässt sich zu Gunsten der Kramerschen Lesung anführen, dass der Name *Segestes*, der sonst nur mit *e* überliefert ist, an der uns beschäftigenden Stelle in allen Handschriften als *αἰγέστης* erscheint (p. 292; vorher Gen. *Σεγέστου*, p. 291).

2) Vellejus Patereulus berichtet in seiner *Hist. Rom.* II, 118, 2: *Tum juvenis genere nobilis, . . . nomine Arminius, Sigimeri principis gentis ejus filius, . . . segnitia ducis in occasionem sceleris usus est. . . .*

Vellejus ist für uns ein um so wertvollere Zeuge, als er Gelegenheit hatte, den Namen des Vaters des Arminius selbst in Germanien zu vernehmen oder ihn wenigstens auf Grund offizieller römischer Quellen annähernd genau zu schreiben. Denn er hatte im Dienste des Tiberius als Reiteroberst und später als Legat in Germanien gestanden und in den Jahren 4 bis 11 n. Chr. an allen Feldzügen des Tiberius am Rhein und an der Donau teilgenommen. Er gehörte zu den hervorragenden Reisebegleitern des Feldherrn, der ihm persönlich das grösste Wohlwollen entgegenbrachte.<sup>1</sup> Der Geschichtsabriss des Vellejus ist dem Konsul M. Vinicius gewidmet. Es ist eine Art Gratulationsschrift, die er seinem Landsmanne zum Antritte des Konsulats im J. 30 überreichte. Ist die Schrift demnach erst nach dem Tode des Strabo veröffentlicht, so beträgt doch der Zeitunterschied nur wenige Jahre. Beide Werke fallen in die Regierungszeit des Tiberius. Ja es ist möglich, dass streng genommen das Zeugnis des Vellejus als das frühere zu gelten hätte. Denn in dem Zusammenhange, in welchem Vellejus den Namen Sigimer erwähnt, ist von dem Aufstande des Arminius und der Niederlage des Varus die Rede. Diese Ereignisse fallen in das Jahr 9 n. Chr., also in die Zeit, als

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. H. Peter, *Die geschichtliche Literatur über die römische Kaiserzeit*, I. Bd. (Leipzig, 1897), S. 382 ff. u. M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, II. Teil, 2. Hälfte (2. Aufl., München, 1901), S. 186 ff.

Vellejus unter Tiberius in Germanien stand, und 8 Jahre vor dem Triumph des Germanicus, von welchem Strabo berichtet. Sei es nun dass Vellejus sich auf eigne Aufzeichnungen stützte, oder dass er anderweitige Quellen benutzt hat: es ist in jedem Falle wahrscheinlich, dass der Name Sigimer bei ihm—direkt oder indirekt—auf eine der Niederlage des Varus gleichzeitige Aufzeichnung zurückgeht. Es genügt übrigens für die Zwecke unsrer Untersuchung durchaus, wenn man zugibt, dass Strabo und Vellejus annähernd derselben Zeit angehören. Bemerkt sei noch, dass der von Vellejus erwähnte Sigimer (der Vater des Arminius) nicht identisch ist mit dem von Strabo genannten (dem Bruder des Segestes), obwohl Grimm, *GDS.* 615 sie einander gleichsetzt. Vgl. Müllenhoff, *D. Alt. k.* iv, 186 u. Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, I, 126 ff.

3) Als nächster Zeuge ist Tacitus zu nennen, der in seinen Annalen I, 71 den Namen Segimer zweimal erwähnt: *Jam Stertinius, ad accipiendum in deditionem Segimerum fratrem Segestis praemissus, ipsum et filium ejus in civitatem Ubiorum perduxerat. Data utrique venia, facile Segimero, cunctantius filio, quia Quintilii Vari corpus inclusisse dicebatur.*

Es ist die Rede von den Ereignissen des J. 15 n. Chr., und Tacitus, der seine Annalen etwa ein Jahrhundert später schrieb,<sup>1</sup> hat den Namen Segimer selbstverständlich einer älteren Quelle entnommen. Wahrscheinlich hielt er sich hier, wie überhaupt in seinen Nachrichten über die Kriege mit den Germanen<sup>2</sup> an die (nicht erhaltenen) *Bellorum Germaniae libri* des älteren Plinius, die er selbst citiert.<sup>3</sup> Plinius hat längere Zeit, anscheinend mehrere Jahre, als junger Reiteroffizier im römischen Heere am Rhein und an der Donau gedient, und, wie wir von seinem Neffen wissen (Plin. *Ep.* III, 5, 4), schon während dieser

<sup>1</sup> Nach der üblichen Annahme fällt die Abfassungszeit der Annalen (genauer: des 2. Buches der Annalen) in d. J. 116/117. Vgl. Schanz a. a. O., S. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Münzer, Die Quelle des Tacitus für die Germanenkriege: *Bonner Jahrbücher*, H. 104, (1899), S. 67 ff. u. Schanz a. a. O., S. 241.

<sup>3</sup> *Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, stetit, etc., Ann.* I, 69. Es ist dies das einzige Quellencitat in den sechs ersten Büchern der Annalen.

seiner Dienstzeit sein Werk über die Germanenkriege begonnen. Aber es war dies ein Sammelwerk,<sup>1</sup> welches wahrscheinlich mit dem Jahre seines Dienstantrittes endete.<sup>2</sup> Zudem liegen die Ereignisse, über die Tacitus berichtet, mehr als 30 Jahre vor dem Beginne der Dienstzeit des Plinius. Also hat auch Plinius seinerseits eine schriftliche Quelle benutzt, wahrscheinlich die uns verlorenen *libri belli Germanici* des Aufidius Bassus, die sich anscheinend mit den Kriegszügen des Drusus, Tiberius und Germanicus beschäftigten und unter der Regierung des Tiberius abgefasst waren.<sup>3</sup>

4) In beträchtlich spätere Zeit kommen wir mit Cassius Dio († ca. 235), der im 56. Buche (C. 19) seines Geschichtswerkes auf Arminius und Segimer zu sprechen kommt. Es ist bezeichnend, dass der letztere Name bei ihm als Σηγίμερος (statt Σεγίμηρος) erscheint. Die Möglichkeit eines Abschreiberfehlers ist natürlich nicht ausgeschlossen. Aber möglich ist auch, dass der Fehler von Dio selbst verschuldet ist.<sup>4</sup>

Die römische Überlieferung also schwankte von vorn herein, oder wenigstens seit der Regierungszeit des Tiberius, zwischen *Segimerus* und *Sigimerus*. Daraus schliessen zu wollen, dass bei den Germanen eine zwischen *e* und *i* schwankende oder in der Mitte liegende Aussprache geherrscht habe, wäre eine rein äusserliche Auffassung der Überlieferung und würde bei den Römern peinlichere Sorgfalt in der Wahrung des germanischen Vokalismus voraussetzen, als sie sich sonst kundgibt.<sup>5</sup> Offenbar

<sup>1</sup> Omnia quae cum Germanis gessimus bella collegit sagt der jüngere Plinius a. a. O.

<sup>2</sup> Nach Münzer a. a. O., S. 78 schloss Plinius sein Werk mit dem J. 47, während sein Aufenthalt in Germanien in die Jahre 47–51 fiel.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Münzer a. a. O., S. 86 und Schanz a. a. O., S. 253 ff. Möglich ist natürlich auch, dass Tacitus die Werke des Aufidius Bassus und Plinius neben einander benutzt hat, zumal ersterer auch sonst (s. Schanz, S. 241) als eine der Hauptquellen des Tacitus anzusehen ist.

<sup>4</sup> Ein ganz ähnlicher Fehler liegt bei Ptol., II, 5, vor, wo der gallische Name Σεγόβριγα (Strabo, III, 162) Σηγόβριγα geschrieben ist. Vgl. Glück, *Kelt. Namen bei Caesar*, S. 149.

<sup>5</sup> Selbst offizielle römische Aktenstücke sind in dieser Beziehung unzuverlässig. Z. B. erscheint der bei Strabo a. a. O. als Μελων überlieferte Name,

kann es sich nur darum handeln, ob in den germanischen Sprachen die erste Silbe mit *i* oder mit *e* gesprochen wurde. Zugleich aber wird zu erklären sein, wie sich neben der echt germanischen Form eine Zwillingsform einstellen konnte.

Es ist in diesem Zusammenhange von Interesse, dass *Sego-* ein sehr beliebtes Element in keltischen Eigennamen ist. Vgl. Glück, *Die bei Caesar vorkommenden keltischen Eigennamen* (München, 1857) S. 149 ff., Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* (Göttingen, 1896) S. 297. *Sego-* begegnet sowohl in Ortsnamen, z. B. Σηγό-δουνον (Ptol. II, 6), *Sego-bodium* (Tab. Peut.), *Sego-briga* (Plin. III, 3, 4 = Σηγόβριγα Strabo III, 162; bei Ptol. II, 5 irrtümlich Σηγόβριγα, vgl. ob. S. 258 A. 4), wie in Volksnamen, z. B. *Sego-vellauni* (Plin. III, 4, 5; bei Ptol. II, 9 unrichtig Σεγαλλαυνοί), und in Personennamen, z. B. *Sego-vax* (Caes. B. G. v, 22). Ja es ist auf Inschriften mehrfach der dem germanischen *Sigi-mērus* oder *Segi-mērus* unmittelbar entsprechende<sup>1</sup> keltische Name *Sego-mārus* bezeugt. Z. B. auf einer Marmorplatte aus Vaison (Belloguet, *Ethnogenie Gauloise*, Paris, 1858, I, p. 199; Stokes in Kuhn's *Beitr.* II, S. 100, nr. 1 und Bezz. *Beitr.* XI, S. 122; Becker K. *Beiträge*, III, S. 162): Σεγομαρος Ούιλλωνεος τουουτιους Ναμανσατις εἰωρου Βηλησαμι σοσιν νεμητον. Ferner auf dem Henkel einer Bronzeschale von Dijon (Belloguet, a. a. O., p. 198; Stokes K. *Beitr.* II, S. 100, nr. 5 u. Bezz. *Beitr.* XI, S. 131; Becker,

der allem Anscheine nach dem ahd. *Milo* entspricht (Grimm *Gr.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 80, Förstemann, *Altd. Namenbuch*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1123) in den *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* als *Maelo*. (Müllenh., *D. Altk.*, IV, 37.)

<sup>1</sup> Es soll damit nicht gesagt sein, dass die beiden Namen in phonetischer Hinsicht sich vollkommen decken. Denn weder lässt sich kelt. -ā- dem germanischen -ē- lautlich gleichsetzen, noch sind die Vokale der Kompositionsfuge (kelt. -o-, german. -i-) identisch. Trotzdem bleibt gall. *Segomāros* das Gegenstück des germanischen Namens. Denn gall. *māro-s* entspricht der Funktion nach dem german. *mēr-(a)-s* (z. B. kymr. *clodfawr*, d. i. \**Clotomārus* = ahd. *Hlodo-mar*: Glück, S. 81) und der Wechsel des Fugenvokals findet sich auch innerhalb des Keltischen selbst (z. B. *Cēni-* u. *Cēno-*, *Eporēdi-riz* u. *Eporēdo-riz*: Glück, S. 61).

a. a. O., S. 164): *Doiros Segomari ieuru Alisanu*. Auf einer lateinischen Inschrift aus Brixiae (Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* I, nr. 2123) lautet der Name *Segomarus*.

Ist es möglich, das *e* in *Segimerus* auf Rechnung des keltischen Namens *Segomārus* zu setzen? Ich glaube, man braucht diese Frage nur aufzuwerfen, um sie zu bejahen. Gallien hat den Römern von jeher näher gelegen als Germanien. Wie Caesar seine Züge nach Germanien von Gallien aus unternahm, so hat schon vorher und auch nachher der Weg zu den Germanen durch keltisches Gebiet geführt. Die griechische Kolonie Massilia, auf dem Grenzgebiet zwischen Ligurern, Iberern und Kelten gelegen, vermittelte seit alter Zeit den Verkehr mit den Galliern. Hier konnten sich griechische Schriftsteller in ihrer eigenen Sprache von Seefahrern und Kaufleuten über die Völker des Nordwestens erzählen lassen. Und schon früh haben sie sich diesen Vorteil zu nutze gemacht. Wenn Polybios (XII, 28) anerkennend hervorhebt, dass der sicilische Geschichtsschreiber Timaios (geb. ca. 340, gest. 256 v. Chr.) keine Mühe und keine Kosten gescheut habe, um das Leben der Ligurer, Kelten und Iberer aus eigener Anschauung kennen zu lernen, so zeigt eben die Zusammenstellung dieser drei Völker, dass er seine Erkundigungen vorzugsweise in Massilia eingezogen hat. Einem älteren Zeitgenossen des Timaios, dem in Massilia ansässigen Griechen Pytheas, verdanken wir denn auch die ersten Nachrichten über die Germanen. Er unternahm um 334 v. Chr. von Massilia aus die Seefahrt, die ihn bis zu den Teutonen führte. Und wiederum ein Grieche, Poseidonios (geb. um 135 v. Chr.) ist es, der im Anfang des 1. Jahrh. v. Chr. sich in Massilia aufhält und von dort aus Reisen unternimmt, um sich über Ligurer, Kelten und Iberer zu unterrichten. Es ist derselbe Geschichtsschreiber, der, wenn auch nur indirekt—durch die Schriftsteller, die sein Werk benutzten—unsere Hauptquelle für die Kimbern und Teutonen bildet. (Vgl. Müllenhoff, *Dt. Alt. k.* II, 126 ff., 136; Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, S. 648 ff.) Die Nachrichten aber, die zu Griechen und Römern über Germanien kamen,

stammten naturgemäss zunächst aus keltischem Munde, zumal die Massilioten, wie wir wissen, von früh her mit ihren keltischen Nachbarn auf freundschaftlichem Fusse standen. (Müllenhoff, a. a. O. I, 178, 223.) Ein Zeugnis für die engen Beziehungen liegt auch in der weiten Verbreitung, die die griechische Schrift bei den Galliern gefunden hat.

Auf die Epoche, in welcher griechische Kultur von Massilia aus bei den Kelten Eingang fand, folgt bald die der Latinisierung. Schon zu der Zeit, als Poseidonios sich in Massilia aufhielt, war der den Römern zunächst liegende Teil des transalpinischen Galliens als "Provincia Romana" dem römischen Reiche angegliedert. Die Einverleibung Galliens macht dann immer weitere Fortschritte, bis Caesar sie zu Ende führt.

Erst von dieser Zeit ab liesse sich eine Scheidung zwischen gallischen und germanischen Namen bei den Römern erwarten, da man erst durch Caesar die Germanen überhaupt von den Galliern unterscheiden lernte (vgl. Müllenhoff, a. a. O. 154; Niese, *Zs. f. dt. Alt.* 42, 132). Aber es währte noch geraume Zeit, bis die Römer wenigstens im südlichen Teile Germaniens festen Fuss fassten, während gleichzeitig die Beziehungen zwischen Gallien und Rom immer enger wurden und die Romanisierung Galliens zunahm.<sup>1</sup> Schon die Tatsache, dass auch der Süden des germanischen Landes noch heute deutsch spricht, während Frankreich zum romanischen Sprachgebiete gehört, spricht deutlich genug. Man mag zugeben, dass die Römer im Laufe der Zeit zwischen keltischen und germanischen Namen zu scheiden versuchten und auch etwas besser zu scheiden lernten. Aber bei der so nahen Verwandtschaft des keltischen und germanischen Namensystems blieb diese Scheidung stets unvollkommen, und auch z. B. die von Tacitus überlieferten Namen verraten meist noch deutlich, dass sie ebenso durch keltische Aussprache hindurchgegangen sind, wie

<sup>1</sup> "Spanien, Afrika, Gallien waren schon unter Augustus soweit romanisiert, dass Horaz dort seine Leser hatte." H. Peter, a. a. O., I, 47.

seinerzeit die Namen aus der Epoche der Kimbern- und Teutonenzüge.<sup>1</sup>

Im allgemeinen hat die germanische Lautgebung um so mehr Aussicht, sich bei der Umsetzung in lateinische Schrift zu erhalten, je deutlicher sie sich von der keltischen unterscheidet; abgesehen natürlich von dem Falle, dass der betr. Laut den keltischen Sprachen ganz abgeht. Dagegen erhält, von gelegentlichen Schwankungen und Ausnahmen abgesehen, der keltische Laut vor dem germanischen den Vorzug, wo es sich um feinere Unterschiede handelt, z. B. um keltisches *e* gegenüber germanischem *i* oder kelt. *o* gegen germ. *a*. Ferner wird der keltische Laut an Stelle des germanischen gesetzt, wo letzterer den keltischen Sprachen fehlt (z. B. kelt. *t* in *Teuto-* gegen german. *p* in *þiuda-*). Offenbar stand in solchen Fällen den Römern nicht etwa die Wahl zwischen dem keltischen und dem germanischen Laute frei, sondern sie schrieben die germanischen Namen so, wie sie ihnen in der Aussprache ihrer keltischen Gewährsmänner entgegentraten. Manche Namen-elemente, wie etwa das genannte *Teuto-*, hatten sich zudem in der römischen Literatur längst in ihrer keltisierten Form

<sup>1</sup> Die aus den Kimbern- und Teutonenzügen stammenden Namen sind eingehend behandelt von Müllenhoff, *Dt. Alt. k.*, II, S. 118 ff. Müllenhoff's Ergebnisse stehen so vollkommen in Einklang mit den unsrigen, dass ich mir nicht versagen kann, aus seinen Ausführungen wenigstens die folgenden Sätze hier mitzuteilen. "Anders [als mit dem Namen der Kimbern, der nicht als deutsch gelten darf] steht es mit den Namen der Teutonen- und Kimbernfürsten. Im ersten Augenblick scheinen sie sämtlich gallisch. . . . Allein der allzu raschen Folgerung stellt sich die Wahrnehmung entgegen, dass auch die andern, uns überlieferten ältesten deutschen Namen meist den Durchgang durch gallischen Mund verraten und bald mehr bald weniger davon die Spuren tragen, weil natürlich Gallier für den Verkehr mit den Germanen die nächsten Dolmetscher waren und auch dem Römer selbst in der Regel das Gallische eher als das Deutsche geläufig war. Der Name *Maroboduus* kann wie *Teutoboduus* völlig für einen gallischen gelten. . . . ; ohne Zweifel ist aber darin nur der deutsche Name umgebildet, der bei Cassiodor Var., 3, 34. 4, 12. 46 *Marabadus* . . . lautet. Diese Umformung deutscher Laute und Worte dauerte in Gallien lange fort, bis in die karlingische Zeit, und manches, was man wohl für besondere Eigentümlichkeit des Fränkischen ansieht und ausgibt, ist nichts weiter als gallisch romanische Auffassung."



eingebürgert, so dass sich in derartigen Fällen die Überlieferung gewohnheitsmässig geltend machte.

Es liegt nahe, hier auf die ähnlichen Verhältnisse hinzuweisen, wie sie im Englischen bei der Umschreibung deutscher Namen bestehen. Gerade bei einer Reihe der üblichsten und am besten eingebürgerten deutschen Namen liegt im Englischen nicht zunächst die deutsche, sondern die französische Form zu Grunde. Und zwar gilt dies gleichmässig von

1) Ländernamen, wie: *Alsace, Bavaria, Bohemia, Brunswick, Carinthia, Carniola, Courland, Esthonia, Franconia, the Grisone, Hainault, Hesse, Hungary, Lithuania, Lorraine, Lusatia, Moldavia, Moravia, the Palatinate, Pommerania, Prussia, Silesia, Saxe-Weimar, Sleswick, Styria, Switzerland, Transylvania*;

2) Namen von Flüssen, Seen, Meeren, wie: *Danube, Meuse, Moselle, Vistula; Lake of Constance, Lake Leman; the Baltic (Sea)*;

3) Gebirgsnamen, wie: *the Alps, the Vosges (Mountains)*;

4) Städtenamen, wie: *Aix-la-Chapelle, Basle, Cologne, Dantzic, Frankfort, Geneva, Goritz, Graveairs, Leipsic, Mayence, Misnia, Munich, Nuremberg, Prague, Ratisbon, Spires, Treves, Vienna, Zurich*;

5) Personennamen, wie: *Charlemagne* (bezw. *Charles the Great*), *Clovis, Edwiga, Frederick, Gerard, Jocelyn, Louis (the Pious), Utric*.

Die Romanisierung der deutschen Namen in England beruht auf ganz ähnlichen Gründen wie ihre Keltisierung bei den Römern. Frankreich lag England geographisch näher und diente demgemäss als Durchgangspunkt von und nach Deutschland nicht nur für den Reiseverkehr, sondern auch für die Übermittlung deutscher Sprache und Literatur.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Noch im 18. Jahrh. werden die Werke deutscher Klassiker vielfach nach französischen Übersetzungen statt nach deutschem Original ins Englische übertragen. Die englischen Übersetzungen von Goethe's *Werther* können als typisches Beispiel dienen.

Es lassen sich für die Behandlung deutscher Namen im Englischen ganz ähnliche Grundsätze feststellen, wie wir sie bei der Umsetzung germanischer Worte ins Lateinische beobachten. Z. B. gilt die Regel, dass für deutsche Laute, die dem Französischen fehlen, der nächststehende französische Laut eintritt (also *s* für deutsches *z*; *k* für deutsches *ch*; *u* für deutsches *ü*). Man muss dabei beachten, dass zuweilen die englische Schreibung scheinbar den deutschen Laut festhält, während die Aussprache zum Französischen stimmt. Z. B. ist das auslautende *ch* in *Munich*, *Zurich* als *k* zu sprechen, und das anlautende *Z* in *Zurich* als weiches *s*. Es zeigt sich also, dass für deutsches *ch* regelmässig die unverschobene Vorstufe *k* eintritt.<sup>1</sup>

Aber kehren wir zurück zu Segimer. Das Nebeneinander der beiden Formen *Segimerus* und *Sigimerus*, die sich beide in die Zeit des Tiberius zurückverfolgen lassen, erklärt sich am natürlichsten so, dass letztere Form die deutsche, die üblichere Form *Segimerus* dagegen die keltisierte Aussprache darstellt. Wie hier werden wir folgerecht das *e* in ähnlichen Namen, z. B. *Segimundus*<sup>2</sup> auffassen.

Dieses Ergebnis erhält vielleicht noch von anderer Seite her eine Bestätigung. Das vermeintliche "ältere" *e* für *i* liegt nämlich nicht nur bei Tacitus, Strabo u. s. w. vor, sondern auch noch im frühen Mittelalter bei Historikern wie Orosius, Jordanes, Abbo (also 5.–9. Jahrh.). Es findet sich weiter während der althochdeutschen Epoche (8.–11. Jahrh.) und darüber hinaus. Es mag hier für den Stamm *Sigi-* bzw. *Segi-* eine kleine Auswahl von Belegen genügen, die zum grösseren Teile

<sup>1</sup> So auch in engl. *Hock*, älter *Hockamore* "Hochheimer;" eine nur scheinbare Altertümlichkeit, wie lateinisch-keltisches *t* für germ. *p* (*Teuto-* = german. *biuda-*).

<sup>2</sup> *Addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum*, Tac. Ann. I, 57: *Σεγμοῦντρος* (für *Σεγμοῦντρος* der Handschriften) *τε Σεγέστρον υἱός*, Strabo, VII, C. 1, p. 291. Der Name *Segestes* muss bei Seite bleiben, da er noch nicht mit Sicherheit gedeutet ist. Gegen die übliche Herleitung aus einem *es-* Stamme mit *-t-* Suffix (nach Art von lat. *funes-tus*, *Augus-tus*) erklärt sich mit Recht Förstemann, *Alt. Namenbuch*, I<sup>2</sup>, Sp. 1316.

aus Förstemann's *Altdeutschen Personennamen* (2. Aufl.; Bonn, 1900; Sp. 1317 ff.) entnommen sind.

saec. v: *Segericus* (Orosius VII, 43, 9. Der Name des im J. 415 eingesetzten und bald nachher ermordeten Westgoten-königs liegt in derselben Form bei Jordanes c. XXXI, § 163, vor, wo die Handschriften *Regericus* bieten; nur eine Handschrift hat *Sigericus*).

saec. VI: *Segemund*, *Segimund* (Marius v. Aventicum, hg. v. Arndt. Lpz., 1875, a. 522. 524).<sup>1</sup>

*Segericus* (Burgundenfürst des 6. Jahrh., *ib.*, a. 523).

a. 742: *Seculf* ("Traditiones Wizenburgenses," ed. C. Zeuss, 1842).

saec. VIII: *Seghelind* ("Cod. Laureshamensis diplom." 1768, nr. 1411).—*Seckihart* (*ibid.*, nr. 2943, 2968).

a. 820: *Secofred* ("Histoire de Languedoc par deux religieux bénédictins," Paris, 1730, I, nr. 23).

a. 866: *Seginand* ("concil. Suession.").

a. 878: *Segebod* ("Histoire de Languedoc," II, nr. 1).

saec. IX: *Segebert*, *Segevert* (Abbo, *De bellis Parisiaca urbis*, ed. Pertz, *MG.*, SS. II, 794).—*Segemund* (*ibid.*, II, 798).

a. 918: *Segebrand* ("Histoire de Languedoc," II, nr. 42).

a. 1015: *Segebodo* (Lacomblet, *Niederrhein. Urkundenbuch*, Düsseldorf, 1840, nr. 147).

a. 1052: *Segebodo* (Hontheim, *Historia Trevirensis*, 1750–57, nr. 251).

a. 1081: *Segewin* (Lacomblet, a. a. O., nr. 231).

Dem *Segimerus* des Tacitus stellt sich der Name *Segemar* im *Polyptyque de l'abbé Irminon* (par Guérard, Paris, 1844) S. 265 zur Seite. Aus derselben Quelle sind bei Förstemann die Namen *Segevert* (S. 65) = *Sigevert* (S. 93. 132), *Segenand* (S. 122. 134), *Segvald* (S. 160) d. i. Sigiwald, *Segvard* (S. 40)

<sup>1</sup> Daneben *Sigimund* *ibid.* a. 523. Dass Marius für denselben Namen drei verschiedene Schreibungen gleich nacheinander sollte gebraucht haben, ist kaum wahrscheinlich. Eine Entscheidung aber lässt sich schwerlich treffen, da die Chronik des Marius nur in einer Handschrift (des 9.–10. Jahrh.) erhalten ist.

d. i. Sigiward, und *Segemberga* (S. 11) = *Siginberga* (S. 135) u. *Sigemberga* (S. 82) angeführt.

Für die Beurteilung dieser Fälle ist vor allem festzuhalten: Erstens: dass der Vokal *e* immer nur ausnahmsweise erscheint; denn es liegen daneben die regelmässigen ahd. Formen mit *i* vor. Zweitens: dass derartige Ausnahmen im Westgotischen und Westfränkischen, also in romanischer Umgebung, an der Tagesordnung sind, während sie rechts vom Rhein kaum vorkommen.

Offenbar handelt es sich nicht um Bewahrung eines alten Vokales. Dies ist nicht nur aus allgemeinen Gründen unwahrscheinlich, sondern auch deshalb, weil dem *Sege-* für *Sigi-* die Form *Frethe-* oder *Frede-* für älteres und regelrechtes *Frithu-* oder *Fridu-* zur Seite geht. Denn *Fridu-* hat nicht altes *e*, sondern altes (d. h. vorgermanisches) *i*, da es zu Sanskr. *priyate* = got. *frijōn* gehört. Also setzt *Sege-* das regelrechte ahd. *Sigi-* voraus.

Es kann sich nur darum handeln, ob *Sege-* auf Beeinflussung des germanischen *Sigi-* durch keltisches<sup>1</sup> *Sego-* beruht, oder ob germanisches *i* hier den Wandel des schriftlateinischen *i* zu vulgärlatein. und romanischem *e* (Beispiele bei Diez, *Gramm.* I<sup>3</sup>, 155 ff.) mitgemacht hat, zumal ja in Lehnworten aus dem Germanischen diese Lautentsprechung so häufig ist, dass nach Diez I, 307 das *e* als romanische Hauptform für germanisches *i* gelten darf. Vielleicht stehen diese beiden Erklärungen, die lexikalische und die phonetische, nicht mit einander in Widerspruch, so dass beide Faktoren in derselben Richtung gewirkt und zu demselben Ziele geführt hätten.

Wir könnten uns mit dem Resultate zufrieden geben, dass in den zuletzt angeführten Namen jedenfalls ein (dem germanischen *i* gegenüber) jüngerer *e* anzuerkennen ist. Aber es

<sup>1</sup> Das keltische *Sego-* galt auch, was namentlich für Orosius in Betracht zu ziehen ist, im Keltiberischen. Das beweisen Namen wie *Secovesus*, *Segovetes* (C. I. L., vol. II, nr. 2871, 2855; vgl. Müllenhoff, *Dt. Alt. k.*, II, S. 254 Amm.) auf nordspanischen Inschriften.

empfiehlt sich, noch einen Augenblick bei der Lautentwicklung von german. *i* und kelt.-roman. *e* zu verweilen.

“*E* für kurzes *i*,” sagt Diez, *Gramm. d. Roman. Spr.* I<sup>3</sup> (1870) S. 158, “ist kein spezifischer Romanismus, sondern gerade ein altertümlicher Zug der lateinischen Sprache (auf Inschriften *semol*, *mereto*, *soledas*, *posedet*), der aber schon mit dem Jahre 620 u. c. verschwindet, so dass sich später nur noch einzelne Beispiele finden. . . . Ein historischer Zusammenhang zwischen diesem lat. und dem rom. *e* wird anzunehmen sein: die Volkssprache scheint den dem *i* der litterarischen Sprache parallelen Laut festgehalten und ihn den späteren Mundarten zugeführt zu haben.” Wäre diese Auffassung richtig, so sollte man erwarten, dass die Altertümlichkeit der romanischen Sprachen gegenüber dem Latein sich vor allem in betonten Silben und zwar vor einfacher Konsonanz zeigte. Denn in unbetonten Silben würde an und für sich—d. h. auf Grund rein phonetischer Kriterien—das kurze *i* grösseren Anspruch auf Altertümlichkeit haben als kurzes *e*; und die Stellung vor mehrfacher Konsonanz kann schwerlich als geeignetes Gebiet für die Entscheidung derartiger Fragen gelten. Bei den 32 Beispielen nun, mit welchen Diez, S. 155, die Gleichung latein. *i* = italien. *e* vor einfacher Konsonanz belegt, handelt es sich in etwa 9 unter 10 Fällen um indogermanisches *i* (*bibere* = it. *bevere*, *fides* = it. *fede*, *minus* = it. *meno* etc.), so dass also bei der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Beispiele von Erhaltung des älteren Lautes in den romanischen Sprachen nicht die Rede sein kann. Einen altertümlichen Eindruck können ja auf den ersten Blick Fälle wie it. *ricevere* = lat. *recipere*, it. *piego* = lat. *plico* und it. *sembro* = lat. (*as*-)*similo* machen, wenn man altlat. Formen wie die von Diez angeführten *posedet* und *semol* vergleicht. Aber es liegt dem *e* in *semol* nicht ein indogerm. *e*, sondern (um Fick's Terminologie zu gebrauchen) indogerm. “Schwa” zu Grunde, für welches das *e* in *semol* vielleicht nur ein unzureichender Ausdruck ist. Bei lat. *recipio* und *plico* handelt es sich um ein *i*, das in urspr. tieftöniger Silbe aus *a*, bezw. *e*, entstanden ist und eine eigentümliche Artikulation

voraussetzt, die vermutlich der für das idg. Schwa anzunehmenden nahe stand. Jedenfalls zeigen die "geschwächten" Vokale, die in dieser Stellung auftreten, eine auffällige Ähnlichkeit mit den Vokalen, die im Lateinischen aus idg. Schwa entstanden sind. Man wird also wohl sagen müssen, dass auch in diesen Fällen ein "altes *e*" kaum in Frage kommen kann, und so wird es wohl am natürlichsten und sichersten sein, auch hier das romanische *e* aus dem *i* der lat. Schriftsprache zu erklären.

Überhaupt empfiehlt es sich, mit der Annahme archaisch-lateinischer Laute und Formen in den romanischen Sprachen vorsichtiger, als es meist geschieht, zu Werke zu gehen. Überblickt man die reichhaltige Sammlung von Belegen für vulgärlatein. *e* = lat. *i* bei Schuchardt, *D. Vokalismus d. Vulg. Lat.*, II, S. 1-69, so muss der beträchtliche Prozentsatz von Formen aus ehemals keltischem Gebiete auffallen. So hat denn auch E. Seelmann, *Die Aussprache des Latein* (Heilbronn, 1885), S. 200 ff., mit Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass gerade auf gallischen Inschriften *e* ungemein häufig für *i* eintritt. So z. B. *tetlum* u. *tetulum* (lat. *titulum*), *seta* (lat. *sita*), *sene* (lat. *sine*), *menus* (lat. *minus*), *semul* (lat. *simul*), *sebi* (lat. *sibi*), *egetur* (lat. *igitur*), *nemis* (lat. *nimis*), *fedes* (lat. *fides*), *Dometius* (lat. *Domitius*).<sup>1</sup> Ich entnehme aus der Anführung bei Schuchardt, *Vok. d. Vulg. Lat.*, I, 87, dass Mone seinerzeit (im J. 1845) in seiner *Urgeschichte des badischen Landes*, II, 160 ff. die Vertauschung von *e* und *i* sowie die ganz entsprechende von *o* und *u* in den romanischen Sprachen auf Rechnung des Keltischen gesetzt hat. Schuchardt meint, Mone gehe in dieser und in ähnlichen Annahmen zu weit, führt aber seinerseits (a. a. O., 87 f.) eine Reihe anderer romanischer Lauteigenheiten an, die er keltischem Einflusse zuschreibt. Schuchardt bemerkt auch (S. 91), wie mir scheint, durchaus

<sup>1</sup> Man sehe die Belege bei Seelmann oder Schuchardt nach. Die Zusammenstellungen Seelmann's sind zwar weniger umfassend als diejenigen Schuchardt's, haben aber den Vorzug, dass betontes *e* von unbetontem *e* geschieden und die geographisch zusammengehörigen Beispiele vereinigt sind.

zutreffend: "Ich halte die Analogie zwischen den norditalischen Mundarten und dem Gallo-romanischen für eben so alt und ursprünglich, wie die zwischen dem Rhäto-romanischen und dem Gallo-romanischen; vielleicht beruht sie auf keltischem Einfluss."

Von prinzipiellen Gesichtspunkten aus und mit Heranziehung anderer Sprachgebiete hat dann Ascoli die Frage nach der Nachwirkung keltischer Tendenzen in den romanischen Sprachen wieder aufgenommen, namentlich in seinem Vortrage "Über die ethnologischen Gründe der Umgestaltung der Sprachen" (*Verhandl. d. 5. internat. Orientalisten-Congresses*, II<sup>2</sup>, Berlin, 1882, S. 279–286) und in dem ersten der von Br. Güterbock übersetzten *Sprachwissenschaftlichen Briefe* (Leipzig, 1887).

Allerdings sind Schuchardt und Ascoli auf Widerspruch gestossen bei K. Sittl, *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der latein. Sprache* (Erlangen, 1882) S. 63. Sittl will zwar einen "Einfluss der Rasse auf die Lautverhältnisse" nicht leugnen, glaubt aber, von einigen Einzelheiten abgesehen, besonders einwenden zu müssen, "es stimmten die beiderseitigen Erscheinungen nicht genau überein." Aber stimmt denn etwa die Lautverschiebung im Alemannischen und im Fränkischen genau überein? Hat nicht etwa jede grössere Gruppe der deutschen Dialekte noch heute ihre besondere Form der Lautverschiebung? Und zweifelt trotzdem jemand daran, dass die verschiedenen Stadien der Verschiebung einer und derselben Lauterscheinung angehören? Gewiss ist Sittl im Rechte, wenn er meint, es bedürfe hier der grössten Vorsicht. Nur möchten wir glauben, dass Vorsicht auch gegenüber der Annahme archaischer Eigenheiten in den romanischen Sprachen am Platze wäre, und dass an und für sich die Annahme ethnologischer Gründe (d. h. nichttrömischer Tendenzen aus vorromanischer Zeit) nicht unvorsichtiger ist, als die Annahme eines altertümlichen Laut- und Formenbestandes (d. h. altlateinischer Eigentümlichkeiten aus vorromanischer Zeit): insbesondere da, wo es sich nicht

um altrömisches, sondern um neuerworbenes, erst später von der lateinischen Sprache assimiliertes Sprachgebiet handelt.

Sollte nicht Mone doch vielleicht in Bezug auf *e* und *o* im Rechte gewesen sein? Es fällt für seine Ansicht, scheint mir, schwer ins Gewicht, dass nicht nur in dem romanisierten Teile des alten Keltengebietes lat. *ɣ* und *ʒ* mit *e* und *o* zusammenfallen, sondern dass auch in dem keltisch gebliebenen Teile dieses Gebietes sich in Lehnworten aus dem Lateinischen dieselbe Tendenz geltend macht. Das beweisen u. a. die von B. Güterbock<sup>1</sup> eingehend behandelten lat. Lehnwörter im Irischen, wie 1) ir. *ennac* (innocuus), *cepp* (cippus), *cereol* (circulus), *felsub* (philosophus), *lebor* (liber), *secc* (siccus), *trebun* (tribunus). 2) *ongad* (unguere), *boll* (bulla), *colcaid* (culcita), *corcor* (purpura), *cross* u. *croch* (crux, Acc. *crucem*), *pone* (punctum), *tob* (tuba).

Ich masse mir nicht an, mit diesen wenigen Bemerkungen eine Frage entscheiden zu wollen, die vorzugsweise in das Gebiet der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft gehört und deren Beantwortung daher den Romanisten überlassen werden darf, wenn auch die Frage hier und da in das Gebiet der Germanistik und der Indogermanistik übergreift. Für unsere Zwecke kommt es zunächst nur darauf an, dass das *e* der vulgärlat. (bezw. romanischen) Formen mit *Sege-*, *Segi-* regelrecht aus germanischem *i* umgesetzt ist. Mag das *e* in *Segericus*, wie Orosius und Jordanes schreiben, von dem *e* in *Segimerus* ganz unabhängig sein (so dass für *Segimerus* nur die materielle Ähnlichkeit keltischer und germanischer Namen in Betracht käme), oder mag die Tendenz, germanisches *i* wie *e* auszusprechen, bei den Kelten schon bis in die Zeit des Tacitus zurückreichen: die auffällige Übereinstimmung der lateinischen Namen mit solchen, wie wir sie gleichzeitig auf gallischem (bezw. keltiberischem) Boden antreffen, liegt in beiden Fällen klar zu Tage.

<sup>1</sup> "Bemerkungen über die latein. Lehnwörter im Irischen." Erster Teil. 1882. (Königsberger Diss.), S. 23 u. 25.



## II.

Wir lassen nun die Eigennamen mit *Segi-* und das vermeintliche germanische *ǣ* bei Seite, um noch einen Blick auf anderweitige Ergebnisse zu werfen, wie sie Kluge aus den lateinischen Umschreibungen germanischer Eigennamen ans Licht gezogen hat.

Kluge (S. 357) findet zur Römerzeit nicht nur Belege für erhaltenes germanisches *e*, sondern auch dafür, dass vor *ng* schon *i* erscheint. Also reicht das germanische *i* für *e* wenigstens in diesem Falle in alte Zeit zurück! Ich habe keinen Grund, die Tatsache zu bestreiten, da nach meiner Meinung dieses *i* auch anderweitig schon zur Römerzeit bestand. Aber ich halte es für richtiger, auf die römische Schreibung auch hier kein Gewicht zu legen, da sie wieder auf keltischen Lautverhältnissen beruht. Im Keltischen war *e* vor *ng* schon vor dem Beginne unserer Überlieferung zu *i* geworden, so dass in den bei Caesar vorkommenden Namen das *i* bereits vorliegt. Caesar fand z. B. den Namen *Cingeto-rix* bei den Trevern (*Bell. Gall.*, v, 3 u. öfter) und Britanniern (ebd., v, 22) vor; bekannt ist ferner aus Caesar (a. a. O., VII, 4, u. s. w.) der Name *Ver-cingeto-rix* (= *Οὐερ-κινγετό-ριξ* bei Strabo, IV, 191). Daneben sind inschriftlich Namen wie *Cingius*, *Cinges* (Gen. *Cingetis*), *Cingetius*, *Ver-cingeto-maros* bezeugt, wofür man die Belege bei Glück, S. 75 f. u. in Holder's *Altkeltischem Sprachschatz* nachsehen wolle. Mit *Cinges* ist identisch ir. *cing*, A. sg. *cingidh* "vir fortis" (Zeuss, *Gr. Celt.*,<sup>2</sup> 255. 257).<sup>1</sup> Dass dem *i* älteres *e* zu Grunde liegt, ergibt sich aus den Formen des zugehörigen irischen Verbums *cingim*, "gehe, schreite einher," Perf. *cechaing* (aus \**cengō*, Perf. \**ceconga*). Vor *r* aber hält sich *e* im Altgallischen, z. B. in der Vorsilbe *Ver-* (*Vercingeto-rix*, *Vercassivellanus* u. a.), in *vergobretus* (dem

<sup>1</sup> Stokes *Urk. Sprachsch.* 77 setzt urkeltisch \**kenget-* "Marschierer, Krieger" an; aber es liegt kein Grund vor, hier und sonst vor *-ng* das *i* erst den keltischen Einzelsprachen zuzuschreiben.

Namen der obersten Beamten der Aeduer, *Bell. Gall.*, I, 16), *Verbigenus* (ebd. I, 27), *Her cynia silva* (Caes., Tac.). Wenn also Tacitus *Ingaevones* und *Herminones* neben einander als Nachkommen der Söhne des Mannus nennt, so dürfen auf den Unterschied des *i* und *e* in der ersten Silbe keine Schlüsse für den germanischen Vokalismus gebaut werden, da dieser Unterschied eine zu auffällige Parallele in den keltischen Lautverhältnissen hat.

Für indogerm. *o* steht in unbetonten Silben nach Kluge (S. 356) "noch" *o*. Die Belege, welche er beibringt (*Chariovalda*, *Inguiomērus*, *Langobardi*) zeigen den Vokal *o* sämtlich in der Kompositionsfuge, und zwar sind es sämtlich germanische *a*- und *ja*-Stämme, denen indogermanische *o*- und *jo*-Stämme entsprechen. Er hätte noch viele Namen dieser Art anführen können, z. B. *Ariovistus*, *Maroboduus*, *Teutoboduus*. Sie alle zeigen scheinbar älteren Vokal, in Wirklichkeit aber nur den Kompositionsvokal der entsprechenden Stämme im Alt-keltischen, z. B. bei Caesar: *Convicto-litavis*, *Conconneto-dumnus*, *Mageto-briga*, *Mello-dūnum*, *Medio-matrici*, *Velio-cassus*. "Doch auch *Alamanni*," fügt Kluge am Schlusse hinzu. Dieser Name stört ihn anscheinend nicht weiter, obwohl er aus ihm hätte entnehmen können, wie der Kompositionsvokal in nichtkeltisierter Schreibung lautete.

"Germanisches *u*," heisst es bei Kluge weiterhin, "zeigt sich schon früh in *Teutoburgiensis Ascii-Quadriburgium*, *Burgundiones burgus*. . ." Das *u* in diesen Worten verträgt sich recht wohl mit dem germanischen Vokalismus. Aber es verdient doch erwähnt zu werden, was Müllenhoff, *Dt. Alt. k.*, II, S. 115 bemerkt: "dem deutschen Teutoburg steht ein *Τευτοβούργιον* (Ptol. 2, 15, 4) oder *Teutiburgium* (Itin. Anton. 243, 4) bei den gallischen Scordiskern zwischen Sau und Drau gegenüber."

"Germ. *ai* erscheint meist als *ae*, z. B. in *Caesia (silva)*, *Boihaemum*, *Ingaevones Frisaeo*. . ." (Kluge, S. 357). Wir stellen daneben ein paar Zeilen aus Glück's *Kelt. Namen bei Caesar* (S. 13). "Bei den Kelten lautete übrigens der Doppel-

vokal *ai*. . . . Die Römer aber verwandelten das keltische *ai*, wie das griechische *ai*, in *ae* (z. B. *Caeroesi*, *Paemani*, *Caes.*, *Aenus*, Tac.)."

Den Glanzpunkt in Kluge's Ermittlungen aber bildet wohl der kurze Satz (S. 357): "*Idg. eu* erscheint in *Teuto* (= *pseudo*-), *Greutungi*." Es ist wohl selten ein so ungleiches Paar in ein Joch gespannt worden, um eine Lauterscheinung für eine bestimmte Zeit zu erweisen. Man erwäge, dass der Name *Teutones* bzw. *Teutoni* mindestens ein halbes Jahrtausend früher in die antike Literatur aufgenommen ist, als der Name *Greutungi*. Man erwäge ferner, dass der erstere Name schon früh—von der Endung abgesehen—eine feste Form angenommen hat, die auch in späteren Quellen nur selten variiert wird, während der Name *Greutungi* es niemals zu einer festen Schreibung gebracht hat, so dass die von Kluge acceptierte Form nur eine unter den vielen Varianten ist, in welcher der Name auftritt.

Über den Namen der Teutonen hat Müllenhoff, *Dt. Alt. k.*, II, 113–115 mit gewohnter Gründlichkeit und Gelehrsamkeit gehandelt. Der Name ist von Pytheas, also gegen Ende des 4. Jh. v. Chr., in die antike Literatur eingeführt, und zwar allem Anscheine nach in der Form *Τεύροves*. Im Lateinischen findet sich dafür überwiegend *Teutoni*, nach der 2. Deklination. Müllenhoff benutzt das Schwanken der Endung als Argument für Annahme keltischer Herkunft. "Wie *Teutoni* und *Teutones*" sagt er (S. 115), "schwanken sonst nie deutsche, wohl aber gallische Namen." Das Schwanken kommt aber, wie schon Priscian<sup>1</sup> bemerkt hat, auch bei Namen vor, die aus der griechischen Deklination in die lateinische übertragen sind. "Im Deutschen," heisst es bei Müllenhoff weiter, "müsste *Teutonus* *piudan-s* gelautet haben, dies aber bezeichnet überall . . . . den Fürsten, König oder Häuptling, kann also schwer-

<sup>1</sup> *Inst. Gr.*, VI, 5, 25 ff. (*Gr. Lat.*, ed. Keil, Bd. II, S. 688), wo u. a. *Arabus*, *Arabi* neben *Arabs*, *Arabis* = "Ἀραψ, Ἀραβος und *Aethiopus* (bei Lucilius) neben *Aethiops* = Αἰθίοψ angeführt werden. Weitere Belege bei Neue, *Formenlehre der lat. Sprache*, Bd. I, § 85 ff.

lich einen Volksnamen abgegeben haben." Wäre aber die Bezeichnung "die Herrscher" als Volksname so ganz undenkbar? Ich möchte freilich nicht zugeben, dass es nötig ist, diesen Sinn in dem Namen der Teutonen zu suchen. Wie nord. *baldr* "Herr, Fürst" = ags. *bealdor*, auf dem Adj. *balp-s* "kühn" (got. *balpaba* Adv., ahd. *bald*, engl. *bold*) beruht, so kann *piudan-s* "Herrscher" ein gleichlautendes Adj. mit der Bedeutung "kräftig, tüchtig" voraussetzen. Gehört doch der Stamm *teuto-*, wie man längst weiss, zu altind. *tav-*, *tavi-* "kräftig sein," wie es in *tavás* (adj.) "kräftig," *távisi* "Kraft," *távi-tu-at* "kräftig wirkend" u. a. vorliegt. In den europäischen Sprachen treten vielfach Ableitungen mit *t*-Suffix auf, z. T. mit eigenartiger Bedeutungsentwicklung. Für das feminine Substantivum *\*teutā* wird die Bedeutung "Volk" als proethnisch erwiesen durch die Übereinstimmung von osk. *τωφο*, *torto* (fem.) "civitas, populus," *torfix* (adj.) "publicus," umbr. *tota-*, *tuta-* "urbs," altir. *tuath* (f.) "Volk," got. *piuda* (= altn. *þjóð*, ahd. *deota* u. s. w.) "Volk," altptr. *tauto* = lit. (veraltet) *tautà*, lett. *tauta* "Volk, Land." Neben diesem Substantivum liegt ein Adjektiv *\*teúto-* in lat. *tūtus* "sicher," *tōtus* "ganz," ir. *tuath* "links, nördlich," got. *þiup* n. "das Gut;" vgl. got. *þiup-eig-s* "gut," *þiupþjan* "segnen" altn. *þýðr* "mild, freundlich." Die Bedeutungen gehen ja sehr auseinander scheinen sich aber doch alle aus dem Begriff "tüchtig, heil" zu erklären. Die Bedeutungen von *tōtus* und *tūtus* sind blosser Varianten der Begriffe "heil, ganz, unversehrt." Man wird also die beiden Worte als dialektische Zwillingenformen ansehen dürfen,<sup>1</sup> die sich nachträglich begrifflich gesondert haben (wie im Deutschen *ekel-heikel*, *Knabe-Knappe*, *Rabe-Rappe*, *Wappen-Waffe* und manche andre). Für die Herleitung der Bedeutungen "links, nördlich" des irischen Wortes aus dem Begriffe "gut,"

<sup>1</sup> Lat. *ō* und *ū* aus urspr. *eu* neben einander wie in *rōbigo* und *rūbigo* "Rost." Anders Solmsen, *Studien z. lat. Lautgesch.*, S. 90, der *totus* als "vollgestopft" erklärt und zu *tūneo* "schwellen" zieht, während er in *tūtus* das Partiz. zu *tueor* sieht. Es würde hier zu weit führen, wenn ich näher auseinandersetzen wollte, weshalb ich die obige Erklärung vorziehe.

wie er in got. *þiup* vorliegt, ist Strachan, *Indog. Forsch* 2, 370 verantwortlich, der auf Brugmann, *Rhein. Mus.* 33, 399 ff. verweist; vgl. auch Stokes, *Urkelts. Sprachsch.*, S. 131. Für die Ableitung der in got. *þiup* und nord. *þýðr* vorliegenden Bedeutungen aus dem Begriffe "tüchtig, heil" genügt es, auf dt. "heilig," engl. *holy* neben *heil*, engl. *whole* zu verweisen.

Ist unsere Deutung von got. *þiudans* "Herrscher" als der "kräftige" oder "tüchtige" richtig, so dürfte es am nächsten liegen, den Namen *Teutones* ebenfalls aus diesem Adjektiv zu deuten. Das wäre dann aber offenbar ein Name, den das betr. Volk sich selbst beigelegt hätte, mag es auch ursprünglich ein Name eines einzelnen Stammes und nicht ein Gesamtname der deutschen Stämme gewesen sein. Ich kann also Müllenhoff nicht zugeben, dass der Name sich nicht mit *þiudan-s* "Herrscher" verknüpfen lasse, sondern von Haus "nur eine altgallische Benennung der Nordseevölker" sei. Ausser dem angeführten sachlichen Grunde scheint mir gegen Müllenhoff's Ansicht zu sprechen, dass in den keltischen Sprachen ein zugehöriger *n*-Stamm selten erscheint, während in den älteren germanischen Sprachen Bildungen mit *-n* wie got. *þiudans*, *þiudanōn*, *þiudinassus*, altn. *þjóðann*, ags. *þéoden*, alts. *thiodan* beliebt waren. Wenn ich also im Gegensatz zu Müllenhoff an dem einheimischen Ursprunge des Teutonen-namens festhalten möchte,<sup>1</sup> so bin ich doch darin ganz mit ihm einverstanden, dass der Name durch keltische Aussprache hindurchgegangen ist. Aufklärung über die germanische Aussprache des 4. Jahrh. v. Chr. wird sich also aus diesem Namen schwerlich gewinnen lassen.

Eher kann die keltische Grammatik aus dem Namen Nutzen

<sup>1</sup> Müllenhoff (S. 107, Anm. u. 115) legt Gewicht darauf, dass in den baltischen Entsprechungen von got. *þiuda* "Volk" sich die Bedeutung "Ausland, Deutschland" zeige. Aber diese Bedeutung beruht wohl auf einer Anpassung des alten baltischen Wortes *tautā* "Volk" an die Namen *deutsch*, *Deutschland*. Lett. *tautisks* "extraneus" macht ganz den Eindruck einer Entlehnung aus *þiudisk* "theotiscus." Eine derartige Anpassung findet sich z. B. auch in altn. *þjóð-verskr* "deutsch" (*þjóð*- zu *þjóð*- "Volk").

ziehen. Zuerst freilich scheint er auch mit den keltischen Lautgesetzen in Widerspruch. Denn indog. *eu* ist im Keltischen, ebenso wie in den italischen Sprachen, schon früh zu *ou* geworden. Die Vertreter des idg. *eu* im "Inselkeltischen" weisen zunächst entweder auf *ō* (z. B. ir. *túath* aus \**tōtā*) oder *ū* (altkymr. *Tūt-* in Eigennamen). Als gemeinsame Vorstufe des *ō* und *ū* muss der Diphthong *ou* gelten, der auf altgallischen Inschriften (s. Zeuss, *Gr. Celt.*<sup>2</sup>, 34, Glück a. a. O., 64 f.) oft genug vorliegt. Also anscheinend ein gemeinkeltischer oder vielmehr italokeltischer Lautwandel, da ja auch in den italischen Sprachen der alte Diphthong *eu* zu *ou* (woraus später *ū* und seltener *ō*) geworden ist. Aber neben *ou* ist im Keltischen, wie schon Zeuss a. a. O., 34 f., hervorgehoben hat, auch *eu* sowohl in literarischer (z. B. *Teuto-bōdiāci*, Plin., v, 32, 42) wie inschriftlicher Überlieferung (z. B. *Marti Leucetio*, Gruter, 58, 3) in nicht wenigen Fällen sicher bezeugt. Wir werden also mit Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, S. 9 f., sagen müssen, dass die Entwicklung des *eu* zu *ou* bzw. *ō* sich nicht auf das ganze Gebiet des Gallischen erstreckte, sondern auf einzelne Dialekte beschränkt war.<sup>1</sup> Der Umstand, dass germanisches *iu* in keltischer Aussprache als *eu* vorliegt, scheint mir darauf hinzuweisen, dass die den Germanen zunächst wohnenden Stämme der Gallier den Diphthong *eu* bewahrt hatten. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass dieser Diphthong sich z. B. bei den Belgae fand, die ja nach Caesar (B. G. I, 1) in sprachlicher Hinsicht eine Sonderstellung einnahmen. Ist doch aus dem Gebiete der Belgier der Name *Leuci* (Λευκοί) für die Bewohner des oberen Mosellandes (ihre Hauptstadt war das

<sup>1</sup> Man braucht darum die Annahme eines italokeltischen *ou* nicht aufzugeben, sondern kann annehmen, dass ein Teil der gallischen Dialekte mit dem Italischen das alte *eu* in *ou* umwandelte, während ein anderer es mit dem Germanischen bewahrte (aber nicht an dem späteren germanischen Wandel des *eu* in *iu* teilnahm). Es liegen hier ähnliche sich kreuzende Dialektgruppierungen vor, wie ich sie seinerzeit ("Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der griech. Dialekte" Göttingen, 1885) innerhalb des Griechischen zu erweisen gesucht habe.

heutige Tonl) bezeugt (s. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, S. 217).

Aus der keltischen Nachbarschaft der Germanen stammt wohl auch das *eu*, welches oft im Galloromanischen zur Wiedergabe der ahd. Diphthonge *iu* und *eo* dient. Man hat in diesem *eu*, seit Jacobi (*Beitr. z. dt. Gramm.*, Berlin, 1843, S. 117) auf Schreibungen wie *Theudericus*, *Leuba*, *Leudemundus* bei Gregorius Turon. und Fredegar aufmerksam machte, natürlich eine ältere Form des germ. *iu* sehen wollen, und als solche wird daher das *eu* jetzt in den althochd. Grammatiken verzeichnet. Aber wenn im 9. Jahrh. in den Strassburger Eiden die "Teudisca lingua" im Gegensatz zu der "Romana" gesetzt wird, so kann für diese Zeit nicht davon die Rede sein, dass *iu* noch nicht existiert habe. Dass das *eu* auch schon früher nur ein Versuch ist, dem germanischen Laute mit den Mitteln spätlateinischer Schreibung nahe zu kommen, geht daraus hervor, dass es auch bei Gregorius u. Fredegar regellos mit *eo* (*Theodoricus*, *Leobovera* u. s. w.) wechselt.

Was die zweite Form anlangt, die Kluge als Beleg für die Erhaltung des idg. *eu* im Germanischen anführt, *Greutungi*, so ist ihr *eu* natürlich ganz anders zu beurteilen, als das von *Teuto*-. Denn der Name tritt erst bei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae auf, und die Schreibung mit *eu* lässt sich nur bis auf Ammianus Marcellinus zurück verfolgen, der bekanntlich ein jüngerer Zeitgenosse des Ulfilas war. Über die verschiedenen Schreibungen des Namens bemerkt Zeuss, *D. Dt. u. d. Nachb.* S. 407: "Die *Greutungi*, zuerst bei Pollio Claud. 6 verschrieben *Trutungi*, bei Vopiscus Prob. 18 im Cod. Pol. *Grauthungi*, in den Ausgaben verdorben *Gautunni*, heissen bei Ammian noch am richtigsten *Greuthungi*, bei Claudian mit falscher Correption der ersten Silbe *Grutungi* (nach den meisten Hss., in einigen verdorbenen *Grutunni*, *Grotunni*, *Grothunni*, woraus Philologen Gothunni ausgebeutet und als Got-hunni erklärt haben). Zosimus schreibt entstellt *Πρόθιγγοι*, Idatius *Greothingi*, *Γρούθιγγοι* ein Fragment bei Suid. ed. Kuster. 3, 329: καὶ σκηψαμένων τινῶν προδοσίαν ὁμογλώσσων τοῖς Σκύθαις, τοῖς καλουμένοις

Γρουθίγγους." Hinzuzufügen wäre, dass die Schreibung *Greotingi* jetzt auch bei Jordanes zum Vorschein gekommen ist. Denn es hat sich herausgestellt, dass die Worte (c. III, § 22): *dehinc Mixi, Evagre, Otingis* zu lesen sind: *dehinc mixti Eva Greotingis*, wobei nur noch das dem Namen *Greotingis* vorge-setzte *Eva* unklar bleibt; siehe Müllenhoff in Mommsen's Ausgabe des Jordanes (Berlin, 1882), S. 163 s. v. *Otingis*. Für die germanischen Lautverhältnisse zur Römerzeit lässt sich aus dem Namen etwa so viel gewinnen, wie aus den Schreibungen *Theudericus, Theodericus* bei Gregor und Fredegar.

Auch über die altgermanische Flexion hat Kluge aus den römischen Autoren Aufklärung gewonnen. "Konsonantische Stämme wie *rik-* erscheinen in der älteren Zeit auf *rix-* (*Boiorix, Malorix* u. a.), wofür erst später *-ricus* (*Theudericus*) eintritt." Bekanntlich zeigt ja got. *reiks* noch bei Ulfilas Spuren der urspr. konsonant. Deklination, und wir bekommen den Eindruck, dass die römischen Autoren recht enge Beziehungen zur deutschen Grammatik haben. Leider treten auch hier, wie Müllenhoff erkannt hat, die keltischen Sprachen störend in den Weg. Müllenhoff, *Dt. Alt. k.*, II, 120: "Ebenso ist in *Boiorix* und *Caesorix* das deutsche *rik* nur wie constant im ersten Jahrhundert nach Chr. in *Δευδόριξ, Βαιτόριγος υἱός* bei Strabo, p. 292, in *Cruptorix* und *Malorix* bei Tac. durch gallisches *rig* (*rix*) ersetzt und wohl erst seit dem vierten wird es im Lateinischen getreuer durch *ricus* wiedergegeben." Es fehlte nur noch, dass Kluge aus dem gallischen *g* in *rig-* geschlossen hätte, dass den Germanen zur Römerzeit noch die Lautverschiebung fehlte: so weit ist er nicht gegangen. Nur wo die keltischen Laute zu seiner Theorie des Urgermanischen stimmen, benutzt er sie unbedenklich als Belege für das Germanische.

Zum Schlusse, um von Kluge's Ermittlungen Abschied zu nehmen, eine kurze Bemerkung. Ich bin keineswegs der Meinung, dass die von Römern und Griechen überlieferten germanischen Namen für die germanische Grammatik nicht in Betracht kämen. Aber man muss bei ihrer Benutzung immer im Auge behalten, dass bei Griechen und Römern keine pho-



netisch genaue Wiedergabe, sondern eher eine Anpassung an die römischen und griechischen Laut- und Flexionsverhältnisse zu erwarten ist. Dazu kommt, dass die germanischen Namen den klassischen Autoren gerade in älterer Zeit in der Regel durch die Kelten übermittelt sind und vielfach die Spuren dieser Übermittlung an sich tragen. Es liegt also überall da, wo die älteren Namen mit dem Keltischen statt mit den ältesten germanischen Sprachen zusammengehen, die Möglichkeit vor, dass die germanischen Laute und Formen durch keltische ersetzt sind, und es dürfen derartige Fälle nicht ohne weiteres als Zeugnisse für die prähistorische Grammatik der germanischen Sprachen verwertet werden. Ferner ist für die späteren lateinischen und griechischen Autoren in Betracht zu ziehen, dass zur Zeit der Herrschaft der Goten in Italien und wohl schon früher auch in germanischen Namen dieselben Tendenzen hervortreten, welche wir an lateinischem Sprachgut im Vulgärlatein und in den romanischen Sprachen beobachten. Es darf also auch hier die Lautgebung der Namen nicht als urgermanisch oder auch nur als gotisch in Anspruch genommen werden. Nur bei Anwendung dieser Vorsichtsmassregeln gehen wir einigermaßen sicher, und es ist für Kluge's Darstellung verhängnisvoll geworden, dass er sie nicht angewandt hat.

### III.

Die obigen Erörterungen sind zunächst durch einen Aufsatz Professor D. B. Shumway's "Indo-European *i* and *e* in Germanic" in *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, No. 3 (Chicago, 1906), veranlasst. Prof. Shumway hat geglaubt, den Ansichten, welche ich in einem bei Gelegenheit des internationalen Kongresses zu St. Louis im September 1904 gehaltenen Vortrage<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Auszugsweise (in deutscher Sprache) mitgeteilt in den *Modern Language Notes*, vol. XX, 1905, p. 65 ff. ("Das Analogiegesetz der westgermanischen Ablautsreihen") u. p. 129 ff. ("Zum vokalischen Auslautsgesetze der germanischen Sprachen"). Vollständig jetzt (in englischer Übersetzung) im *Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904*, vol. III, Boston and New York, 1906, pp. 286-302.

über die Vertretung des idg. *e* und *i* im Germanischen vorgebracht hatte, entgegengetreten zu müssen. Was er mir entgegenhält, sind Auffassungen grammatischer Formen, die auf dem Boden der jetzt üblichen, meiner Ansicht nach irrthümlichen Auffassung des sogenannten germanischen *e* erwachsen sind. Es sind Einzelheiten und Kleinigkeiten, die sich von selbst berichtigen, wenn man in der Hauptsache das Richtige gesehen hat. Auch Prof. Shumway hätte sich über sie ein richtigeres Urteil bilden können, wenn er sich noch einige Monate oder besser einige Jahre Zeit gegönnt hätte, um sich diese Dinge zu überlegen und sich von dem frei zu machen, was Kluge (in Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*) und andere Autoritäten darüber lehren. Übrigens ist es ja gewiss wünschenswert, zu untersuchen, ob meine Theorie die Probe im einzelnen besteht, und daher bin ich bereit, Prof. Shumway's Einwände näher zu prüfen.

Wie nicht anders zu erwarten war, geht Prof. Shumway aus von den bei den Römern erhaltenen germanischen Eigennamen. Das *e* in *Segimerus*, *Segimundus* u. s. w. wie das *i* in *Ingvæones*, *Inguiomærus* gewähren ihm einen Anhalt, um das gegenseitige Verhältnis der Vokale *e* und *i* in der ältesten Zeit festzustellen. Man sieht, er hat Kluge's vermeintliche Ergebnisse gläubig aufgenommen. Kluge's Satz: "Neben diese Zeugnisse stellt erst Amm. Marc. *Sigismundus* und Vellej. Patere. *Sigimerus*" hat bei ihm die Frucht gezeitigt, dass er unter Anführung des Ammianus (Vellejus bleibt unerwähnt) den Übergang des *e* zu *i* in das 4. Jahrh. unsrer Zeitrechnung setzt. Und doch hätte er z. B. aus den Bemerkungen A. Kock's *P. B. Beitr.*, 27, 185, und Bremer's *Zs. f. dt. Phil.*, 22, 251<sup>1</sup>—die beide auf die Schreibung bei Vellejus Gewicht legen—ent-

<sup>1</sup> Ich benutze diese Gelegenheit, um auf die reichhaltige Sammlung altgermanischer Namen mit den Vokalen *e* und *i* bei griechischen und lateinischen Autoren hinzuweisen, die Bremer a. a. O. (in seiner Rezension von v. Borries' Dissertation, "Das erste Stadium des *i*-Umlauts im Germanischen") vorgelegt hat. Freilich leiden auch Bremer's Ausführungen an dem Fehler, dass er diese Namen, so wie sie vorliegen, als echt germanisches Sprachgut verwertet.

nehmen können, dass Kluge's Ansicht nicht von allen Germanisten geteilt wird.

Noch eine andre und zwar eine noch trübere Quelle benutzt er neben jenen Eigennamen: die finnischen Lehnwörter aus den nordischen Sprachen. Aus ihnen entnimmt er das Wort *rengas* "Ring," um für altnord. *hringr* ein älteres *e* zu beweisen. Auch hierin war ihm Kluge vorangegangen (a. a. O., S. 416). Kluge freilich hatte anscheinend nicht bemerkt, dass durch die Einfügung von *rengas* das Lehnwörter-Mosaik seiner germanischen Ursprache etwas in Unordnung gerät, da urgerm. *rengas* die aus *Ingaevones* u. s. w. erschlossene Regel aufheben würde. Prof. Shumway sucht dadurch zu helfen, dass er *e* vor *ng* im Norden später zu *i* werden lässt als im Süden. Die finnischen Lehnwörter gelten ihm offenbar noch als gangbare Münze, obgleich sie längst durch J. G. Qvigstad's Schrift "Nordische Lehnwörter im Lappischen"<sup>1</sup> ausser Kurs gesetzt sind. So leichten Kaufes lässt sich doch die Ansicht, dass ahd. *hring* und altn. *hringr* ein und dasselbe *i* enthalten, wohl nicht widerlegen.

Freilich hat Prof. Shumway noch zwei weitere Formen, die beweisen sollen, dass *e* im Norden erst spät zu *i* geworden ist. Es sind dies 1) run. *erilar* (= nord. *jarl*), im Irischen als Lehnwort in der Form *erell*; 2) der Gen. pl. *Venþa* "der Wenden," einmal handschriftlich belegt,<sup>2</sup> während der Name sonst im Nordischen *Vinþr* (Nom. pl.) lautet. Prof. Shumway's Autorität ist in diesem Falle Axel Kock, der diese Formen in seinem Aufsätze "Der *i*-Umlaut von *e* in den altnord. Sprachen" (P. B. *Beitr.*, 27, 166 ff.) verwertet hat. Es scheint mir nicht zu Gunsten der Theorie Kock's zu sprechen, dass er genötigt ist, das *i* in Wörtern wie altn. *himinn* "Himmel," *tigir* (pl.) "Zehner" und *vinr* "Freund" als jüngeren nordischen Umlaut zu erklären und somit vollständig

<sup>1</sup> *Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlingar*, 1893, No. 1. Vgl. die Besprechung von Streitberg, *Indog. Forsch.*, *Anz.* 6, 92 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In einem Gedichte des Skalden Arnórr Jarlaskald.

von dem *i* in got. *himins* = ahd. *himil*, got. *tiggus* und ahd. *wini* zu trennen. Aber ich will Kock's gelehrte Abhandlung hier nicht eingehend kritisieren, sondern mich auf die beiden von Prof. Shumway benutzten Formen beschränken.

Kock's Auffassung der Form *Venpr* gründet sich auf die Voraussetzung, dass aus Formen wie *Veneti* (Tac.), *Venedi* (Plin.) der alte Vokalismus des Wortes zu entnehmen sei. Aber auch hier haben wir es wieder mit keltischem *e* zu tun. Caesar erwähnt mehrfach (*Bell. Gall.*, II, 34; VII, 75) den gallischen Volksstamm der *Veneti*, der am Ozean zwischen der Sequana und dem Liger ansässig war, und dessen Name sich in dem heutigen *Vannes* erhalten hat; siehe Zeuss, *Die Deutschen u. d. Nachbarst.*, 204. Zeuss (a. a. O., 67) hat auch mit Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass die keltische Namensform bei der Beurteilung der bei Tacitus vorliegenden Schreibung mit heranzuziehen ist. Die keltisch-lateinische Namensform wirkt auch noch bei Jordanes nach, dessen *Venethae*<sup>1</sup> eine Mischung aus lateinischem *Veneti* und gotischem *Winipos* ist. Mit hochdeutscher Lautgebung erscheint der Name in lateinischer Sprache zuerst (um 650) in Fredegar's Chronik (c. 48: *in Slavos cognomento Winidos*; c. 67: *Sclavi cognomento Winidi*). Vom 8. Jahrh. ab ist dann *Winithi*, *Winidi* (seltener *Winethi*, *Winetes* u. ä.) in Chroniken und Urkunden vielfach bezeugt. Belege bei Schafarik, *Slawische Altertümer*, I (Leipz., 1843), S. 69 ff. u. 85. Im Mittelniederdeutschen wird *Winit*, Gen. *Winides* regelrecht (mit sogen. Tondehnung in der ersten Silbe) zu *Wenet*, *Wenedes*, später *Went*, *Wendes*. Letztere Form liegt auch vor in mndd. *Wendinne* u. *Wendesche* "Wendin," sowie dem Adj. *Wendisch*. Neuhochdeutsch *Wenden*, *Wendisch* ist niederdeutschen Ursprungs. Wenn also im Nordischen mehrere

<sup>1</sup> Kock gibt an, bei Jordanes heisse das Volk *Winidae*. So lautet der Name allerdings in den älteren Ausgaben. Aber *uinidarum* (*uinadarum*) findet sich cap. 5, § 34 nur in zwei Hss. des 10. u. 11. Jahrh., während die Hss. des 8.-9. Jahrh. *uenetharum* bieten. Cap. 23, § 119 weisen alle Handschriften auf *Venethi* und *Venethos*. Mommsen hat mit Recht überall die Lesung mit *e* in den beiden ersten Silben hergestellt.

Jahrhunderte nach Fredegar einmal die Form *Venpa* vorkommt, so liegt es näher, in dem *e* das Ergebnis eines jüngeren vielleicht nur dialektischen Lautwandels,<sup>1</sup> als eine Altertümlichkeit zu suchen. Ist doch dem Nordischen der Übergang eines alten *i* vor Nasal zu *e* auch sonst nicht fremd: *vet(t)r* "Winter" aus *\*vintr*, *mél* "die Gebisskette des Zaumes," aus *\*minþl* = ags. *mídl*, ahd. *míndil*, u. a.

Bei der Runenform *erilar* handelt es sich um den Mittelvokal, den die regelrechte altnord. Form nicht kennt. Kock (a. a. O., 171) zieht das irische Lehnwort *erell* heran, um gemeinnordisches *\*erilar*, *\*erill* zu erweisen. Aber irische Lehnwörter sind in der Regel unsichere Stützen für die Rekonstruktion ursprünglicher Formen, wie folgende Beispiele zeigen mögen: *acarb* acerbus, *ecolsa* Gen. *ecelse* ecclesia, *etalde* Italicus, *immon*, *immun* hymnus, *metarde* metricus, *metur* metrum, *Petar* Petrus, *propiri* proprius, *recles* reclusum, *rithim* rhythmus, *sacarbaie* sacrificium, *sign* signum. Der Ton liegt in diesen Lehnworten auf der ersten Silbe; der Vokal der zweiten Silbe ist fast ganz willkürlich behandelt. Ir. *erell* also erweist nord. *\*erill* so wenig, wie etwa *sign* lat. *\*siginum*. So wenig wie im späteren Nordischen findet sich das runische *i* in ags. *eorl*, alts. (Hel.) *erl*, ahd. (nur in Personennamen, Graff, I, 473, Förstemann, Sp. 466 ff.) *Erl*- wieder. Das *i* der Runeninschriften also wird als Eigenheit runischer Schreibung oder Eigenheit der Aussprache eines alten Dialektes gelten müssen. Es liegt kein Grund vor, es dem Urgermanischen zuzuweisen, so wenig wie z. B. in ahd. *heidinisc* "gentilis" oder ahd. *zahari* (N. pl.), *zahirin* (D. pl.) "lacrima" gegenüber nhd. *heidnisch*, *Zähre* und got. *haiþno* "Heidin," *tagr* = gr. *δάκρυ*. Mit Sicherheit lässt sich die urgermanische Form des Wortes schwerlich feststellen, da es im Gotischen fehlt und die Etymologie unklar ist. Vielleicht ist das kein allzu grosses Unglück. Denn es ist nicht nötig, mit unklaren Etymologien zu arbeiten, wo genug

<sup>1</sup> Wie mndd. *lennewant*, *lentwant* neben *lin(ne)want* mit *e* aus langem *i*. Vgl. altn. *lærept* "Leinwand" neben *lín* "Leinen."

klares Material vorliegt. Formen, die aus dem Raritätenkasten des nordischen Sprachschatzes hervorgeholt sind, und *ἄπαξ εἰρημένα* sollten, so interessant sie auch sein mögen, doch unser Urteil in Fragen der germanischen Grammatik nicht in erster Linie bestimmen.

Prof. Shumway wendet sich weiter (S. 388) zu dem Diphthong *eu*, und ich will ihm auch hier folgen, zumal er offenbar der Meinung ist, ein besonders gewichtiges Argument gegen meine Theorie vorgebracht zu haben.<sup>1</sup> Er beruft sich zunächst auf den Namen *Teutomērus* und das finnische Lehnwort *keula* = altn. *kjoll*, die für urgerm. *eu* ebenso viel beweisen wie *Segimerus* und finn. *renga* für urgerm. *e*. Es folgen die beiden runischen Formen *leub* und *leubwini*.<sup>2</sup> Auch sie beweisen nichts für das Urgermanische, sondern können nur als Zeugen für die merowingisch-fränkische Epoche gelten. Wenn wir sie, wie es gewöhnlich geschieht, dem 6. Jahrh. zuweisen, so ist dieser Ansatz wohl eher zu hoch als zu niedrig gegriffen. Ihr *eu* erinnert auffallend an das mit *eo* regellos wechselnde *eu*, wie wir es gleichzeitig und noch später in literarischen Quellen vorzugsweise bei westfränkischen und westgotischen Namen finden. In Förstemann's *Altd. Personennamen*,<sup>2</sup> Sp. 1019 ff.,

<sup>1</sup>Er sagt (S. 388): "How could Professor Collitz account, according to his theory, for the existence of *e* at so late a date? . . . It can only be explained as a retention of original *e*, which is, however, directly opposite to Professor Collitz's theory."

<sup>2</sup>Prof. Shumway schreibt "*leubar* ("dear"), *leub-wini* etc.," versieht also die erste Form mit einer speziell nordischen Endung. Das ist wohl nur ein Versehen, denn er meint offenbar dieselben Formen, die auch Kluge (a. a. O., S. 412) als Belege für urgermanisches *eu* anführt. Kluge aber gibt richtig an, die Formen seien auf "kontinental deutschen Runen" erhalten. *leub* steht auf einer Silberspange, die bei Engers (Kreis Neuwied) in der Rheinprovinz gefunden ist, *leub-wini* ebenfalls auf einer Silberspange, die aus einem Grabe bei Nordendorf in der Nähe von Augsburg stammt. Vgl. Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*,<sup>2</sup> S. 58; Henning, *Die deutschen Runeninschriften*, S. 103 ff. Ein entsprechendes Adjektiv findet sich allerdings auf der alten bei Opedal in Norwegen gefundenen Runeninschrift (Bugge, *Arkiv för Nord. Filologi*, VIII, 1 ff.; Noreen, *Altnord. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> S. 261, nr. 26; Stephens, *Runic Mon.*, Vol. IV, Lond., 1901, p. 19), aber mit *iū* geschrieben: *liubu*.

sind reichlich zwei Dutzend solcher Namen verzeichnet, die Prof. Shumway mir mit demselben Rechte hätte entgegenhalten können, wie das runische *leubwini*. Von dem *eu* dieser westfränkischen Namen ist schon oben die Rede gewesen. Mag man einen Zusammenhang zwischen der Runenschrift und der Schreibung deutscher Namen in gleichzeitigen lateinisch-romanischen Quellen zulassen oder ein zufälliges Zusammenreffen beider annehmen: es liegt kein Grund vor, in dem runischen *eu* etwas anderes als die Bezeichnung der "Brechung" des Diphthongs *iu* zu sehen. In Namen wie *Liub-wini* lautete das erste Kompositionsglied in ältester Zeit *Liuba-*, wie in dem got. Adjektiv *liuba-leiks*. Man braucht freilich nicht anzunehmen, dass die "Brechung" schon zu der Zeit erfolgt sei, als das *a* der Mittelsilbe noch vorhanden war. Wohl aber ist klar, dass die mit *Liub(a)-* (= nhd. *Lieb-*) beginnenden Namen unter dem Einflusse des Adjektivs *liuba-*, mit Brechung *leoba-*, *lioba-* (nhd. *lieb*) standen. In dem *leub* der Spange von Engers sehe ich nicht das Adjektiv "lieb," sondern unvollständige oder abgekürzte Schreibung eines mit *Leub-* beginnenden Eigennamens, vielleicht der Kurzform *Leubo* oder *Leuba*, für welche Förstemann a. a. O. mehrere Belege gibt.

"Brechung" sehe ich endlich auch in ags. *treulesnis* 'perfidia' der Epinaler Glossen (= *treuleasnis* des Corpusglossars), sowie in alts. *treu-haft* "treu," *treu-logo* "Treubrecher" und *treu-lôs* 'treulos.' Es sind dies Zusammensetzungen mit dem Substantiv "Treue," das im Alts. *treuua* geschrieben wird;<sup>1</sup> und sie reflektieren den Vokalismus dieses Substantivs, ebenso wie die entsprechenden Worte im Neuhochnhd. oder wie ags. *treov-fäst* 'treu' *treov-loga* 'Treubrecher' neben *treov* 'Treue.'

"Similarly," fährt Prof. Shumway fort, "how shall we explain the occurrence of *e* before *u* of the following syllable in many words? In OE. and ON. we have in all such cases a breaking, which however goes back to an *e*. (E. g., OE.

<sup>1</sup>In den Wörterbüchern oft als *trewa* verzeichnet, aber nach Ausweis des Metrums *treuua* zu lesen. Vgl. Kauffmann in *P. B. Beitr.* 12, 290 Anm.

*feolu, teoru, felu, heoru*, etc.; ON. *fiol, hiörr, miolk*, etc.) In OS. the cases with *e* far outnumber those with *i*. (Cf. Holt-hausen, *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch*, § 82.) Only in OHG. does *i* appear to any great extent before *u*, and even here the cases are very evenly divided. (Cf. Braune, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, § 30 c.) What possible explanation could Professor Collitz offer here? He could not assume," etc. Prof. Shumway stellt dann die Ansicht auf, nur im Ahd. und Altsächs. habe die Neigung bestanden, *e* in *i* zu wandeln, aber auch in diesen beiden Dialekten sei sie nicht ganz zum Durchbruch gekommen, während sie im Angelsächsischen und Altnordischen überhaupt nie bestanden habe. Meiner Ansicht nach hat Prof. Shumway das Problem am verkehrten Ende angefasst. Er hat sich zunächst den Blick durch das Nordische und Angelsächsische trüben lassen und ist geneigt, darnach auch im Althochd. und Altsächs. schwankende Lautverhältnisse zu finden. Das Richtige aber wäre gewesen, zunächst zu versuchen, das Althochdeutsche ganz aufs reine zu bringen und das dort leicht zu gewinnende Ergebnis zur Aufhellung der weit schwierigeren Lautverhältnisse in den übrigen altgerm. Dialekten zu verwenden.

Für das Althochdeutsche hat schon vor bald 20 Jahren R. Kögel in seiner Besprechung der 1. Aufl. von Braune's *Ahd. Gramm.* (*Literaturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Philol.*, 1887, Sp. 108), den "Übergang des *e* in *i*" [ich würde sagen: die Erhaltung des gemeingerm. *i*] vor folgendem *u* als "lautgesetzlich" in Anspruch genommen, indem er hinzufügt, mit den Ausnahmen sei unschwer fertig zu werden. Auch Braune lässt in der 2. Aufl. seiner Ahd. Grammatik nur noch wenige Ausnahmen zu, und mehrere davon sprechen eher für als gegen die Lautgesetzlichkeit des *i*. Lehrreich ist vor allem das Schwanken zwischen *fihu* und *fehu*. Otfried, dessen im J. 868 vollendetes Gedicht uns in sorgfältiger Orthographie vorliegt, hat im N. A. sg. regelmässig *i* (*fihu*, I, 11, 57; IV, 5, 3. 5. 7.), im G. sg. ebenso regelmässig *e* (*fehes*, I, 12, 2. 13, 14; V, 20, 32. 24, 6). Die alte Endung der *u*-Stämme ist bei Otfried im Gen.



schon durch die Endung der *a*- Stämme ersetzt; aber das *e* der ersten Silbe stammt offenbar noch aus der alten Genitiv-form \**feho* [s] = got. *faihaus*. Später hat Notker († 1022) im N. sg. *feho*, G. sg. *fehes*. Das *e* ist also hier aus dem Genitiv und Dativ durch Analogie in den Nom. und Acc. getreten, und die Priorität des *i* vor dem *e* liegt im Ahd. klar zu Tage. Der Wechsel von *fihi* und *fehes*, mit regelrechtem *i* im Nom. und regelrechtem *e* im Gen. lehrt ferner, dass die Regelung dieser Lautverhältnisse vor Otfried's Zeit, wahrscheinlich viel früher stattgefunden hat.

Das lehren auch die Ausnahmen *nemunga*, *werfunga*, *gerunga*, die nach Braune's Erklärung (a. a. O., § 30 c.) "wohl durch die Stammverba" beeinflusst sind. Wie wenig auf das *e* dieser Abstrakta zu geben ist, lehrt das zugehörige *lernunga* neben *lirnunga*. Hier geht der Wechsel im Stammvokale des Abstraktums Hand in Hand mit dem Wechsel von *lernen* und *lirnen*; und es steht weiter fest, dass *i* der ältere Vokal ist; denn das *i* in ahd. *lirnen* ist idg. *i* (*lirnen* zu *lëren*, *list* = got. *laisjan*, *lists*).

Von einzelnen Worten sollen nach Braune z. B. *ernust* Ernst, *ebur* Eber, *metu* Met ein vor *u* gebliebenes *e* enthalten. Aber sind wir sicher, dass *ernust* und *ebur* von jeher *u* in der zweiten Silbe hatten? So nahe es zu liegen scheint, für *ernust* lat. *angustiae*, *Augustus* zum Vergleiche heranzuziehen, so müssen doch die lateinischen Wörter bei Seite bleiben, da sie auf \**angos-ti-ā*, \**Augos-to-s* zurückgehen. Vielmehr gleicht *ernust* im Suffixe den femininen Abstrakten auf *-nussi*, wie sie neben solchen auf *-nassi*, *-nissi* begegnen (z. B. *kahaltnussi*, *kahalt-nassi* = *gihalt-nissi* "Heil") und weiterhin den gotischen masc. Abstrakten auf *-in-assu*, bezw. *-assu-* (wie *piud-in-assu-s* "Reich," *ufar-assu-s* "Überfluss"). Da das Wort im Gotischen kein unmittelbar entsprechendes Gegenstück hat und auch die verwandten idg. Sprachen zu seiner Aufklärung anscheinend nichts beitragen, so lässt sich Näheres leider nicht feststellen.

Auch bei *ebur* "Eber" liegt leider das entsprechende

gotische Wort nicht vor, und ich glaube nicht, dass Wrede, *Die Sprache der Ostgoten* (Strassburg, 1891), S. 94 es richtig erschlossen hat, wenn er auf Grund des ostgotischen Namens *Ebremuth* got. \**ibrus* oder \**ibarus* oder \**iburus* vermutet. Man übersehe nicht, dass neben *ebur* im Ahd. die Schreibungen *ebar*, *eber*, *heber*, *ebir* vorkommen (Graff, I, 99). Der Vokal der zweiten Silbe also schillert in verschiedenen Farben, ähnlich wie bei dem Worte für "Kaiser" (Graff, 4, 526): *keisur* (Tat.) *keisor* (Otrf.) *keisar* ("De Heinr.") *keiser* (Otrf. cod. F.) *keisir-in* (Dat. pl., Notk.). Weshalb setzt Graff letzteres Wort als *keisar*, ersteres als *ebur* an? Er hat sich offenbar von lat. *caesar* und anderseits von *Eburones*, ags. *eofor* und altn. *jǫfurr* ("Eber" und "Fürst") leiten lassen. Aber die Ableitung des Namens der Eburonen von dem Worte "Eber" steht durchaus nicht sicher, und ags. *eofor* kann für die Endung im Ahd. so wenig beweisen, wie etwa ags. *sweostor* "Schwester," *dohtor* "Tochter," *fēfor* "Fieber" für die entsprechenden ahd. Worte. Nicht mehr Gewicht aber ist für das Althochd. auf altn. *jǫfurr* zu legen, man müsste denn gewillt sein, nach altn. *djǫfull* "Teufel," *digull* "Tigel" auch die Endsilbe von ahd. *tiufal*, *tegal* mit *u* anzusetzen. Übrigens gilt *jǫfurr* im Nordischen, ebenso wie *djǫfull* und *digull* als masc. *a*-Stamm, entsprechend der Flexion von lat. *aper*, das für \**eprō-s* steht<sup>1</sup> und mit *ebar*, *jǫfurr* identisch ist. Die urgermanische Stammform dürfte also von Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb.*, III<sup>3</sup>, 37, richtig als

<sup>1</sup> Das *a* der ersten Silbe von *aper* braucht nicht auf der Analogie von *caper* zu beruhen und ist gewiss nicht als Ablaut zu erklären; schon deshalb nicht, weil die Nomina der idg. *o*-Flexion keinen Ablaut des Stammvokals zulassen. Die Fragestellung, ob Ablaut oder Analogie, wie sie sich z. B. bei Uhlenbeck, P. B. Beitr. 24, 243 und in Walde's *Etymolog. Wörterb. der lat. Sprache* findet, ist unrichtig. Ich glaube, in den *Transactions of the Amer. Philological Association*, vol. XXVIII, (1897), p. 109, gezeigt zu haben, dass \**apros* nach einem lateinischen Lautgesetze aus \**eprōs* umgestaltet ist. Der Wandel geht zurück in die Zeit, als das Lateinische noch den indog. Akzent besass. Für diese Zeit galt die Regel, dass *e* in offenen Silben in *a* übergang, wenn die folgende Silbe den Hochtton hatte. Daher z. B. *quatuor* mit *a* aus der schwachen Stammform \**qetūr* = got. *fidur*-, Ssk. *catūr-ras*; *satus* aus \**se-tō-s* = *ē-tō-s*; *fa-* in *fa-c-io* aus *θe-* in *θe-tō-s*.

\**ebra* rekonstruiert sein (abgesehen von dem Vokal der ersten Silbe, den ich für das Urgermanische als *i* und erst für die westgermanisch-nordische Epoche als *e* ansetzen würde).

Die letzte vermeintliche Ausnahme, *metu* "Met" braucht nicht als Ausnahme zu gelten. Das Wort ist für das Ahd. nur in Glossen überliefert und zwar in den Formen (die Verweise beziehen sich auf die Ausgabe der Ahd. Glossen von Steinmeyer u. Sievers):

*mido* 3, 155, 63.

| *medo* 2, 105, 1; 371, 47; 375,  
57.

*mito* 2, 623, 34.

| *meto* 2, 364, 29; 3, 155, 62.  
*met* 3, 155, 63.

Es liegt hier also nicht nur *e*, sondern auch *i* vor, und das Schwanken der Überlieferung erklärt sich wie bei *fihu* daraus, dass in der früheren Flexion des Wortes *i* im Nom. und Acc., *e* dagegen im Gen. und Dat. seine Stelle hatte.

Für das Altsächsische beruft sich Prof. Shumway auf Holthausen. Er hat aber anscheinend die Anmerkung (§ 82, A 1) übersehen, in welcher Holthausen dem Schlusse, welchen Prof. Shumway aus den Ausnahmen ziehen will, ausdrücklich entgegentritt. "In den *u*-Stämmen," heisst es bei Holthausen, "stand *e* ursprünglich nur vor *a*, *o* (= got. *au*) der Endung, *i* dagegen stets vor *i* und *u*; Reste dieses Wechsels finden sich in *fihu*, 1 C, und *wird-skepi* Bewirtung." Holthausen hat auch schon darauf hingewiesen, dass sich dieser Wechsel nicht nur bei "altem *e*," sondern auch bei "altem *i*" findet.<sup>1</sup> Den Schluss, dass "altes *e*" schon im Urgermanischen mit "altem *i*" zusammengefallen war, hat allerdings Holthausen noch nicht gezogen. Aber seine Erklärung der *u*-Stämme verträgt sich mit dieser Auffassung aufs beste. Die im Altsächsischen bei den *u*-Stämmen stark ausgeprägte Neigung, das *-e* der

<sup>1</sup> § 84, Anm. 1: "Neben *skild* 'Schild' haben die Oxf. Gl. *skeld* (alter *u*-Stamm), der Ps. Co. *frethu* 'Friede' neben *frithu*, wozu § 82, Anm. 1, zu vergleichen ist."

obliquen Kasus in den Nominativ zu ziehen (also z. B. *filu* im Nominativ durch *felo* zu ersetzen), tritt dann im Angelsächsischen und Altnordischen noch stärker hervor.<sup>1</sup> Ich brauche hierbei nicht länger zu verweilen. Dass man auf Fälle wie ags. *fela* (*feala*) = altn. *fjöl* noch weiter die Theorie stützen werde, das idg. *e* habe sich bei den Angelsachsen und Nordmännern besonders lange gehalten, ist wohl kaum zu befürchten.

Zeigt Prof. Shumway schon bei seinem Bemühen, einige Nachzügler des alten *e* in den germanischen Sprachen zu entdecken, einen gewissen Mangel an Perspektive, so gilt das noch mehr von seinem Versuche, meiner Theorie von allgemeineren Erwägungen aus entgegenzutreten. Gerade hier wäre es nötig gewesen, die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten sorgfältig gegen einander abzuwägen, scharf die entscheidenden Punkte ins Auge zu fassen, und bei der Entscheidung sich mehr von den sprachlichen Erscheinungen selbst, als von den herrschenden Ansichten leiten zu lassen. Derartigen Anforderungen aber ist Prof. Shumway's Argumentation nicht gewachsen.

Von grundlegender Wichtigkeit ist der Parallelismus, welcher im Westgermanischen (z. B. dem Althochdeutschen) zwischen den Vokalen *i u iu* einerseits und *e o eo* andererseits gegenüber gotischem *i u iu* herrscht. Man vergleiche z. B. die folgenden Paradigmen :

<sup>1</sup> Es mag angemerkt werden, dass die hierher gehörigen altnordischen Substantiva der *u*-Dekl. mit wechselndem Stammvokal das alte *i* im Dat. sg. und N. pl. bewahren, also D. sg. *firði*, *skildi*, N. pl. *firðir*, *skildir*, neben G. sg. *fjarðar*, *skjaldar*, N. sg. *fjörðr*, *skjöldr*. So richtig Wimmer, *Altnord. Gramm.*, (übs. v. Sievers), § 52. Wenn die neueren Grammatiker dem europäischen *e* zu Liebe das der Brechung *ja* zu Grunde liegende *e* des Gen. sg. für alt erklären und in dem *i* einen jüngeren (speziell nordischen) *i*-Umlaut sehen, so zerstören sie den Zusammenhang zwischen *skildi*, *skildir* und got. *skildus*, ahd. *skilt*, alts. *scild*, und setzen sich in Widerspruch mit dem, was wir aus dem Althochd. und Altsächsischen über das zeitliche Verhältnis von *fihu* : *feho* lernen.

I		II	
got.	ahd.	got.	ahd.
praes. sg. <i>ita</i>	<i>izzu</i>	<i>biuda</i>	<i>biutu</i>
<i>itis</i>	<i>izzis</i>	<i>biudis</i>	<i>biutis</i>
<i>itiþ</i>	<i>izzit</i>	<i>biudiþ</i>	<i>biutit</i>
pl. <i>itam</i>	<i>ezzames</i>	<i>biudam</i>	<i>beotames</i>
<i>itiþ</i>	<i>ezzet (ezzat)</i>	<i>biudiþ</i>	<i>beotet (beotat)</i>
<i>itand</i>	<i>ezzan</i>	<i>biudand</i>	<i>beotant</i>
inf. <i>itan</i>	<i>ezzan</i>	<i>biudan</i>	<i>beotan</i>

III		IV	
got.	ahd.	got.	ahd.
perf. pl. <i>witum</i>	<i>wizzum</i>	<i>budum</i>	<i>butum</i>
<i>wituþ</i>	<i>wizzut</i>	<i>buduþ</i>	<i>butut</i>
<i>witun</i>	<i>wizzun</i>	<i>budun</i>	<i>butun</i>
3. conj. sg. <i>witi</i>	<i>wizzi</i>	<i>budi</i>	<i>buti</i>
prt. <i>wissa</i>	<i>wessa</i>	ptc. <i>budans</i>	<i>gi-botan.</i>

Man sieht, das althochdeutsche Paradigma lässt sich ohne weiteres (mit Berücksichtigung kleiner Unterschiede in den Endungen, besonders in der 1. sg. praes.) aus dem gotischen erklären nach dem einfachen Gesetze: die got. Vokale *i* und *u* bleiben im Ahd. vor *i* und *u* der folgenden Silbe, werden aber durch folgendes *a* in *e* und *o* verwandelt. Ob gotisches *i* wie in *witum* auf idg. *i* zurückgeht oder wie in *ita* aus idg. *e* entstanden ist, macht im Ahd. so wenig einen Unterschied wie im Gotischen; das alte *i* und das aus altem *e* entstandene waren also schon sehr früh im Germanischen zusammengefloßen. In Fällen wie *neman*, *nemames* ist das idg. *e* zwar scheinbar erhalten. Aber es trifft hier das Althochdeutsche auf Umwegen in einzelnen Fällen mit dem vorgermanischen Lautstande zusammen, ähnlich wie bei der Lautverschiebung in Fällen wie *fater*, *muoter*, *tūsunt*

(neben *dusunt* "tausend"), wo doch niemand daran denken wird, in dem ahd. *t* das unverschobene *t* von *pater*, *mater* und lit. *tuksztantis* zu sehen. Dass an Erhaltung des *e* nicht zu denken ist, lehrt einerseits ahd. *izzit* = got. *itiþ*, andererseits ahd. *wessa* = got. *wissa*. Wenn *izzit* lehrt, dass das Ahd. an dem gotischen Wandel des idg. *e* zu *i* teilnimmt, und andererseits in *wessa* got. *i* (= idg. *i*) zu *e* umgelautet ist, so kann derselbe Umlaut unbedenklich für *ezzan* zugelassen werden.

Prof. Shumway muss anerkennen, dass der Parallelismus zwischen *i* und *u* tatsächlich besteht. Aber er weiss auch, dass der Parallelismus sich nicht verträgt mit der Theorie, dass in dem *e* von ahd. *ezzan* das indogermanische *e* ungestört und von keinem Umlaute berührt vorliege. Und da diese Theorie mit ihrem vermeintlichen Ergebnisse, auf den got. Vokalismus sei weniger Verlass als auf den althochdeutschen, ihm von vornherein sicher steht, so hält er (p. 386) das Verlangen, es mit dem Parallelismus ernst zu nehmen, für eine verzeihliche Grille älterer Grammatiker. Das wäre doch eigen. Denn wir alle stimmen darin überein, dass die älteren Grammatiker in andren Fällen das Wesen des Ablautes verkannten, weil sie auf den Parallelismus der Ablautsreihen nicht genug Gewicht legten. Sie wussten, dass z. B. Ssk. *vart-* in *varárta* sich zu *vrt-* in *vávrtē* verhält wie *vēda* zu *vid-má* oder *bubódha* zu *bud-dhá-* (vgl. got. *warþ waurþum*, *wait witum*, *baup budum*), glaubten aber trotzdem im ersteren Falle die betonte Stufe *vart-*, in den beiden übrigen die unbetonte Stufe *vid-* bzw. *budh-* als "Wurzel" ansehen zu müssen. Erst die neuere Sprachforschung hat auf den Parallelismus der verschiedenen Reihen grösseres Gewicht gelegt und ist zu der Erkenntniss gekommen, dass überall von der betonten Stufe auszugehen ist. Könnte die Sache nicht so liegen, dass die neueren Grammatiker, von dem europäischen *e* geblendet, in unserem Falle den Parallelismus vorschnell verworfen haben?

Wie findet sich Prof. Shumway mit dem Parallelismus ab? Er sagt: "It is a generally accepted rule of science that of two possible theories one should accept the simpler, other things of

course being equal." Sehen wir also, wie einfach sich die Sache bei seiner Theorie gestaltet.

1) Gotisch und Althochdeutsch haben in unbetonten Silben *i* gegenüber idg. *e*. Hier geht Prof. Shumway, wie es heutzutage üblich ist, für das Germanische nicht von idg. *e* sondern von got. *i* aus; nur in Stammsilben soll idg. *e* erhalten sein. Schon hier führt er eine Unterscheidung ein, die am Gotischen keine Stütze hat. Bei meiner Theorie ist es möglich, den Übergang des idg. *e* in german. *i* als eine einheitliche Lautbewegung zu fassen, die sich gleichmässig auf Stammsilben und Endungen erstreckte.

2) Vor Nasal + Kons. und vor folgendem *i, j* soll idg. *e* im Germanischen allgemein zu *i* geworden sein. Also für got. ahd. *bindan* und in got. *itip* = ahd. *izzit* wird der Lautwandel, den wir auch für got. *itan, itam* etc. voraussetzen, zugegeben. Dass der Wandel von lat. *edimus* zu got. *itam* jünger sei, als der von lat. *edit* zu got. *itip*, ist eine Annahme, die am Gotischen keine Stütze findet und bei meiner Theorie unnötig ist.

3) Nicht nur vor *i, j*, sondern auch vor *u* der folgenden Silbe erscheint idg. *e* im Westg. (und Nordischen) in der Regel als *i*. Got. *sidus, sibun* = ahd. *situ, sibun* = as. *sidu, sibun* = ags. *siðo (siodu), siofon (seofon)* = altn. *siðr, sjau*. Von den Ausnahmen ist oben (S. 285 ff.) die Rede gewesen. Nach Prof. Shumway ist die Neigung, idg. *e* in germ. *i* zu verwandeln, hier jungen Datums und tritt in den einzelnen westgerm. Sprachen zu verschiedenen Zeiten auf; im Ags. und Nord. soll sie kaum vorhanden sein. Idg. *i* (got. *witun*, ahd. *wizzun*) und idg. *u* (*budun*, ahd. *butun*) dagegen bleiben von dem *u* der Endsilbe unberührt. Also eine Fülle von Unterscheidungen, wo meine Theorie eine einheitliche Auffassung gestaltet.

4) Idg. *i* in Endsilben wirkt nach Prof. Shumway umlautend auf idg. *e* (got. *itip* = ahd. *izzit*). Idg. *i* und *u* bleiben vor *i* erhalten (got. *witi* = ahd. *wizzi*, got. *budi* = ahd. *buti*). Wir stimmen wenigstens darin überein, dass sowohl in got. *itip* wie in *witi* das *i* ins Urgermanische zurückreicht. Man hätte erwarten sollen, dass angesichts der doppelten Parallele ahd.

*izzu*: ahd. *ezzames* = ahd. *biutit*: ahd. *beotames* und ahd. *izzit*: got. *itip* = ahd. *biutit*: got. *biudip* Prof. Shumway auch idg. *eu* im Urgermanischen vor dem *i* der Endsilbe zu *iu* hätte werden lassen. Aber er zieht vor, anzunehmen, dass sich hier das idg. *eu* im Westgerm.-Nordischen erhalten habe,<sup>1</sup> und damit eine einheitliche germanische Grundform für got. *biudip* und ahd. *biutit* aufzugeben.

5) Am schlimmsten steht es mit der Rolle, die Prof. Shumway dem Vokale *a* in Endsilben zuweist. Er hat richtig gesehen, dass in ahd. *gi-botan* das in got. *budans* vorliegende alte *u* durch das *a* der Endsilbe in *o* umgelautet ist. Das wird ja heute auch allgemein zugestanden. Freilich ist er geneigt, angesichts der "sehr seltenen Nebenformen" (Noreen, *Altisl. Gr.*, § 412, Anm. 1) altn. *buðinn*, *hlutenn* (gewöhnlich *boðenn*, *hlotenn*) anzunehmen, das gotische *u* habe sich gelegentlich im Westgermanischen erhalten. Das würde dann wieder an Stelle einer klaren Regel und einer einheitlichen Lautentwicklung ein bis in späte Zeit fortdauerndes Schwanken zwischen vorgermanischem und westgermanischem Vokal ergeben. Aber jene Ausnahmen (wie auch das von Noreen, § 414, Anm. 1, erwähnte *lukenn*) erklären sich ungezwungen als junge Analogiebildungen, die auf Beeinflussung der zweiten durch die 1. Ablautsreihe beruhen. Wie in der ersten Ablautsreihe das partic. prät. den Vokal des plur. prät. teilt (*gripom*: *gripenn*), so ist in den genannten Nebenformen der Vokal des plur. prät. gebraucht.— Da ursprünglich *u* und *i* der Stammsilbe vor dem *i* der Endung gleich behandelt werden, so ist auf Grund von got. *budans* = ahd. *gi-botan* zu erwarten, dass idg. *i* im Got. erhalten bleibt, im Westgerm.-Nordischen zu *e* umgewandelt wird. So liegt die Sache nach unserer Auffassung, und da wir das *i* = idg. *e* in got. *itan* für ebenso alt halten wie in der 3. sg. *itip* (die auch nach Prof. Shumway's Meinung urgerm. *i* hat), so gewinnen wir für (1) got. *budans*: ahd. *gi-botan* (2) got. *wissa* = ahd. *wessa* (3) got. *itan* = ahd. *ezzan* eine einheitliche

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. ob. S. 284.



Erklärung. Prof. Shumway geht anders zu Werke. Obwohl er für die 3. sg. got. *itij* = ahd. *izzit* urgerm. *i* zugeben muss, und obwohl ein urgermanisches, im Gotischen (*wissa*) erhaltenes *i* im Ahd. (*wessa*) in *e* umgewandelt ist, kann er sich doch nicht entschliessen, das *e* in ahd. *ezzan* für jünger zu halten, als das *i* in got. *itan*. Für ihn liegt die indogermanische Urzeit dem Althochdeutschen noch so nahe, dass er das althochdeutsche *e* zunächst mit dem indog. *e* (lat. *edo*) verbindet und also dem *a* in ahd. *ezzan* die Kraft zuschreibt, idg. *e* zu erhalten. Die Unbequemlichkeit, dass das *i* in got. *itan* bei seiner Erklärung die Annahme eines nachträglichen Separat-Lautwandels für das Gotische von *e* zu *i* vor folgendem *a* erfordert, nimmt er willig mit in den Kauf. Seine Erklärung lautet (p. 394): "Gothic has a strong predilection for close, or narrow, vowels. All the changes it makes are in this direction." Dass es sich bei *i* und *e* streng genommen nicht um einen Wechsel zwischen "narrow" und "wide," sondern zwischen "high-front" und "mid-front" (um die technischen Ausdrücke des Bell-Sweet-schen Systems zu gebrauchen) handelt, ist nicht grade wesentlich. Wohl aber fällt schwer ins Gewicht, dass die von Prof. Shumway herbeigezogene Lautneigung offenbar der nach-Ulfilanischen Zeit angehört. Sie findet sich besonders in den ersten 10 Kapiteln des Lukas, die auch sonst Spuren jüngerer Lautgebung zeigen, ausserhalb dieses Abschnittes nur vereinzelt. Merkwürdigerweise will Sh. die betr. Schreibfehler (denn als solche müssen sie für die Zeit des Ulfilas gelten) heranziehen, um einen Lautwandel zu erklären, den Ulfilas schon vorfand, während er die Brechung des *i* vor *h* und *r*, die doch auch wohl nicht erst seit Ulfilas in der gotischen Sprache sich findet, als "confessedly secondary" bezeichnet. Sobald es sich um Fragen handelt, die in die vorgeschichtliche Zeit hineinspielen, ist er stets in Gefahr, über seiner grammatischen Theorie die historischen Tatsachen aus den Augen zu verlieren.

Man wird den Tatsachen am besten gerecht, wenn man annimmt, dass im Germanischen in uralter Zeit das idg. *e* überall und zwar ohne Rücksicht auf den Vokal der Endung mit

idg. *i* zusammenfiel. Da das alte idg. *o* ebenfalls sehr früh mit *a* zusammengefallen war, hatte das Germanische zu dieser Zeit nur 3 kurze Vokale (*a, i, u*) an Stelle der 5 kurzen Vokale (*a, e, i, o, u*) der indog. Ursprache aufzuweisen. Auf dieser Grundlage haben später, vielleicht nicht allzu lange vor dem Beginne unsrer Überlieferung, alle germanischen Sprachen ein neues *e* und *o* aus *i* und *u* (die daneben bestehen bleiben) entwickelt. Dem älteren Vokalismus am nächsten steht das Gotische, wo die neuen (bei Ulfilas *ai* und *au* geschriebenen) "Brechungen"—von dem bis jetzt rätselhaften *ai* der Reduplikation abgesehen—nur vor *r* und *h* sich finden, und zwar ohne Rücksicht auf den Vokal der Endung. Von dem nordisch-westgerm. *a*-Umlaute der Vokale *i* und *u* zeigt das Gotische so wenig eine Spur, wie von dem nordisch-westgerm. *i*-Umlaute der gutturalen Vokale oder dem nordischen *u*-Umlaute. Alle übrigen germanischen Sprachen lassen den Unterschied zwischen neuem *e, o* und altem *i, u* wesentlich von dem Vokalismus der folgenden Silbe abhängen. Stammhaftes *i* und *u* wird durch ein *a* (bzw. *ō, ai, au*) der Endung in *e* und *o* umgelautet (Holzmann's *a*-Umlaut), während vor folgendem *i* oder *u* stammhaftes *i* und *u* sich hält. Nimmt man mit Kluge, Shumway u. a. an, die Empfindlichkeit gegen den Endungsvokal, wie wir sie im Westgermanischen und Nordischen treffen, reiche bei *i*, soweit es idg. *e* entspricht, ins Urgermanische zurück und habe hier in vorhistorischer Zeit auch im Gotischen bestanden, so ersetzt man das klare System, wie es sich im Gotischen und (in andrer Weise) in der westgermanisch-nordischen Gruppe zeigt, durch eine komplizierte Hypothese, welche die charakteristischen Unterschiede der beiden Sprachgruppen zur Hälfte verwischt und den in beiden Sprachgruppen deutlich vorliegenden Parallelismus der *i*-Vokale (*i* und *e*) mit den *u*-Vokalen (*u* und *o*) aufhebt.

Übrigens darf die letztere Hypothese schwerlich mit Shumway als "the generally accepted view" bezeichnet werden. Denn es besteht daneben noch eine andere Ansicht, die z. B. Joseph Wright in seinem *Gothic Primer* (2d ed., Oxford,

1899), vertritt. Nach dieser Ansicht ist nicht nur got. *i* durch westgerm. *i* und *e* sondern auch got. *u* durch westgerm. *u* und *o* hindurchgegangen. Man darf dieser Auffassung, die für mich natürlich ebenso unannehmbar ist wie die von Prof. Shumway befürwortete, wenigstens das eine nachrühmen, dass sie konsequent zu Werke geht. Sie verfährt mit dem Gotischen noch rücksichtsloser als "the generally accepted view;" aber sie bleibt nicht, wie diese, auf halbem Wege stehen.

Ich habe bis jetzt die Besprechung einer Ausnahme verschoben, die in den Paradigmen oben S. 291 keinen Platz gefunden hat, weil ich in ihr nicht ein Beispiel der allgemeinen Regel, sondern eine die Lautregel durchbrechende Analogiebildung sehe. Es handelt sich um das part. prät. der 1. Ablautsreihe, wo die Stammsilbe im Westgermanischen und Nordischen trotz des folgenden *a* den Vokal *i* aufweist: z. B. ahd. *gi-bizzan*, *bi-griffan*, *ar-litan* "erlitten;" alts. *undar-gripan* "ergriffen," *for-liwan* "verliehen;" ags. *ge-liden* "gegangen," *oftigen* "versagt;" altn. *liðinn* "vergangen, gestorben," *hniginn* "angelehnt, gefallen." Dem *i* des Partizipiums steht hier überall ein *i* im Plural Ind. und im Konjunktiv des Präteritums zur Seite: ahd. 3. pl. prät. *ir-liten* (Notk.; aus älterem \**ar-litun*), 3. pl. conj. prät. *in-bizzin* (Otf.), alts. 3. sg. conj. prät. *far-liwi* (Cott.) u. s. w.<sup>1</sup> Angesichts dieser Übereinstim-

<sup>1</sup>Freilich gibt es eine Ausnahme, die anscheinend zu der lautgesetzlichen Regel stimmt: zu altn. *bíða* "warten, erlangen, erdulden" gehört das part. prt. *beðenn* (vgl. Noreen, *Altisl. Gr.*, § 140 u. 410. Das ntr. *beðit* ist z. B. zweimal im 1. Gudrunliede der älteren Edda belegt). Wenn ich Prof. Shumway (p. 391) recht verstehe, ist er der Ansicht, dass die Form für die Frage des *e*: *i* nicht von Belang ist, und das ist auch meine Meinung. Denn das *e* beschränkt sich anscheinend auf das Nordische, während ags. *biden*, *gebiden*, *oferbiden* und mhd. *gebitten* (im Ahd. u. Altndd. ist das ptc. nicht belegt) den üblichen Ablaut aufweisen. Da im Nordischen das Part. von *bíða* "warten" mit dem von *bíðja* "bitten" zusammenfällt, so wird anzunehmen sein, dass bei letzterem Verbum der Grund der Störung zu suchen ist. Der Fall, dass zwei ihrer Form nach ähnliche, wenn auch der Bedeutung nach verschiedene Verben sich gegenseitig beeinflussen, kommt ja auch sonst oft genug vor. Man spricht z. B. von "geschliffenem" Akzent, wo ein "geschleifter"

mung zwischen Ind. pl. und Konj. präter. mit dem Partiz. prät. liegt von vornherein die Erwägung nahe, ob nicht die Störung der Lautregel im Partizipium durch die Indikativ- und Konjunktivformen des Präteritums veranlasst ist. Wenn im Nomen z. B. an Stelle von ahd. *skif*, *skeffes* später eintöniges *skif*, *skiffes* (nhd. *Schiff*, *Schiffes*) getreten ist, und wenn alle lebenden germanischen Sprachen die alten Ablautsreihen in ähnlicher Weise vielfach umgestaltet haben, weshalb sollte dies nicht gelegentlich auch schon in alter Zeit vorgekommen sein? Ist doch in viel älterer Zeit in der 5. Ablautsreihe (got. *gibans*, *gawigans* u. s. w.) der Vokal des Präsens auf das Partiz. präter. übertragen.

Die Frage ist längst von andren aufgeworfen. Man hat geglaubt, sie ablehnend beantworten zu müssen, weil in der 2. Ablautsreihe (got. *biuda*, *bauþ*, *budum*, *budans*; ahd. *biutu*, *bót*, *butun*, *gi-botan*) unter anscheinend ganz gleichen Verhältnissen keine Assimilation eingetreten sei. Ich habe gegen diese Antwort geltend gemacht, dass die Verhältnisse nicht gleich liegen. Bei der 1. Ablautsreihe haben wir im Westgermanischen eintönigen Stammvokal im Präsens und Infinitiv (ahd. *bi-grīfan*, *bi-grīfu*, *bi-grīfames*), bei der 2. Ablautsreihe bunten Vokalismus (ahd. *beotan*, *biutu*, *beotames*). Gleichem Vokal im Inf. praes. u. Ind. praes. also steht hier gleicher Vokal im Präteritum (pl. u. conj.) und Partizipium prt. zur Seite; ungleichem Vokal in den Präsensformen entspricht ungleicher Vokal in den betr. Präteritalformen. Mein Schluss ist, dass bei der 1. Ablautsreihe die Angleichung des Partizipiums an den Ind. plur. und Konj. präteriti durch den einförmigen

Akzent gemeint ist. Es ist hier auf das schwache Verbum *schleifen* das Partiz. des starken Verbum *schleifen* übertragen, obwohl letzteres eine ganz verschiedene Bedeutung hat. Noch zwei sehr auffällige Nachbildungen mögen in diesem Zusammenhange erwähnt werden. Nhd. *wusste* ist Nachahmung von *musste*, hervorgerufen durch die recht entfernte Ähnlichkeit der älteren Formen *ich weiz*, prät. *ich wesse*, *weste* (md. *woste*) mit *ich muoz*, prät. *ich muose*, *muoste*. Mhd. *hete* "hatte," conj. *haete* ist Nachbildung des älteren Präteritums *tele* "tat," conj. *taete*, obwohl *ich hân* und *ich tuon* recht wenig Berührungspunkte mit einander zu haben scheinen.

Vokalismus der Präsensformen (inf. u. ind.) hervorgerufen oder wenigstens begünstigt ist.

Prof. Shumway hat zwar auch hier Einwendungen vorzubringen. Sie scheinen mir aber daher zu rühren, dass er sich nicht Zeit genommen hat, sich hinreichend in meine Auffassung einzuleben. Sonst hätte er unmöglich über Nebensächlichem die Hauptsache aus den Augen verlieren können.

Mir kam es vor allem auf die Unterscheidung von zwei Klassen der Ablautsreihen an, in welchen Brechung stattfindet: "bunter" und "eintöniger" Ablautsreihen. Eintönige Ablautsreihen nenne ich diejenigen, in welchen im Präsens (ind. und inf.) nur *ein* Ablautsvokal steht; bunte diejenigen, in welchen im Präsens zwei Ablautsvokale auftreten. Meine These geht dahin, dass in beiden Klassen eine Art Harmonie oder Gleichgewicht zwischen den Vokalen des Präsens einerseits und den Vokalen des Präteritums andererseits herrscht.<sup>1</sup> Bei mehrförmigem Präsens herrscht die Tendenz, dem Präsensablaute einen mehrförmigen Präteritalablaute zur Seite zu stellen; bei eintönigem Präsens die Neigung, auch den Präteritalablaute zu vereinfachen. Ich behaupte nicht, dass das Partizipium direkt bei dem Präsens anzufragen habe, ob es Brechung erleiden soll, sondern dass sich auf Grund der Präsensformen ein Gefühl für Einförmigkeit oder Buntheit der betr. Ablautsreihe geltend machte, und dass dieses Gefühl den Ablaut der Präteritalformen beeinflusste.

Prof. Shumway muss zugeben, dass sich das Analogiegesetz für die 3 ersten Ablautsreihen streng durchführen lässt. Auf diese 3 Reihen aber ist besonderes Gewicht zu legen. Denn nur hier kommt die Wahl zwischen ungebrochenem und gebrochenem Vokal der Präteritalformen in Frage. In der 4. und 5. Ablautsreihe haben Ind. plur. und Conj. des Präteritums den Vokal *ē* (später westgerm.-nord. *ā*), der keine Brechung erleidet und von dem Vokale des Partizipiums

<sup>1</sup> Der Sing. präter. hat bei den *e*-Reihen *stets* seinen besonderen Vokal. Es handelt sich hier um den Ablaut der übrigen Präteritalformen, d. h. 1) Ind. pl., 2) Konj., 3) Partizipium.

sowohl quantitativ wie qualitativ sich unterscheidet. Hier also war von vornherein mehrförmiger Vokal in den Präteritalformen gegeben. Diese beiden Ablautsreihen könnten also zur Not bei unserer Frage ganz bei Seite bleiben. Es trifft sich aber, dass auch bei ihnen, bis auf eine kleine Gruppe von Verben mit eigenartiger Präsensbildung, ebenfalls im Präsens mehrförmiger Ablaut herrscht, so dass auch sie unter das Gesetz mit einbegriffen werden können.

Prof. Shumway's Argumentation besteht darin, dass er die Annahme meiner Theorie einseitig von der Frage abhängig macht, ob sie auch auf die 4. und 5. Klasse sich anwenden lasse. Bei der 4. Klasse legt er Gewicht darauf, dass ahd. *neman* im Altsächs. *niman* laute, also einförmiges Präsens habe. Er gibt zutreffend an, dass daneben auch *neman* dem Altsächs. nicht fremd sei. Was also beweist alts. *niman*? Prof. Shumway hätte sich hier zuerst klar machen müssen, ob er für die gemein-westgerm.-nord. Epoche einförmiges oder buntes Präsens annehmen will. Nur letzteres ist möglich, also der Ablaut regelrecht. Ebenso müssen die Partiz. formen mit *u*, wie sie im Alts., Ags., Altnord. vorkommen, bei Seite bleiben, zumal ja auch hier im Alts. und Altn. die regelrechten Formen mit *o* noch daneben liegen.

Bei der 5. Ablautsreihe hält sich Shumway einseitig an die Präsensbildungen mit *j*, die ich selbst als Ausnahmen hingestellt hatte. Sie sind aber Ausnahmen nur in dem Sinne, dass sie, von der exceptionellen Präsensbildung abgesehen, keine Ausnahmen von den Ablautsverhältnissen der Klasse bilden, zu der sie gehören. Prof. Shumway missversteht meine Ansicht hier vollkommen, wenn er meint, das Präsens ahd. *bittan* hätte von meinem Standpunkte aus ein Partiz. *\*gi-bitan* statt *gi-betan* erwarten lassen. Ich wiederhole noch einmal, dass von direkter Einwirkung des Präsensvokales auf den Vokal des Partiz. präter. bei dem Analogiegesetze nicht die Rede ist. Das Gleichgewicht zwischen dem Präsens und den Präteritalformen, wie wir es sonst in den ersten 5 Ablautsreihen finden, hat bei den

wenigen Verben mit präsensbildendem *j* (es sind im Ahd. die drei Verba *bitten*, *liggen*, *sitzen*, und nur in diesen drei Verben scheint diese Präsensbildung alt) allerdings eine Störung erlitten. Aber die Unregelmässigkeit beschränkt sich auf das Präsens und geht hier Hand in Hand mit dem exceptionellen *j*-Suffixe. Für die Präteritalformen bleibt die Analogie der 5. Klasse massgebend. Also ahd:

*bittu bat bātum gi-betan* wie *tritu trat trātum*  
*gi-tretan*  
*sitzu saz sāzum gi-sezzan* wie *mizzu maz māzum*  
*gi-mezzan*  
*liggu lag lāgum gi-legan* wie *phligu phlag phlāgum*  
*gi-phlegan.*

Mir scheint diese Ausnahme so verständlich und mit dem Analogiegesetz so wohl vereinbar—da sich hier nur zwei verschiedene Analogien durchkreuzen—dass ich nicht begreife, wie Prof. Shumway hier eine “serious class of exceptions” finden kann.

Prof. Shumway findet mein Analogiegesetz kompliziert. Aber er will (im nächsten Satze) nicht zugeben, dass eine Theorie kompliziert sei, welche die einfachen vorgermanischen Ablautsreihen zunächst durch die bunten westgermanischen Ablautsreihen hindurchgehen lässt, um erst von da aus wieder zu einfachen gotischen Ablautsreihen zu gelangen. Ihm scheint die heutige Germanistik Lob dafür zu verdienen, dass sie dieses Kunststück fertig gebracht hat. Ihm erscheinen eben die Ansichten, welche er gelernt hat und welche der *consensus philologorum* von heute billigt, als einfach, und die Komplikation beginnt für ihn da, wo er sich in einen ihm ungewohnten Gedankengang hineinfinden soll. Ich will ihm aber gerne darin entgegen kommen, dass ich die Analogieregel in eine weniger knappe Formel zusammenzufassen versuche, als es in meinem Vortrage geschehen ist. Sie mag also jetzt folgende Fassung erhalten:

Die Wirkung des *a*-Umlautes, welche den Hauptunterschied zwischen den gotischen und den westgerm.-nordischen Ablautsreihen bildet, verläuft zwar im allgemeinen streng lautgesetzlich. Sie erleidet aber eine Störung in Folge des unbewussten Bestrebens, innerhalb der vom *a*-Umlaut betroffenen Ablautsreihen eine gewisse Harmonie des Ablauts durchzuführen.

Die Harmonie besteht darin, dass

1) der Singular des Präteritums stets einen eigenartigen Vokal hat.

2) die übrigen Präteritalformen (Ind. plur., Konj. sing. u. plur. und Partizipium) entweder einen oder zwei Ablautsvokale aufweisen, je nachdem im Präsenssystem (Infinitiv, Indikativ, Konjunktiv und Partiz. Präs.) einheitlicher oder zwiefacher Vokal auftritt.

Im Einklange mit dieser Tendenz hat in der 1. Ablautsreihe, wo im Präsenssystem einheitlicher Vokal herrscht, das Partizipium den ihm lautgesetzlich zukommenden gebrochenen Vokal (*e*) zu Gunsten des ungebrochenen Vokals (*i*) der übrigen Präteritalformen aufgegeben.

Diese Analogieregel gilt für jede Ablautsklasse als Ganzes. Abweichungen finden sich nicht bei ganzen Ablautsklassen, wohl aber bei vereinzelt Verben, deren Präsens nach Stammbildung und Flexion eine Sonderstellung einnimmt. Die Abweichung beschränkt sich darauf, dass die Lautgesetze bei diesen Verben keine Störung erleiden.

So viel, denke ich, könnte jeder zugeben, dass die Verhältnisse in der 1. und 2. Ablautsreihe nicht ganz gleichartig sind und dass daher der Schluss: ahd. *gi-griffan* (part. prät.) kann



nicht Analogiebildung nach *griffum* (plur. prät.) sein, weil *gi-botan* (part. prät.) sich nicht nach *butum* (plur. prt.) gerichtet hat—nicht berechtigt ist. Damit ist dem herkömmlichen Einwande gegen Holzmänn's *a*-Umlaut der Boden entzogen. Wir sehen den indog. Vokalismus jetzt mit andren Augen an, als es zu Holzmänn's Zeit geschah. Das Verhältniß des gotischen zum althochdeutschen Vokalismus aber hat Holzmänn richtiger beurteilt, als die meisten heutigen Germanisten.

Dass das *i* = idg. *i* im Westgermanischen vielfach fester zu sein scheint, als das *i* = idg. *e*, erklärt sich daraus, dass das *i* der ersten Ablautsreihe (nach der Ausmerzung der regelrechten Form mit *e* im Partiz. prät.) seinen Einfluss natürlich auch ausserhalb des starken Verbums geltend machte. Nach den "starken" Ablautsformen *wizzum* (Prt. pl.), *wizzan* (inf. Prt.) richtet sich im Ahd. das *i* im "schwachen" Präteritum *wissa* (z. B. Notk.), *wista* (Isid.), im Adverbium *cawisso* (Keron. Gl.), *chiwisso* (Isid.) und vielen anderen. Aber daneben liegen in diesen Fällen noch die lautgesetzlichen Formen vor: ich *westa* (Tat., Otfr.), *er wessa* (Otfr.), *giwesso* (Tat.). Bei Worten, die am Ablaute keine Stütze mehr haben, z. B. *nest* "Nest" = lat. *nīdus* (idg. \**nido*-), *wer* "Mann" = lat. *vir* (idg. \**vīro*-s) neben *weralt* "Welt" sind Ausnahmen gegen Holzmänn's Regel seltener. Wo *i* und *e* nebeneinander liegen, und zwar ohne Zusammenhang mit der ersten Ablautsreihe, wie in ags. *cwic(u)*, alts. *quik*, ahd. *quek* (= lat. *vīvus*), wird meist Wechsel des gebrochenen Vokals mit dem ungebrochenen für die urspr. Flexion anzunehmen sein, nach Art von Nom. *fihu*, Gen. *fehes*. So weisen ja z. B. auch die Doppelformen (Nom. Acc. pl.) ahd. *fugala* (Tat.) u. *fogala* (Otfr.) auf eine ältere Flexion: N. sg. \**fugl*, G. sg. \**foglas*. Es liesse sich leicht zeigen, dass auch derartige Doppelformen sich von Holzmänn's Standpunkte aus einfacher und einheitlicher erklären lassen, als von der Theorie aus, welche in ahd. *fehes* ein altes idg. *e* erhalten sein lässt, aber in *quek* das *e* als jung anerkennen muss. Aber das vermeintliche alte *e* hat uns für heute lange genug beschäftigt.

Prof. Shumway bemerkt mit Recht, es habe die heutige

Germanistik dreissig Jahre gekostet, ihre Ansichten nach Massgabe des "europäischen *e*" umzugestalten. Die Arbeit ist nicht ganz umsonst gewesen. Aber wie es bei derartigen Revolutionen zu gehen pflegt: man ist von einem Extrem in das andre gegangen und hat nicht nur dem sanskr. *a*, das nach den älteren Philologen der unmittelbare Vorfahr des got. *i* sein sollte, mit Recht den Abschied gegeben, sondern auch mit Unrecht das ahd. *e* auf den Thron des got. *i* erhoben. Ich konnte nicht erwarten, dass ein Vortrag von mir genügen sollte, hier alles wieder ins richtige Geleis zu lenken. Nur dazu wollte ich anregen, diesen Fragen unabhängig von den Handbüchern Prof. Kluge's und ohne Autoritätsglauben von neuem nachzugehen. Prof. Shumway's Entgegnung bestärkt mich in dem Glauben, dass die germanische Philologie ihre Ansichten über das westgermanische *e* über kurz oder lang wird revidieren müssen.

HERMANN COLLITZ.

BRYN MAWR, PA.

#### ZUSÄTZE.

1. (S. 255.) Nach der Aufklärung, die wir Much, *Zs. f. dt. Alt.* 35, 361 ff., über "Die Sippe des Arminius" verdanken, lässt sich die Annahme, der Name *Catumerus* sei bei Strabo zu *Θύκρμυρος* verderbt, nicht mehr aufrecht erhalten.

2. (S. 262.) Auf die Tatsache, dass die ältesten germanischen Namen uns meist in keltischer Lautgebung vorliegen, hat neuerdings auch mehrfach G. Kossinna hingewiesen. Er erklärt z. B. in seinem Aufsatz "Arminius deutsch?" (*I. F.* 2, S. 174–184) das *a* des Namens *Arminius* als keltischen Ersatz eines germanischen *e* und erwähnt in dem Aufsatz "Der Ursprung des Germanennamens" (*P.B. Beitr.* 20, S. 258–301) im Vorbeigehen (S. 278) "den Umstand, dass uns die ältesten germanischen Namen nur aus keltischem Munde und in keltischer Lautgebung überliefert sind." Allerdings setzt Kossinna die germanische Form des Namens *Arminius* bis jetzt noch mit *e* an. Aber ich denke, die Annahme, dass der echt germanische Vokal in der Form *Irmin* erhalten ist, liegt auf dem von Müllenhoff und Kossinna eingeschlagenen Wege, wonach das kurze *o* der ältesten germanischen Namen, trotz seiner Übereinstimmung mit indog. *o*, lediglich das keltische Gegenstück zu germanischem kurzen *a* ist.

3. (S. 272.) Müllenhoff's Ansicht, dass *Τευροβούργιον* oder *Teutiburgium* in Pannonien ein keltischer Name sei, wird von R. Much, *P. B. Beitr.* 17,

218, abgelehnt auf Grund der Erwägung, dass die keltische Entsprechung des indogermanischen *r* nicht *ur*, sondern *ri* sei. Aber es fragt sich, ob dieser Einwand stichhaltig ist. Allerdings lautet ja die echt keltische Entsprechung des germ. *burg* = avest. *bereza* im Keltischen *\*brig* = ir. *brí*, Acc. *brigh*. (vgl. Glück a. a. O., S. 126 ff., Stokes, *Urkelts. Sprachschatz*, S. 171). Aber neben diesem Worte, das die alte Bedeutung "Berg, Hügel," bewahrt, liegt altir. *borgg*, *borc*, "Stadt," und Much selbst hebt in der *Zeitsch. f. dt. Alt.* 41, S. 140 hervor, dass das pannonische *Τευροβούργιον* in einer Ebene gelegen sei, so dass die Bedeutung "Berg" hier ausgeschlossen ist. Hätte Much (P. B. *Beitr.* 17, 218 u. *ZfdA.* 41, 114) Recht darin, dass ir. *borg* aus dem Altnordischen entlehnt sei, so würde ja allerdings auch dieses Wort für *-burgium* nicht in Betracht kommen. Aber ir. *borcc* nebst der Ableitung *borggdae* ist durch den Cod. Sg. p. 57<sup>a</sup> (= *Thesaurus Hibernicus*, ed. by Stokes and Strachan, II, p. 110<sup>22</sup>) für das Altirische gesichert, während die Einwirkung des Nordischen auf den irischen Sprachschatz in die Zeit zwischen Alt- und Mittelirisch fällt. Eher schon könnte man Thurneysen (*Keltoromanisches*, S. 49, Anm. 2) und Stokes (*Urkelts. Sprachsch.*, S. 171) beistimmen, die ir. *borgg*, *borc* aus spätlat. *burgus* und letzteres aus dem Germanischen entlehnt sein lassen. Jedenfalls wird man ihnen darin Recht geben, dass das *o* des irischen Wortes auf älteres *u* zurückgeht. Aber die Herleitung von lat. *burgus* aus dem Germanischen wird nach den Einwendungen von Feist (*Festschr. zu R. Hildebrand's 70. Geburtstage*, S. 20 ff.) und R. Much (*ZfdA.* 41, 113 f.) aufzugeben sein. Eine andere Frage ist es, ob man weiter mit Feist und Much lat. *burgus* als Lehnwort aus griech. *πύργος* ansehen darf. Auffällig wäre in einem spätlateinischen Lehnworte sowohl lat. *b* für griech. *π* wie lat. *u* für griech. *υ*. Der Name *Burrus* = *Πυρρός* bietet keine ausreichende Parallele, denn er gehört einer viel älteren Zeit an, und es wäre ausserdem möglich, dass die lateinische Schreibung der makedonischen Aussprache Rechnung trägt. In *Pergamus*, *Pergamenus*, wo die Lautfolge eine ganz ähnliche ist wie in *πύργος*, ist das *p* im Lateinischen beibehalten; *πυραμῖς* ist lat. *pyramis* oder *piramis*; ja *πύργος* selbst liegt bei Sidonius *ep.* 8, 12 als *pyrgos* vor. Eher wäre lat. *b* für griech. *π* verständlich, wenn sich annehmen liesse, dass *πύργος* in die spätere Latinität auf dem Umwege keltischer Aussprache gekommen sei. Denn die für den keltischen Sprachstamm so charakteristische Abneigung gegen den Laut *p* war offenbar zur Zeit der ältesten Kulturbeziehungen zwischen den Kelten und den ihnen benachbarten Römern und Griechen noch nicht ganz überwunden, so dass z. B. lat. *piz* ins Irische in der Form *bí* übergeht (Stokes, *Remarks on Curtius' Greek Et.* 12).

Ich möchte also glauben, dass lat. *burgus* zunächst, wie so viele spätlateinische Worte, aus dem Keltischen stammt, und dass dem keltischen *\*burgos*, sei es direkt oder indirekt, griechisch *πύργος* zu Grunde liegt. Bei dieser Auffassung darf *Teutoburgium* als ein echt keltischer Name gelten.

4. (S. 273.) Die *Toutoni* des Miltenburger Grenzsteines, denen Kossinna *Westd. Zeitschr.* ix, 213 und Much *P. B. Beitr.* 17, 5 besondere Bedeutung für die Frage nach der Heimat der Teutonen beilegen, sind bei der Erörterung des Teutonennamens absichtlich bei Seite gelassen. Ich urteile über diese

*Toutoni* wie Bremer in Paul's *Grundriss*,<sup>2</sup> III, 771, auf dessen Erörterungen (und Literaturangaben) ich verweise.—Meine Deutung des Teutonennamens berührt sich mit der von Hirt P.B. *Beitr.* 21, 132 f. vorgeschlagenen Erklärung.

5. (S. 276.) Das Nebeneinander von *eu* und *ou* in keltischen Namen wird von Much (*Zs. f. dt. Alt.* 41, 115) und Bremer (Paul's *Grundriss*,<sup>2</sup> III, § 772) so aufgefasst, als sei der Diphthong *eu* zur Zeit unserer Quellen im Übergange zu *ou* begriffen. "Kelt. *eu*," sagt Bremer ausdrücklich, "ist in der Römerzeit zu *ou* geworden." Allerdings ist ja *eu* der ältere Laut. Aber bei den engen Beziehungen zwischen den keltischen und den italischen Sprachen wird man den Übergang des alten Diphthongs *eu* zu *ou* auf beiden Sprachgebieten als eine einheitliche Lautbewegung ansehen müssen. Da nun im Lateinischen \**deuco* schon in vorhistorischer Zeit zu *douco*, später *dūco* geworden ist, so wird auch im Keltischen die Entwicklung des *ou* in vorhistorische Zeit fallen. Der Umstand, dass nicht alle keltischen Dialekte diesen Wandel mitmachen, sondern die den Germanen am nächsten wohnenden das alte *eu* beibehielten, steht dieser Annahme nicht im Wege. Ist diese Auffassung richtig, so handelt es sich bei kelt. *eu* und *ou* für die uns vorliegenden keltischen Namen weniger um einen zeitlichen, als um einen räumlichen Unterschied. Freilich weisen die heutigen keltischen Sprachen sämtlich auf *ou*; Spuren des *eu* sind nicht zu erwarten, da das keltisch-germanische Grenzgebiet, auf welchem sich *eu* erhalten hatte, später der Romanisierung verfallen ist.

## REVIEWS.

*Grammatik der neuhochdeutschen Sprache* von August Engelien, 5. Auflage herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Jantzen. Berlin, 1902, Wilhelm Schulze's Verlag (L. Grieben Jun.). viii, 619 pp.

*Deutsche Sprachlehre für höhere Lehranstalten* von Dr. Ludwig Sütterlin und Dr. Albert Waag. R. Voigtländers Verlag in Leipzig, 1905. 186 pp.

*Deutsche Sprachlehre für Mittelschulen* von J. W. Nagl. Wien, 1906, Carl Fromme, 248 pp.

Within the last ten years a large number of German Grammars of different grades and of different character have found their way to the reviewer's table. To judge by the number there must be a considerable interest in the subject of grammar in the German-speaking territory of Europe, and to judge by the warm and often insistent tone there must be a wide and deep-seated interest in the unfolding and development of the present literary language. One would naturally think that the common object of these grammarians would be to facilitate a *uniform* development of speech, and yet a careful reading of these books creates the impression that these men have often actually effected the very opposite result, *i. e.*, have added to the confusion already existing. Not only do the representatives of the different sections, such as North Germany, Austria, Switzerland, etc., vary in a large number of points in their rules and recommendations, but those who live in the same city or province set up different ideals of speech. Thus men who should be working harmoniously together are often doing their best to spread views widely diverging. A student of this literature would feel inclined to lose faith in the efficacy of grammars and grammatical instruction in the school, if he did not observe here and there indications of

their potency for good, namely where they all agree. A few examples are given here to illustrate the beneficial influence of the grammar. Practically all these books unite in combating the formation of the plural by adding *s*. The foreigner finds nothing in German more confusing than the plural of nouns, and he often feels inclined to say petulantly that the stupid Germans do not even know how to speak their own language. There is something to justify this feeling, when little by little one collects in his reading seven different plurals for the same word. He is not always able to console himself with the thought that there is a faint possibility that these forms may some day become differentiated and that thus the language will become enriched. The German grammarians of our time are almost a unit in urging the unmutated *e*-plural and the result of this teaching is apparent. Goethe's and Schiller's prose very often contrasts unfavorably with the German of to-day as found even in a newspaper with respect to the inflection of nouns and indicates clearly that the feeling of dislike for the *s*-plural in choice language has become fairly established. This movement toward the unmutated *e*-plural corresponds in a faint measure to the triumph of the *s*-plural in English. A greater uniformity is needed in German, for the triumph of one plural type will not only bring greater simplicity in general, but will gradually remove the multiplicity of forms for one word, which now exists, as the German in the absence of a general plural type often does not really know how to form the plural of new and uncommon words. This trend toward the unmutated *e*-plural, not only noticeable in connection with foreign words but also with good German forms, should commend itself to all as a movement toward needed simplicity, even tho there is no probability that such a radical simplification as in English can ever be attained.

The grammarians also agree quite uniformly in their struggle to replace useless foreign words with those of German coinage. This movement is now deep-seated and, tho opposed by a few names that command respect, has taken possession of the great body of those who are interested in the growth and development of the mother-tongue. This tendency is now so strong that it is quite impossible to outline its future. It may do great things. The writer of this article is inclined to think that it can be pushed without serious danger to the language. The one great gain that outweighs all

the disadvantages is the wealth of imagery that it brings with it. Our own rich English language is often great in its directness and simple forcefulness, but there is often a clear lack of pictures which transform the abstract into living figures and convert the prosy concrete into scenes dramatic or poetic. Of course our English foreign words bring pictures to him who is versed in many languages, but to the people the imagery is largely lost and indeed a great loss it is.

Another movement, less strong than the struggle against foreign words is the movement for a uniform pronunciation. This question has not only been taken up by lesser lights, but also by Wilhelm Braune in his *Über die Einigung der deutschen Aussprache*, Halle, 1905, by Karl Luick in his *Deutsche Lautlehre*, Leipzig und Wien, 1904, by Wilhelm Viëtor in his *Elemente der Phonetik des Deutschen, Englischen und Französischen*, Leipzig, 5th ed. 1904, and by a number of others. These three works have been especially mentioned because the practical question of a uniform pronunciation that may be acceptable to many or to all has been considered of paramount importance. The standard of the stage as set forth in Siebs's *Deutsche Bühnenaussprache*, Berlin, 2nd ed. 1901, has hovered before all these writers as an ideal that at some future time may to a greater or less extent be realized. The time has not yet come to decide definitively upon a national pronunciation, but almost all agree in one general tendency, namely to conform the pronunciation more and more to the written language.

Altho the German grammarians are united upon a number of very important questions they are at variance upon such a large number of little points that little good can be expected from the present numerous publications intended for use in school, except so far as they transmit the accepted body of facts. It is a pity that this is as it is, for it might be possible to turn this extensive interest to a better account. The one great need to-day in grammatical studies is a more careful observation of the actual linguistic phenomena of our time and their prompt publication. The differences that now separate grammarians may disappear when they give up their theories and study the facts. In many cases, however, it will not be given to them to discover laws or even tendencies, but only to record the observation that the language has not yet assumed its definitive form. Even tho final forms cannot be stated the individual and local usage may in all such cases be formulated and this

information will surely be of interest and of value to many, but these formulations should be represented as individual and local and not as fixed laws to be followed by everybody. Even where there are differences of usage each with a wide following it is useless to decide either for the one or the other. This race like every other contest cannot be decided until the course is run. That many points must thus be left open for future decision is not a discouraging sign, but one of great hope indicating the countless active forces that are gradually developing in a great people for its future needs. The discordant element in all of these grammars will entirely disappear when their authors unite in presenting the fixed body of grammatical facts and elsewhere confine themselves to describing without prejudice the fluctuations of present usage, leaving hopefully the language to work out its own development in accordance with its own deep-seated laws which may now not be visible to us, but which will some day become apparent.

From among the large number of new Grammars or new editions of older works three are here selected for a short review.

Engelien-Jantzen's *Grammatik der neuhochdeutschen Sprache* does not seem to be as widely known in our country as it deserves. It is somewhat similar in scope to Heyse-Lyon's *Deutsche Grammatik* which has found such favor among American teachers of German, but it differs from it markedly in one respect, namely in the large body of quotations from leading German authors from Luther to the present day which it gives to illustrate present and past usage. The range of authors is much less wide than that found in the larger work of Blatz, but the selection is a good one and the examples are often so copiously given that the book is one that teachers of German will generally appreciate. This work is characterized by a careful observation of not only the literary usage but also that of popular speech. A number of interesting and valuable remarks are made upon North German pronunciation and syntax. On page 478 the author calls attention to the peculiar N. G. use of the future indicative with the force of a past tense and cites the following example: Und wie er so ungebührlich gegen mich ausfällt, da werd ich ihn ins andere Zimmer nehmen und werd ihn fragen, woher er das weifs (instead of da nahm ich ihn ins andere Zimmer und fragte ihn). The present reviewer has found a large number



of such examples in Fritz Reuter's works. Also an example in Wildenbruch's *Das edle Blut*: Dann greift er den Kleinen am Halse, und nun werden die beiden anfangen, sich mitten in der Stunde regelrecht zu hauen. Engelen regards these forms as real future formations and refers to a similar use of this tense in Greek. Professor Karsten, the editor of the *Journal*, once suggested in a private conversation that this peculiar form may be in fact a real historical present, a survival of the old inchoative present form still found elsewhere in dialect as a present tense, as in: So oft die Red' auf'n Gelbhofbauer kommt, *wird* bei ihm's Radel *laufend* und da haspelt er die ganze alte Geschichte' aber (Auzengruber's *Kreuzelschreiber*, 1, 1). Altho this formation may be felt by Wildenbruch as a future, for he would not use a pure dialectic present in his beautiful story, Professor Karsten's view seems to offer the true historical explanation of this peculiar construction.

The *Sprachlehre* by Sütterlin and Waag is too small to be able to present the body of grammatical facts fully, but it is so suggestive and so full of higher linguistic truth that it will find many friends among those who are not only interested in facts, but also in their historical explanation or their phonetic or psychological development. The book is indeed a little gem. Its authors have contributed two other useful books to recent grammatical literature: *Die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart* von Ludwig Sütterlin, R. Voigtländers Verlag, 1900, 381 pp. and *Bedeutungsentwicklung unseres Wortschatzes* von Albert Waag, Lahr i. B., Druck und Verlag von Moritz Schauenburg, 1901, 200 pp.

Nagl's book fairly bristles with happy suggestions, but it is written in such a narrow, dogmatic tone that the reader often feels himself aroused to opposition. On page 103 starting from the former adjective nature of the second component of *solch* (so + lich) the author states that it cannot like the demonstrative *dieser* or *jener* influence the form of the following qualifying adjective, but must as an adjective be inflected the same as the following qualifying adjective, and then says: "(immer Eigenschaftswort): mit solcher guter Kost, solche edle Taten." He further insists that *manch* must in the plural be treated like *solch* and adds that only half-educated newspaper men violate this rule. The two following expressions from two great

representative German scholars will show what a rash and untrustworthy grammarian Mr. Nagl is : solche lautlichen Elemente (Brugmann's *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 285), trotz mancher unvermeidlichen Mängel (Wilmanns's *Deutsche Grammatik*, Vol. I, p. viii). These two examples have been selected from a formidable list which the reviewer has collected from the recent publications of prominent German scholars and literary men. Mr. Nagl has missed the point entirely. Such words as *solch*, *sämtlich*, *manch*, etc. are struggling toward the estate of pronominals like *dieser* and hence often require the weak form of the adjective after them. On the other hand the older nature of qualifying adjective is also, especially in the plural, still felt and hence the strong adjective often follows. The different words are not all in the same stage of development. Thus *all* and *kein* have passed almost completely over into the state of pronominals, *solch* and *sämtlich* have not advanced quite so far, and *einig*, *manch*, *viel*, and *wenig* are still further behind. Our grammarians should state the facts in such cases and not be so free with their theories, and should especially avoid such positive statements that this or that is *always* found in choice language. The word "always" is a very strong word. The indiscriminate attacks upon the newspapers might also justly be omitted. The reviewer has collected and examined the specific charges of a number of these grammarians against the newspaper. He stands ready to show that every one of these so-called grammatical errors occurs fully as frequently in the language of prominent German scholars. These so-called errors, as illustrated above, are not real mistakes but new tendencies that are rooted, not in careless speech, but in the feeling of the German people. In some cases they may be unfortunate, in most cases they are legitimate developments in the direction of simplicity or finer shades of meaning. These tendencies ought to be studied with interest and not be condemned. Almost all the sciences are studying phenomena, only in Grammars do we still find the old-fashioned love of theory deeply entrenched fighting its hopeless battles.

On page 126 Mr. Nagl sets up a new theory for the use of *haben* and *sein* in compound tenses : Durch das Hilfszeitwort *sein* wird im ganzen das Unabsichtliche, Zuständliche, Unwillkürliche, durch *haben* das Absichtliche, Bewufste, Selbstbewufste ausgedrückt. We give here a few of his examples : Ich *habe* geschlafen,—weil ich

selbst den ordnungsmässigen Wechsel zwischen Wachen und erquickendem Schläfe *will*; ich *bin* eingeschlafen, der Moment des Einschlafens kann von mir nicht gewählt werden. According to this rule of Mr. Nagl's we ought to say: Ich *bin* (not *haben*) gelitten, for we surely do not desire to suffer. The old rule that *haben* is used with intransitives to denote durative action and *sein* to indicate the beginning or end of an action is still the best rule that we have. Hermann Paul has treated this subject from this point of view at considerable length in a recent publication. The only place where Mr. Nagl's rule seems to hold better than the old one is in such examples as: ich habe angefangen, aufgehört, etc. Even here his explanation does not bear close study, for quite evidently the real cause for the use of *haben* here is that the force of the simple verbs *fangen*, *hören*, etc., asserts itself. A newer development here is the use of *sein* in accordance with the general rule: Ich *bin* von oben angefangen, von der hohen Uhl her, hoch von oben, und *bin* gesunken (Frenssen's *Jörn Uhl*, chap. xxvi). Wie ich schon sagte, ist man erst in den letzten Jahren angefangen, von dem Kloster das zu retten und zu erhalten, was noch zu erretten und zu erhalten ist (O. E. Kiesel in *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 13 Feb. 1905).

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*English Grammar for Beginners*, by J. P. Kinard. The Macmillan Company, 1906. 249 pages.

The fault that high school teachers frequently find with many of the English grammars for use in the lower grades is that such books are either too difficult or too simple. On the one hand, written by university graduates, the definitions are sometimes put in language too difficult for the learner to grasp, so that the study of grammar often resolves itself into a process of memorizing unintelligible definitions and tedious lists of rules and exceptions. On the other hand, in the effort to bring the subject well within the level of the student's development and training, some grammarians have succeeded only in making their books puerile and unattractive.

Dr. Kinard has skilfully avoided these two extremes, and has pro-

duced a grammar at once scholarly and simple. On every page it is evident that the book is written by a true teacher, with a sympathetic insight into the difficulties likely to be encountered at each step, and with an earnest desire and determination to make the subject as clear and attractive as possible. With this end in view the author has introduced a large number of illustrative sentences,—chosen for the most part from such books as the children are likely to be familiar with,—and by arranging these sentences in parallel columns, he has “made an effective use of the inductive method” (Preface). Thus the pupil is led to make his own definitions from the sentences before him, and the teacher finds such questions and sentences as he himself would be likely to use in blackboard work to illustrate different forms or different uses of the parts of speech. Whatever opinions there may be as to the value of the so-called inductive method in the study of grammar, any teacher will find this little text-book a safe and helpful guide, brief and clear in statement, simple, suggestive, and accurate in method.

Though Dr. Kinard has wisely omitted all unnecessary details, there are instances where a brief foot-note would save the student from possible error.

P. 46. Attention might have been called to the fact that the words *his, her, my, our, your, their*, though usually classed with the pronouns, are at the same time strongly adjectival in function, whereas the other forms, *hers, mine, ours, theirs*, are more purely pronominal in function.<sup>1</sup>

P. 49. It might have been well to add here a warning to the student that the apostrophe is no longer used with the forms *hers, its, ours, yours, theirs*. To use the apostrophe in such cases is a natural mistake, of frequent occurrence in students' themes.

P. 77. In the discussion of the transitive and intransitive verbs, the student should be taught to observe that the same verb may be transitive in one instance and intransitive in another. For example: *Mary sings well. Mary sings her part well.*<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See the discussion in Davenport and Emerson's *Principles of Grammar*, pp. 189 ff.

<sup>2</sup>See Davenport and Emerson, p. 47; C. A. Smith, *Our Language*, p. 47, note.

*Mittelenglisches Lesebuch* von Friedrich Kluge. Mit Glossar versehen von Arthur Kölbing. Halle a. S. Max Niemeyer. 1904. 8vo, pp. viii, 219. Price, 5 Marks.

In a carefully edited and well printed volume Professor Kluge has included 52 pages (18 selections) of prose and 70 pages (23 selections) of poetry. In range of subject matter the volume compares favorably with Mätzner's *Altenglische Sprachproben* (1867-69), which includes, in two volumes, 11 selections of prose and 38 selections of poetry; not so favorably, perhaps, with Wülcker's *Altenglisches Lesebuch* (1874-80), which contains, in three thin volumes, 16 selections of prose and 64 of poetry. Among the authors or works represented in Wülcker and not in Kluge are Genesis and Exodus, William of Shoreham, Robert Mannyng, King Alisaundre, Richard Coeur-de-Lion, Psalter (MSS. Sloane 1853, Harl. 1704), Prayer of Richard de Castre, The Life of Elizabeth, The Vision of Tundale, Owain Miles, Patience, Gower, Hoccleve, Boethius (MS. Royal 18 A XIII), Wyntoun, Harding, William of Palerne, The Destruction of Troy, Chaucer, Lydgate, Morte d'Arthur (Thornton MS.), Lancelot of the Lake, Charles d'Orléans, The Parliament of Love, La Belle Dame Sans Merci, the Coventry and Chester Plays, The Three Kings of Cologne, La Tour Landry, and Merlin, not to mention about fifteen minor poems. On the other hand Kluge includes selections from the Ancren Riwe, Layamon, the Ormulum, Sir Tristrem, and other poems, together with The Soul's Ward, Poema Morale, and King Horn complete, all of which are important alike to the student of literature and the student of language. For Wülcker, it must be remembered, "Altenglisch" meant only the period from 1250 to 1500.

Unlike Mätzner, Morris-Skeat, and Zupitza-Maclean<sup>1</sup>, Kluge has not seen fit to add any bibliographical introduction or notes; and this, we believe, is a serious defect. Of course the university professor will supply these as he reads through the book with his class; but a good deal of time will be thus wasted in setting forth matters which might have been disposed of here once for all. Besides saving time, such apparatus would have been useful in

<sup>1</sup> This review was written before the appearance of Professor Emerson's *Middle English Reader*, which Dr. Monroe reviews elsewhere in this number.

showing the state of scholarship at the present time, and would have been immensely useful to the private student. Fifty pages of introductions and notes would not have swollen the book inordinately.

In the case of the prose selections we cannot understand why the lines have not been numbered. In consequence of this lack, Herr Kölbing has been obliged to cite from the prose selections by number and page! The importance of this omission will be evident at once. If an editor should choose to print privately such a volume for the use of his own pupils, he could of course make it as primitive as he desired; but in a published volume, intended for use in any institution where English is studied, it is certainly much better to provide such helps as simple common sense has long since suggested.

Another crotchet is the printing of the negative particle *ne* as a part of the following verb. While this is not an important matter, we do not know of any good authority for it, any more than for the printing of *godalmichti* (e. g. p. 23, l. 1 f. b.) or *wheneþat* (p. 33, l. 12) as one word. On the other hand, we can see no serious objection to the editor's change of *u* to *v* in conformity with modern usage.

Much space has been saved by printing the poetry in smaller type; but this gain has been effected at the expense of many pairs of weak eyes that will have to travel through this part of the book as much as the other. The expense of composition in larger type would have been little if any greater.

The references, so far as we have tested them, appear to be correct. The Layamon extract, however, is meagrely labeled "nach der Londoner Hs." Since both MSS. are in the British Museum, it should have been explicitly stated that the Leir story is extracted from the older MS., Caligula A ix. Under the Kuckuckslied (p. 75) for *Prononc.* read *Pronunc.* Under King Horn (p. 75) it would have been graceful and by no means superfluous to have referred also to the E. E. T. S. re-edition (1901) by McKnight, Professor Kluge's former pupil, which is assuredly more useful to-day than Wissmann's now antiquated critical edition. Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight (p. 115) was re-edited by Mr. Gollancz in 1897; cp. *Mod. Lang. Quarterly* i. 53.

The Glossar seems to be complete and on the whole to be a very creditable piece of work. The arrangement, however, is open to objection. No attempt at etymological alphabetizing can be wholly

satisfactory. It seems to us almost as absurd to arrange M. E. words thus, as it would be to arrange O. E. words in the order in which they would appear in a dictionary of Primitive Teutonic. Why not recognize the independent status, so to speak, of Middle English, just as we do of Modern English, and alphabetize accordingly? Variant spellings would then fall into their places with cross-references to the spelling which the lexicographer preferred to accept as standard.

Some of Kölbing's markings of O. E. long vowels will not meet with universal favor, e. g. *úpp* (with the doubled *p*), *swift*, *fēohtan*, *fēohte*, and *-ian*, the suffix of weak verbs of the second class (<\*-ō<sub>2</sub>ion). Concerning *upp* cp. Johansson, *P. B. Bei.* xv. 239-242, Kluge, *Anglia* iv. Anz. 17. It seems likely that both *ūp* and *upp* were found in Old English: we certainly have *ūp* in the words *ūpengel*, *ūpeurd*, *ūpende* and in the compounds (or phrases) *ūpahebban*, *ūpastandan*, *ūparāeran*, *ūpahōn*, etc.; we probably have *upp* in the adjective *uppe* and the adverbs *uppan*, *uppe*. *Swift* is marked long with a query in Kluge and Lutz's *English Etymology* (1898); since then Kluge seems to have decided that it is long. The connection of the word with *swifan* need not be disputed; but why the *-t* suffix (<\*-tō-) was added to the *swif-*, as Kluge insists, rather than to the *swif-*, is not evident. Concerning *feohtan* cp. Kluge, *Etymol. Wb.*<sup>6</sup>, Brugmann, *Grundriss der vgl. Grammatik* ii. 1039, Osthoff, *P. B. Bei.* xxvii. 343-353. Kluge's connection of the word with *pūgna* is as little convincing for us to-day as it was for Brugmann in 1892. In marking the *i* of *-ian* long Kluge and Kölbing are, so far as we know, absolutely alone. That the *i* is short has recently been proved by implication by Sievers in *P. B. Bei.* xxix. 561-569. The number of half-lines of the type *sweðrian syððan*, Beowulf 2702, is, it is true, not large; to the three or four cited by Sievers (*Bei.* p. 567) I may add *weorðian Waldend*, Christ 394; *þanciað þrymmes*, Daniel 425; *blētsien blēdum*, Azarias 111. But so far we have observed only three instances where the *i* of *-ian* can be said to form the second syllable of an E-foot  $\acute{\text{a}} \text{ } \times \text{ } \acute{\text{a}}$ : *blētsian nū*, Genesis 2357a; *blētsize þec*, Azarias 73 (the corresponding line of Daniel, 363, has *þē geblētsize*); *blētsien þec*, Azarias 139; and it is probable that in these lines the text is corrupt. Cp. *blētsien þec, dryhten*, Azarias 145; *blētsize þec, sōðfæst cyning*, Azarias 122a; *blētsien þec þā*

*ealle*, Azarias 132a; *blētsien þē þīne sacerdos*, Azarias 148a. With regard to the *a-* prefix, which Kölbing, following the conventional view, marks long, see *Philol. Soc. Trans.* 1882-4, pp. 242-244 and *Proc.* p. ii. With all their faults, the earlier sections of the Bosworth-Toller *Dictionary* had at least the one merit of treating this prefix as short. Not the slightest evidence, so far as I am aware, can be adduced for regarding this prefix as long, say in Cynewulf's time; in a study of this and other prefixes, to be published soon, I hope to present some valid reasons for preferring the heretical view that it is short.

Other points noted are the following: *Boþe* should be referred to O. N. *báðir*. Such words as *zelden*, *zemen*, *zetan*, *heren*, *flemen* and their compounds should be referred not to West Saxon but to Mercian forms (*zeldan*, *zēman*, *zetan*, *hēran*, *flēman*), and it is high time this fact were recognized by makers of glossaries. The article *s. v. flen* should have been split up into two; it is true that O. E. *flōzan* and *flēon* were confused in Middle English, and even in Old English; but this was not always the case. Through an oversight Kölbing implies that *unhelpe* comes from O. E. *unhælu*. On p. 186, col. 1, l. 5, for *wath* read *wat*. On p. 219 there should have been a cross-reference: Y, see 3. *Sæclian* can hardly be from O. E. *sȳclian*; nor *onliche* from *ǣntlic*. The two articles *s. vv. hatenn* and *hoten*, O. E. *hātan*, should have been combined. On p. 160, col. 1, l. 4 f. b., the query about *hatte* as present in meaning is superfluous; surely numerous instances occur. *Inlawes*, p. 31, l. 13 f. b., seems better taken as = 'inlaws,' verb, opposite of 'outlaws'; one other instance is cited by Mätzner and Stratmann-Bradley; cp. also *inlage* 'sugest à la lei le rei,' Glossary of Old Law Terms (ms. Cott. Jul. D. vii), also cited by S.-B. We see no reason for supposing that *sechen*, Poema Morale 118, means anything other than 'seek, look for.' *Wi*, Poema Morale 90, should have been entered *s. v. whi*; it is extremely common in the same sense in Modern English. Finally, it is hardly necessary to query *wynterwele*, Frühlingslied 1, 11, when its antonym *wynterwo* is found so near, l. 8.

Notwithstanding, however, the minor criticisms which we have felt called upon to make, the book will be received with gratitude by students who desire to work on accurate texts of representative M. E. literature not otherwise easily accessible. It is the first



*Lesebuch* since Mätzner's time which attempts to cover the M. E. field as we use the term to-day ; and it reflects no discredit on that scholarship in which Germany has so long led the world, and which sets so high a standard for the workers in other lands.

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*A Middle English Reader*, edited, with Grammatical Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by Oliver Farrar Emerson. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905. Pp. cxx, 475.

For some years teachers have felt the need of a new adequate edition of Middle English texts. Mätzner's *Sprachproben* has long been out of print. Morris and Skeat's *Specimens of Early English*, Part I, has not been revised since 1887.<sup>1</sup> MacLean's adaptation of Zupitza's *Übungsbuch*, admirable as far as it goes, is, for Middle English, not sufficiently comprehensive. Sweet's *Primers* are likewise too limited in scope. There is accordingly plenty of room for Professor Emerson's book.

Here we have an excellent selection of texts. The extracts are not mere scraps, but are long enough most of them to be self-explanatory and to awaken some interest not only in the language but also in the substance. In this latter respect also there is good variety. They range in date from the late *Chronicle* to Chaucer, and exemplify five principal dialects, Midland, Northern, Southern, Kentish, and the dialect of London.

Departing from the practice of previous editors, Professor Emerson groups his texts not according to date but according to dialect. The book is practically a Midland English reader ; the Midland dialect is regarded as a norm, to which the others are subordinated. There are, for example, 125 pages of Midland texts, 40 of Northern, 44 of Southern including Kentish, and 20 of the Midland dialect of London. Words are entered in the glossary under their

<sup>1</sup> A third edition is mentioned in the advertising pages at the back of certain Clarendon Press books, but, I believe, has not yet appeared.

normal Midland forms. And the introduction is a Midland grammar, peculiarities of other dialects being treated only in notes. Such a grouping of texts is a decided advantage; the separation of dialect forms in the glossary is a material aid to the student; and the choice of Midland as the basis for the grammar is abundantly justified by the history of the language.

It is desirable, however, that the introduction to Middle English be made as easy as possible for the student. The beginner finds the transition from old West Saxon to thirteenth century Midland abrupt and confusing. Many will wish, therefore, to see § 5 considerably enlarged. Instead of referring to twenty solid pages of Sievers, Professor Emerson would have done better to summarize Sievers's discussion, perhaps tabulating the more marked differences between West Saxon and Old Mercian. Of course, the teacher can do this when his class comes to the middle period; yet we must not overlook the advantage of having always at hand a printed statement by which one may refresh one's memory.

The chief objection to be urged against the grammar, however, is that its minuteness seriously impairs its usefulness. Here again I am thinking especially of the beginners for whom the book is intended. To them the multiplicity of details here given must be discouraging. Why dishearten them at the outset by such an array of minutiae? Even if Middle English is less regular than Old English, or presents more problems, it is hardly wise in an introductory manual to attempt to cover or even to indicate the whole ground. Surely a compact summary adequate to the beginner's needs could be given in much less space. In this respect Professor Emerson might have followed further the plan of Old English study which he commends in his preface.

Nor will the professed student of Middle English always rest satisfied with Professor Emerson's discussion. To cite a single instance. Despite the authority of Morsbach, whom Emerson here follows, it is very doubtful that the lengthening of Old English short vowels before consonant groups was so thoroughgoing as is assumed in § 72. It is pushing a theory too far to believe that Orm's pronunciation holds for all dialects. Kluge<sup>1</sup> is more con-

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der Engl. Sprache*, § 83.

servative. Chaucer<sup>1</sup> exhibits no such wholesale lengthening. Moreover, Emerson's § 72, taken in connection with § 79, needs further elucidation. Are we to believe that short vowels were at one time lengthened before *rl*, *rn*, *rp*, *ng*, and then again shortened?<sup>2</sup> It seems more reasonable that in some dialects these consonant groups never effected the lengthenings characteristic of other dialects.

Throughout the book the editor has rigorously applied his theory of lengthening, even marking as long the vowels of the article and of unstressed final syllables.

Except as just noted Professor Emerson in printing his texts has followed the standard editions; normalizing, however, in some instances noted at the foot of the page, and making a few silent changes in the same direction. For example, in the story of Floris and Blanchefleur, where Emerson, following the Cambridge manuscript, prints *nevere* (37, 11, 12), McKnight has *neure* (491, 492), Hausknecht *nevre* (907, 908). In 37, 32, *clepte* is from the Auchinleck ms.; the others have initial *k*. For *first*, 38, 27, the ms. has *furst* (McK. 539); and for *sipbe*, 39, 6, *supbe* (McK. 548). In this connection it may also be noted that the forms in the footnotes are not always exactly those of the ms. For example, p. 35, n. 11, for *letes* the Cambridge reading is *letez*; similarly p. 36, n. 4, for *niz* read *niz*; p. 37, n. 5, for *tieres* read *terres*; p. 39, n. 2, for *cleppeþ* read *cluppeþ*. The sense of 38, 20, makes preferable the Trentham reading *þan* adopted by Hausknecht.

It is to be regretted that the lines of the poetical extracts are numbered not as in the complete editions, but only by page. Hence comparison with the originals involves an amount of computation sorely trying to the temper. For this omission there is certainly no excuse; every user of the book will urge that the numbers be added in a second edition. One wishes also that both texts of *Lazamon* were printed side by side, as by Madden, in order that the second text,<sup>3</sup> of later date and without the strong southern coloring, might be compared with the first. These, however, are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ten Brink, *Language and Meter of Chaucer*, § 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, § 638.

<sup>3</sup> The second ms. is at this point considerably mutilated. This, however, is not a final reason for not printing it as suggested.

not insurmountable difficulties, and do not weigh heavily against the general excellence noted above.

There is an overgenerous sprinkling of errors typographical and other throughout the book. Many shortcomings in the glossary have already been pointed out by Mr. H. Littledale in *Modern Language Review*, i. 134-6 (January, 1906). Without examining all the texts and apparatus in detail, I may note the following in addition.

In the introduction. P. lii, l. 18, read *lengthening*. In the table on p. lxi, *d* has slipped out of the space for voiced dental stop. P. lxxxvi, last line, read *sineus*. P. cxv, the O. E. adjective ending was *-ig*.

In the text. P. 2, l. 18, the superior letters should be 5 and 6. On p. 3 *henced*, l. 6, and *henge*, l. 7, are identical and should be marked alike. The change of ms. *flec*, 3, 27, to *flēsc* is unnecessary; *flec* means 'fitch,' 'bacon.' In 4, 15, to be consistent with changes noted at the foot of the page, we should read *newe*. In 5, 13, the sense seems to require the change of *and* (ms. 7) to *on*. In 11, 26, read *dæþ*. In 21, 17, read *hē*. In 22, 21, Morris and Mätzner print *wore*. In 23, 8, why change ms. *eaes* to *ēres*, yet keep *bread*, 22, 15? The ms. reading in 185, 22, is *kinedone*. In 187, 25, for *Sōn* read *Fōn*. In 189, 6, instead of *wēnan*, Madden has *uuenan*.

In the notes. P. 254, last line, read *sinful*; the quotation is from Holt. Fritzsche's *Anglia* article mentioned on page 258 is in vol. v; the author's name is misspelled on p. 259, l. 9. On p. 260, last line but one, the reference should be p. 24, l. 19. In note on 27, 30, as bearing on Koch's emendation, cf. *quām*, 29, 32. P. 300, l. 21, *dēoren* is n. pl., and occurs at 182, 14. The supposed author of the *Anceren Riwele*, p. 305, is Richard, not Ralph, Poor. In 310, 21, for 259 read 459.

In the glossary. Many quantities both O. E. and M. E. are wrongly marked; I cite only *bitid* for *bitid*, p. 336; *net* for *nēt*, p. 404; *wende*, *wenden*, for *wēnde*, *wēnden*, s. v. *wēnen*. P. 319, l. 4, for *h* read *f*. P. 322, insert *ahōn*, 'hang,' 187, 26. P. 326, s. v. *arīgt*, supply meaning. P. 329, read *bannen*; *beonnen*, 187, 23, is infinitive; the preterit in *Laz.* is weak. P. 335, *bisne*, 10, 5, rather means 'original.' P. 340, s. v. *būten*, add meaning 'without,' 183, 25. P. 341, *cāreful* means 'full of

care,' 'anxious,' and the form in 188, 27, is *karefullest*. P. 344, the cross-reference under *cleppen* leads nowhere. P. 364, the adj. shows that *follkess* 10, 13, is plur. P. 373, *grēt* does not occur in 31, 3. P. 384, s.v. *ilc*, add *ille ān*, 'each,' 9, 20. P. 387, insert *kīnde*, adj., 22, 11. P. 388, *kisse*, 39, 7, is pres. plur. P. 388, insert *kūme* < O. E. *cyme*, 'a coming,' 183, 20. P. 389, insert *lāðen*, 'invite,' 202, 20 (< O. E. *laðian*, not < *lāðian*, which would appear as *lōðen* in A. R.). P. 391, the W. S. form of *lēsen* is *līesan*. P. 395, *Lundenisce* is weak in both places cited. P. 396, the cross-reference under *mæi* had better be *may*. P. 398, insert *mēde*, 'meadow,' 35, 14. P. 406, *oc* = also, 25, 32. P. 429, insert *somed*, 'together,' 187, 25. P. 433, insert *stōnstill*, 'stonestill,' 201, 29. P. 435, s. v. *sune*, add Midl. pl. *sunes*, 24, 30. P. 437, insert *swūlc*, 'as if,' 181, 9, 15. P. 441, s. v. *tōnicht*, *tōniht* in 181, 10, 12, means 'last night.' P. 444, insert *þegn*, *þegn*, *þein*, occurring *passim*. P. 447, l. 1, read *\*þrengan*; *þurhlōcen* is < O. E. *-lōcian*. P. 448, s. v. *underfōn*, the references 2, 19, and 2, 8, should be transposed. P. 449, the definition of *undern* seems too vague; in 28, 13, it means some particular hour. P. 460, *witenn* 10, 11, is infinitive. P. 462, insert *wrigtful*, 'deservedly,' 26, 12.

The perverse separation of *g* and *ȝ* in the glossary has no very obvious advantage. Whereas *g* and *ȝ* are thrust apart, *g* and *ȝ* (which is equivalent to *ȝ*) are kept together; cf. the words on p. 370.

The usefulness of the book as a whole will be materially increased by a carefully revised second edition.

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## CURRENT LITERATURE.

## NEUERE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR.

## II.

Wildenbruch trat früher als vaterländischer Dichter auf als Liliencron, aber die junge Generation, voran die Berliner akademische Jugend, erkor beide zur selben Zeit zu ihren Führern. Wildenbruchs Heldenlieder 'Vionville' und 'Sedan,' Mitte der siebziger Jahre erschienen, konnten erst einen Erfolg erringen, als im Jahre 1881 die 'Karolinger' in Meiningen zur Aufführung kamen, denen rasch die brandenburgisch-preussischen Dramen 'Der Mennonit' und 'Väter und Söhne' folgten. Drei Jahre später liess Liliencron sein erstes Buch erscheinen: 'Adjutantenritte und andere Gedichte.' Sein Erfolg war weniger laut wie der Wildenbruchs, ohnedies brachte der pensionierte Hauptmann nur Lyrik, wo der königlich preussische Assessor mit wichtigen Dramen auftrat. Aber eine starke und nachhaltige Begeisterung riefen sie beide hervor und jubelnd schloss sich ihnen die Gruppe junger Poeten an, die den ersten Schritt nach der neuen Richtung hin taten. Unter dem Titel 'Moderne Dichter-Charaktere' warfen sie zu Weihnachten 1884 (mit der Jahreszahl 1885) einen Sammelband Lyrik auf den Markt, der, wie sie meinten, dazu bestimmt war, "direkt in die Entwicklung der modernen deutschen Lyrik einzugreifen." Die Namen der drei Herausgeber waren bis dahin ebenso unbekannt, wie die Namen der trotz der grosssprecherischen Programmvorrede meist noch ganz epigonenhaften Mitarbeiter. Nur Wildenbruch war bereits berühmt. Er stand in der Mitte dieser neuen Stürmer und Dränger, die erklärten, sie, "das heisst die junge Generation des erneuten, geeinten und grossen Vaterlandes," wollten, "dass die Poesie wiederum ein Heiligtum werde, zu dessen geweihter Stätte das Volk wallfahrtet." Bei aller Unreife geht ein echt nationaler Zug durch das Buch, ein begeister-

ter, froher Enthusiasmus, wie ihn die ältere, skeptisch gewordene Generation nicht kannte. Daneben tritt das soziale und das religiöse Element stark hervor, und so sehr die aus dem Sammelwerke sprechende Bewegung in ihrem jugendlichen, häufig ans Lächerliche grenzenden Ungestüm auch auf Irrwege und Abwege geriet, im Grunde war die Auflehnung gegen die stagnierende Konvention in der Literatur doch nichts anderes, als der Wunsch, wieder zur Natur zurückzukehren, sich wieder als Mensch zu fühlen, wieder auf der Erde zu wandeln und sich nicht zwischen Wolken und Sternen zu verlieren. Vorgearbeitet hatten die Brüder Heinrich und Julius Hart mit ihren 'Kritischen Waffengängen' (1882–1884), und seinen Höhepunkt erreichte der Sturm in Karl Bleibtreus 'Revolution der Litteratur' (1886), einem beispiellos heftigen Pasquill gegen so ziemlich alle deutschen Dichter und Schriftsteller, die sich damals einer gewissen Beliebtheit beim Publikum erfreuten, unter gleichzeitiger Hindeutung auf Byron als den grössten Dichter der Neuzeit—ein Argument, zu dessen Beweisführung Bleibtreu übrigens auch seine zweibändige 'Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur' geschrieben zu haben scheint.

Inzwischen wurde auch in Süddeutschland zum Kampf geblasen. Der Münchener M. G. Conrad begründete im Jahre 1885 die Monatsschrift 'Die Gesellschaft,' die sich allen Angriffen der älteren Generation zum Trotz anderthalb Jahrzehnte behauptete und der neuen Richtung unschätzbare Dienste geleistet hat. Conrad—an seine Seite trat später Bleibtreu—der durchaus national gesinnt war, zog mit bayrischer Grobheit gegen die seichte und dilettantische Vielschreiberei zu Felde, die sich deutsche Literatur nannte, und machte seine Zeitschrift bald zum Organ der neuen Richtung, die sich schnell zum Realismus und dann zum Naturalismus auswuchs. Conrad fühlte instinktiv, dass die junge Generation ihre Vorbilder im Auslande suchen müsse, wenn sie neue Bahnen einschlagen wollte, und im Verein von nur wenigen Anhängern begann er seinen mutigen Kampf gegen die "Alten." Er war einer der Ersten, die Ibsens Bedeutung erkannten, er verteidigte Zola, dessen 'Assommoir' schon ein Jahrzehnt zuvor einen weiten Leserkreis in Deutschland gefunden hatte, erfolgreich gegen alle Angriffe, und er wies auf Tolstoj hin, als dieser noch kaum dem Namen nach bekannt war. Als sich dann die 'Freie Bühne,' die Otto Brahm im Jahre 1890 als Berliner Organ der "neuen Rich-

tung" herauszugeben begann, als besonderer Anwalt der "drei grossen Ausländer" geberdete, hatte Conrad längst den Weg bereitet, auf dem Brahms und seine Leute gefahrlos und siegesgewiss vorwärts schreiten durften.

Conrads kritische und journalistische Tätigkeit hat dem Naturalismus in Deutschland zum Siege verholfen. Zuerst Zola, dessen 'Germinal' einen mächtigen Eindruck auf die junge Generation machte, dann aber vor allem Fjodor M. Dostojewskij, dessen erschütternder Roman 'Verbrechen und Strafe'—er war bereits im Jahre 1882 unter dem Titel 'Raskolnikow' beim späteren Verleger der 'Gesellschaft' in deutscher Übersetzung erschienen—vielleicht die nachhaltigste Wirkung ausgeübt hat, viel nachhaltiger jedenfalls, als Tolstoj's grosse Erzählungen. Denn Zola und Dostojewskij rührten beide mächtig an die "soziale Frage," an die Tolstoj erst etwas später, erst im Jahre 1890 mit seinem düsteren Volksstück 'Die Macht der Finsternis'—das Drama war bereits im Jahre 1886 verfasst, aber erst 1890 in Berlin vom 'Verein Freie Bühne' aufgeführt worden—herantrat. Zuerst sah man allerdings nur das Äusserliche. Hier waren grosse Schriftsteller, die das Leben darstellten, wie es wirklich war, die nicht verschönten und verhüllten, sondern die Dinge wiedergaben, wie sie ihnen erschienen. Die Kunst als solche wurde bedeutungslos und die neue Lehre ging dahin, dass die Literatur nunmehr die Zwecke und Ziele verfolgen müsse, die eigentlich der Naturwissenschaft und der Sozialwissenschaft zukommen. Zola selbst wollte nur "durch treue Beobachtung und unbedingte Wiedergabe dieser Beobachtung die Wirklichkeit zu verständnisvollere Anschauung bringen, als diese selbst es zu tun vermag," und er hat versucht, diesen Satz zu einer Wissenschaft auszubilden. Die konsequente Durchführung dieser Theorie führte jedoch zu einer so abstossenden Darstellung des Hässlichen und Alltäglichen, dass man am Ende gerade oder nur darin das Wesen des Naturalismus erblickte und diese Auswüchse nachahmte und noch zu überbieten versuchte. Schon lange vorher war in Verbindung mit den naturalistischen Gemälden der Bastien-Lepage, Lhermitte und Roll der oft gehörte Satz proklamiert worden: "Le laid c'est le beau," und man stieg nun auch in der Literatur hinunter zu den "Enterbten," zu den "Erniedrigten und Beleidigten," in die Branntweinkneipen, in die Schmieden und Maschinenhallen und Werkstätten, in die Volks-



küchen und Hospitäler, in die Irrenhäuser und Gefängnisse. Gleich am Anfang schrieb Zola: "Der Naturalismus hängt nicht ab von der Wahl des Vorwurfs. . . . Nur die Dummköpfe machen ihn zur Rhetorik der Gosse. Wir verlangen für uns die ganze Welt." Aber die "Dummköpfe" waren zweifellos in der Mehrheit. Jeder Idealismus wurde über Bord geworfen und in greller Übertreibung wurde das Hässliche in all seiner Nacktheit und Ekelhaftigkeit dargestellt. Damals kamen die Dirnenromane in der deutschen Literatur auf, die Geschichten von den Mädchen, die wie Dostojewskijs "Sonja" bei erzwungenem Lasterleben innerlich keusch blieben oder wie Zola's "Nana" alles vergifteten, was mit ihnen in Berührung kam. Damals schrieb Conrad seine zahlreichen Erzählungen mit lang ausgesponnenen erotischen Kapiteln, und Bleibtreu seine Novellen aus den Berliner Kellerkneipen, damals wurden die Romane der Walloth, Alberti und Conradi staatsanwaltlich beschlagnahmt und schliesslich verboten, damals begann man nach dem Muster der Franzosen die Grosstadt—also Berlin—zum Mittelpunkt oder Hintergrunde der Erzählung zu machen. Hier fanden sich neue Probleme die Menge, hier konnte man die Poesie entbehren und grau in grau malen, hier bot das Proletariat, das Nachtcafé, das Armenhaus Stoff für eine realistische Kleinmalerei, wie sie sich jeder Dilettant mit Leichtigkeit aneignen konnte—denn vor allem war technische Geschicklichkeit nötig, um naturalistisch zu schreiben. Damit wurde aber gleichzeitig alle neuere Literatur auf lange Zeit diskreditiert: man warf der Jugend Unsittlichkeit, Pessimismus und Materialismus vor, und es bedurfte starker Talente und grosser unbestrittener Erfolge, um klar werden zu lassen, wie wenig man den inneren Geist der Bewegung verstand, wie sehr man sich an Äusserlichkeiten stiess. In Wahrheit war der Realismus und selbst der Naturalismus in der deutschen Literatur so wenig etwas Neues, wie in der französischen. Nur die Aufnahme zeitgemässer Ideen, wie sie durch den Sozialismus, durch Darwin und Haeckel, durch Lombroso und Krafft-Ebing angeregt worden waren, gaben beiden ihr modernes Gepräge. Wie in der Kunst lässt sich auch in der Literatur die Linie zwischen Realismus und Naturalismus nicht scharf ziehen—auch hier ist der Naturalismus nichts anderes als Realismus, erweitert durch das Studium des Milieus. Anläufe nach dieser Richtung hin lassen sich schon bei Hebbel, Otto Ludwig, Georg Büchner und selbst bei Grabbe und

Anzengruber nachweisen. Deutlich erkennbar aber tritt diese neue Art von Kunst bei Balzac hervor und verläuft dann in gerader Linie über Flaubert, Daudet und die Goncourts hinaus bei Zola. Noch einen Schritt weiter gingen die Nachahmer Zolas, die Huysmans und Richepin, aber die letzte Konsequenz der naturalistischen Lehre zogen in Deutschland Arno Holz und Johannes Schlaf mit ihren unter dem Pseudonym Bjarne P. Holmsen 1889 veröffentlichten drei Erzählungen 'Papa Hamlet.' Hier waren die Theorien, die August Strindberg in seiner 'Komtesse Julie' auf das Schauspiel zu übertragen suchte, auf die Novelle angewandt : auch die kleinste Einzelheit der Vorgänge war pedantisch genau nach dem Leben abkonterfeit, selbst der Stil, für den Adalbert von Hanstein in seinem Buche 'Das jüngste Deutschland' (1900) den passenden Ausdruck "Sekundenstil, insofern Sekunde für Sekunde Zeit und Raum geschildert werden," erfunden hat, sucht den Ton des Gesprächs mit allen seinen Abschweifungen, Ausrufen und Unfertigkeiten genau wiederzugeben : es war der Anfang der Gedankenstriche und Punkte, die nachher bei den jüngsten Dichtern eine Zeit lang zur schlechten Angewohnheit wurden. Damit war aber auch das Äusserste erreicht, was der Naturalismus erreichen konnte : die Literatur drohte geistlos und langweilig zu werden, denn die Technik musste bei dieser Art von Wirklichkeitsschilderung die erste und wichtigste Stelle einnehmen, der Inhalt und die Durchgeistigung des Werkes dagegen fast ganz gleichgiltig werden. Gerade an diesem Punkte war es, wo man anfang zu erkennen, dass man es mit einer Kunst zu tun hatte, die in Äusserlichkeiten aufging, der es an Farbe, an Stimmung, an Gedanken, an Herz und Gemüt fehlte. Das war sicherlich keine deutsche Kunst mehr. Schon Bleibtreu, Conrad, Walloth, Conradi und vor allem Max Kretzer hatten nicht gewagt, soweit zu gehen. Inzwischen war aber der Realismus auch ins Drama eingedrungen. Im Winter 1889 wurde Gerhart Hauptmanns 'Vor Sonnenaufgang' vom 'Verein Freie Bühne' in Berlin zum ersten Male aufgeführt, und das Aufsehen, welches dieses unter dem Einflusse des krassesten Naturalismus stehende Stück—Hauptmann hatte es dem pseudonymen Bjarne P. Holmsen, dem "konsequentesten Realisten," gewidmet—machte, war beispiellos. Gleichzeitig begann die Wochenschrift 'Die Freie Bühne' zu erscheinen, die mit Energie ähnliche ästhetische Prinzipien verfocht, wie Conrad's

‘Gesellschaft.’ Ihre erste Nummer eröffnete sie mit Hauptmann’s zweitem naturalistischen Stücke, dem ‘Friedensfest,’ und suchte hauptsächlich für die modernen Geister des Auslandes Verständnis zu erwecken: ein Programm, dem sie auch heute noch als Monatschrift unter dem Titel ‘Die Neue Rundschau’ im Grossen und Ganzen treu bleibt. Von diesen Ausländern hat, soweit das Drama in Betracht kommt, Henrik Ibsen unzweifelhaft den grössten Eindruck in Deutschland gemacht und hier seine ersten grossen Erfolge errungen und seine ersten gläubigen Nachahmer gefunden. Bei Ibsen gibt es verschiedene Perioden: seine “moderne” beginnt etwa mit den ‘Stützen der Gesellschaft’ und sein endgiltiger Sieg in Deutschland fällt in die Mitte der achtziger Jahre, in die Zeit des Realismus in Literatur und Kunst. Auch hier war es die junge Generation, die seine erste Gemeinde bildete und deren Organe, die beiden realistischen Zeitschriften, seine Fahne vorantrugen. Aber Ibsen war schon gar kein Realist mehr. Zwar, er war nicht ein warmherziger Idealist, wie sein grosser Landsmann Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, eher weht uns ein eisiger Hauch aus seinen Dramen entgegen, aber er griff nach modernen Problemen und behandelte sie mit dem ihm eigenen unbeugsamen Wahrheitssinn und als ein genauer Kenner des menschlichen Nervensystems und Seelenlebens. Er führte die “theoretischen Erörterungen” in das Drama ein, er machte seine Gestalten zu Trägern von Ideen und Tendenzen, er machte die Bühne zur Kanzel und zum Rednerpult. Hauptmann hat viel von ihm gelernt—aber am wichtigsten ist Ibsen für das deutsche Theater geworden: seine Dramen verlangten eine neue Art der Darstellung, die psychologische Schauspielkunst kam durch ihn auf die Bühne. Trat aber beim Naturalismus das Milieu in den Vordergrund, so war es bei Ibsen das Individuum, das gegen das Milieu ankämpfte und sich davon zu befreien suchte, und so wurde Ibsen zum Kritiker der Gesellschaft, zum Kritiker der konventionellen Lügen der Kulturmenschheit. Zwar waren die Verhältnisse in Deutschland nicht entfernt so eng, wie in den norwegischen Kleinstädten, in denen Ibsens Menschen kämpfen und dulden, aber die Probleme, die der Dichter behandelte, interessierten schliesslich auch in Berlin und München, zumal auch hier jeder Tag neue Probleme brachte, die niemand zu lösen wusste. Ähnliche Probleme rollten die Max Halbe und Georg Hirschfeld, später auch Otto Erich Hartleben in ihren Schauspielen auf, und

es gelang ihnen sogar, Ibsen in der Wirksamkeit ihrer Stücke zu überflügeln, da sie noch an dem allerdings als veraltet verschrieenen Grundsatz festhielten, dass zum Drama vor allem Handlung gehöre: Ibsens neuere Bühnendichtungen dagegen waren handlungslos, sie waren gewissermassen nur die Epiloge zu Handlungen, die schon geschehen waren, ehe noch der Vorhang aufgezogen wurde. Hier knüpfte auch Hermann Sudermann mit seinen Dramen 'Sodoms Ende' (1891) und 'Die Schmetterlingsschlacht' (1895) an, in denen Fragen auf der Bühne behandelt wurden, wie sie die Berliner Gesellschaft damals bewegten. Inzwischen setzte jedoch der Umschlag gegen den extremen Realismus immer deutlicher ein. Keiner der Führer, die bei seiner Entstehung in den vordersten Reihen gekämpft hatten, war ihm treu geblieben. Zwar gab es Rückschläge und gibt es heute noch deutsche Schriftsteller, die über den Naturalismus nicht hinausgekommen sind, aber schon Hauptmann suchte bald nach neuen Wegen und fand, dass er im Grunde seines Herzens ein Idealist war: er, der konsequenteste Realist, schrieb schliesslich Versdramen! Ob aber der Naturalismus der deutschen Literatur mehr geschadet oder mehr genützt hat, lässt sich jetzt noch nicht erkennen. Unbestritten kommt ihm das Verdienst zu, mit einer falschen Ästhetik, die das wirkliche Leben verachtete, aufgeräumt zu haben, und vor allem hat er an die Stelle der gekünstelten Buchsprache der vorhergegangenen Literatur die lebende Sprache des Tages mit allen ihren Nuancen und Abstufungen gesetzt. Und mehr als das: er hat den Wirklichkeitssinn gestärkt und verschärft und den Dichtern damit die Möglichkeit gegeben, Dinge und Gefühle zu schildern und darzustellen, die sie vorher vermieden oder umgehen mussten, er hat sie zu Meistern einer Ausdrucksweise gemacht, die für den neuen Idealismus, der nun einsetzte, Laute und Worte finden konnte.

Es darf nicht übersehen werden, dass die neue Literatur, die um die Mitte der achtziger Jahre ihren Anfang genommen hatte, mehrere hervorragende Kritiker und Essayisten zu ihren Vorkämpfern zählte. Die unermüdliche Tätigkeit der Paul Schlenther, Otto Neumann-Hofer, Hermann Bahr und Leo Berg in den Tagen, als die junge Generation noch Anfeindungen über Anfeindungen erfahren musste, hat hier klärend und vermittelnd gewirkt, und vor allem ist es Georg Brandes gewesen, dessen Einfluss ein ganz

gewaltiger war. So sehr er auch in akademischen Fachkreisen gering geschätzt wird und so häufig er auch in Einzelheiten geirrt haben mag—sicherlich hat bis auf den heutigen Tag kaum jemand mit so viel Verständnis die intimen Beziehungen zwischen den Literaturbewegungen der verschiedenen Länder dargelegt, wie er, oder den Geist fremder Schriftsteller dem grossen Publikum erschlossen. Wenn ihn auch der Fachgelehrte durch gewissenhaftere Forschung übertrifft, so bleibt ihm doch das Verdienst, als erster die vergleichende moderne Literaturgeschichte in grösserem Umfange gepflegt zu haben, und besonders ist er der jungen deutschen Generation so gut ein Führer gewesen, wie der dänischen. Er hat ebenso wie die anderen genannten Essayisten zeitig die Gefahr erkannt, welcher "das jüngste Deutschland" entgegenging und er hat mitgeholfen, die neue Richtung auf weniger einseitige Wege zu leiten.

Allzu schwer war das allerdings nicht. Neben der neuen lief noch immer die alte Richtung her, stiller und eine Zeit lang vielleicht weniger beachtet, aber unbeirrt in ihrem idealen Streben. Sie war längst nicht mehr bloss Unterhaltungsliteratur, sondern suchte nach tieferen Zielen. Ihre Vertreter scharten sich besonders um zwei Zeitschriften vornehmen Gepräges: um die von Julius Rodenberg seit 1874 herausgegebene 'Deutsche Rundschau' und die 1886 von Karl Emil Franzos begründete 'Deutsche Dichtung,' die mit dem Tode ihres Herausgebers im Jahre 1904 einging, nachdem sie es auf fünfunddreissig Bände gebracht hatte. Als Franzos an die Herausgabe seiner Zeitschrift ging, war die junge Generation und der Naturalismus bereits auf dem Kampfplatze erschienen, und Franzos unterzog sich bewusst der schwierigen Aufgabe, ohne Lärm und Geschrei ein gediegenes Organ zu schaffen, das die Kunstanschauungen solcher Dichter wie Paul Heyse, Gottfried Keller, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, Wilhelm Hertz, Theodor Fontane, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, Ludwig Anzengruber, Wilhelm Jensen, Hermann Lingg, F. Ottmer, Otto Roquette, Ferdinand von Saar, A. F. Graf Schack, Theodor Storm, Adolf Wilbrandt und vieler anderer vertrat, und er hat es verstanden, dem Wertvollen, das nicht in die Schablone der vielen neuen Schulen passte, Anerkennung zu verschaffen. Jetzt, wo der Sturm der achtziger Jahre vorüber und ein Überblick über das Resultat der neuen Bewegung möglich ist, erkennt man, dass

die älteren Dichter, die man als veraltete verschrieen, nicht weggeschwemmt worden, sondern im Gegenteil zu weit grösserem Ansehen gelangt sind, als die unruhigen Brauseköpfe, die ihnen die "Papierkronen," wie Bleibtreu schrieb, von den Köpfen schlagen wollten. Ist nicht Theodor Storm einer der grössten unter ihnen, oder Gottfried Keller oder Theodor Fontane? An ihnen hat Franzos, hat Julius Rodenberg in seiner 'Deutschen Rundschau' festgehalten ohne ihre Namen zum Aushängeschild zu benutzen, und was ihnen trotz ihres lautlosen Wirkens zum Siege verhalf, war das Verständnis für die Seelenart des deutschen Volkes, neben dem der undeutsche Naturalismus kalt und hart erschien. Denn eine gewisse Weichheit, die weder die jahrhundertelangen Kämpfe, noch die modernste Form des Militarismus zu zerstören vermochte, wohnt dem deutschen Gemüt trotz aller äusseren Rauheit inne, und Männer wie Wilhelm Raabe oder Karl Emil Franzos—dieser selbst da, wo er die Novellenstoffe seiner galizischen Heimat entnimmt—oder Ernst von Wildenbruch haben in ihren Kunsterzählungen die rechten Töne dafür zu finden gewusst. Wenn auch ihre Technik hier und da etwas veraltet anmutete, so erzielten sie mit ihren einfachen Mitteln nicht weniger starke Wirkungen wie die jüngeren Schriftsteller, die durch Häufung von alltäglichen Vorgängen und langseitigen Milieuschilderingen das gleiche zu erreichen suchten. Allerdings, auch diese Älteren konnten sich der veränderten Kunstauffassung nicht ganz entziehen. In Deutschland war mit dem neuen politischen Leben, wie es aus der Wiederaufrichtung des Reiches hervorging, auch die Zeit einer neuen Kultur angebrochen. Man hatte keinen Grund mehr, sich scheu von der Gegenwart abzuwenden und in die Vergangenheit zu flüchten. Eine Dichtung von starkem Gehalte, die ganz von deutschem Geiste durchdrungen war und laut die neue Zeit begrüßte, hatte schon im Jahre 1871 ein Schweizer als eine Art Huldigung dem stammverwandten Reiche dargebracht: Conrad Ferdinand Meyer mit seinem 'Huttens letzte Tage,' "die schönste Dichtung, die der deutsch-französische Krieg hervorrief, auf Schweizer Boden, von einem Schweizer geschrieben," wie Adolf Frey sagt. Jetzt erst empfing dieses wundervolle Werk seine rechte Würdigung: als Bismarck im März 1890 von seinem verantwortungsreichen Posten als Kanzler des Reiches zurücktreten musste, ging eine lang andauernde Bewegung durch die Massen

des deutschen Volkes, die zeigte, dass die Bismarcksche Regierung, so wenig sie vielleicht auch der Kunst und Literatur günstig war, das Nationalgefühl gestärkt und gefestigt hatte, und dass alle die fremden Einflüsse, die in den letzten Jahren aus dem Auslande herzuströmten, nicht unter die Oberfläche hinabgedrungen waren. Jetzt trat Fontane, der schon in seinen Gedichten seinen preussisch-deutschen Überzeugungen klaren Ausdruck gegeben, in die Reihe der ersten Erzähler, anfangs zwar wegen seiner 'Irrungen, Wirrungen' (1888) und seiner 'Stine' (1890) von der jüngeren Schule als einer der ihren beansprucht, in Wahrheit jedoch ein durchaus unabhängiger Dichter, der dem lange arg verlästerten Patriotismus in seinen späteren Romanen Ausdruck verleihen und doch einem neuen deutschen Realismus zum Siege verhelfen durfte. Der physiologische Impressionismus ging jetzt allmählich zum psychologischen über. Im Gegensatz zu den jüngeren Realisten, deren Werke wesentlich Verstandesarbeit waren, schufen die älteren Dichter, als sie sich dem neuen Geiste und dem neuen Stil zuwandten, mit dem Herzen und nahmen seelischen Anteil an ihren Schöpfungen. In diese Übergangsströmung lenkten nun auch viele der jüngeren ein: Sudermann beispielsweise ging vom extremen Realismus nach und nach zum Impressionismus über, im Roman sowohl wie im Drama, in diesem seit 1896 mit 'Morituri,' in dem er sich der Seelenmalerei und der Charakterschilderung zuwendet. Eine kurze Zeit begann sogar das Märchendrama die deutsche Bühne zu beherrschen: Fulda's 'Talisman' (1893), Pohl's 'Vasantasena' (1893) oder Ernst Rosmer's 'Königskinder' (1895) errangen glänzende Erfolge, und vom Märchendrama zum symbolistischen Drama war nur noch ein kurzer Schritt. Den Anfang machte Wildenbruch mit seinem 'Heiligen Lachen' (1892), dann ging sogar ein ehemals so ausgesprochener Realist wie Hauptmann zeitweise mit 'Hannele' (1893), mit der 'Versunkenen Glocke' (1898), mit 'Schluck und Jau' (1899) und dem 'Armen Heinrich' (1902) zu ihm über, um einstweilen mit dem noch ungedeuteten 'Und Pippa tanzt' (1906) zu enden.

Damit stehen wir aber bereits auf einem Boden, der zuerst, ehe die Älteren darauf bauen konnten, ebenfalls von einer Gruppe junger Dichter aufgebrochen worden war. In der Zeit, als der Naturalismus jede ideale Richtung zu ersticken drohte, im Jahre 1889, begannen Franz Evers und Albert Kohl die Herausgabe

ihrer 'Litterarischen Blätter' aus der Überzeugung heraus, die Poeten ihrer Zeit, die sich noch nicht endgiltig der Prosa zugewandt hatten, seien nicht "die Nachzügler unserer vorausgegangenen Dichterheroen, nicht die letzten Strahlen unserer klassischen Glanzperiode, sondern die Vorboten einer neuen Zeit, eines neuen Lebens und Strebens, einer neuen Blüte deutscher Poesie." Und an einer anderen Stelle schreibt Wilhelm Bölsche: "Zu den schweren ästhetischen Irrtümern, die eine Zeit des Kampfes, wie die Gegenwart, erzeugt, gehört auch der, dass der Realismus in der Poesie den Vers entthronen, dass es nicht mehr im Sinne des dichterischen Fortschrittes liegen könne, das rhythmische, musikalische Element der Vers-Sprache als wirklich förderndes Kunstmittel zur Anwendung zu bringen. Noch nimmt man Anstand, mit solchen Forderungen die gesammte Lyrik für überlebt und überwunden zu erklären, aber der Ruf wird laut, den Vers wenigstens aus der epischen und dramatischen Dichtung mit Energie hinauszuerwerfen." Hiergegen anzukämpfen war eins der Ideale dieser ideal gesinnten, übrigens noch sehr jugendlichen Herausgeber und der Gruppe von Dichtern, die sich ihnen anschloss, darunter Namen, die später zu grosser Berühmtheit gelangen sollten. Die 'Litterarischen Blätter' bestanden nur zwei Jahre. Ihr Programm kehrt noch einmal als 'Lyrische Rhapsodie' in der von Evers herausgegebenen 'Symphonie,' einem 'Gedichtbuch' von fünf Gleichgesinnten, wieder—aber so unreif und jugendlich diese beiden Unternehmungen auch anmuten, der Idealismus, der sie hervorrief, blieb nicht ohne Früchte. Auch hier hatte ein stark ausgeprägtes Nationalgefühl Anteil, aber wichtiger war es, dass hier zuerst von Leuten, die noch unerprobte Anfänger waren, der Versuch gemacht wurde, Altes und Neues mit einander zu verbinden, wenn auch dieser Versuch aus bewusster Auflehnung gegen den Despotismus der naturalistischen Schule hervorging. Als die entschiedensten Vorkämpfer dieser Bewegung sind die Brüder Hart zu nennen, deren älterer, Heinrich Hart, im Jahre 1886 sogar mit einer epischen Dichtung aus prähistorischer Zeit, dem ersten Gesange eines 'Liedes der Menschheit' hervortreten gewagt hatte und seine Verse 'Weltpfingsten' (1879) ausdrücklich als 'Gedichte eines Idealisten' bezeichnete. In ihren bereits erwähnten 'Kritischen Waffengängen,' die später zu einem 'Kritischen Jahrbuch' wurden, ferner in den nur kurze Zeit, von Frühling bis Herbst 1885, her-



ausgegebenen 'Berliner Monatsheften für Literatur, Kritik und Theater' traten die Harts für einen künstlerisch geläuterten Realismus ein: "Wir kennen nur eine Poesie," schreiben sie, "die des Genies, des Talents, und nur einen Feind: die Mittelmässigkeit, den sich vordrängenden Dilettantismus. Die Poesie des Genies war zu allen Zeiten realistisch und doch auch idealistisch; sie athmete von jeher Wahrheit, Quellfrische und Natur." Man begreift danach, dass die um Evers und Hart gescharten Dichter in ihrer Sehnsucht nach den Idealen, die man verloren hatte, nicht davor zurückschreckten, einen Mörike oder Storm zu Vorbildern zu wählen; vor allem einer der treuesten Mitarbeiter der 'Litterarischen Blätter,' Carl Busse, ging von ihnen aus, und Ferdinand Avenarius oder Prinz Emil zu Schönaich-Carolath oder Oskar Linke lehnen sich, modern im Fühlen und Denken, an die älteren Lyriker an. Natürlich war es zuerst die Lyrik, die zum Träger dieses Neu-Idealismus wurde, und überhaupt hat die Lyrik, die Urscheinung aller Poesie, jede neue Wendung der Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung zuerst eingeleitet. Arno Holz ging mit seinem 'Buch der Zeit' (1886) der sozialen Richtung voraus, Karl Henckell, Hermann Conradi und Maurice von Stern waren anfangs Sozialisten, und sie wandten sich einer mehr nationalen Kunst zu, ehe diese noch die übrigen Gebiete der Literatur ergriffen hatte. So töricht es klingt: eine Zeit lang hatte man sogar versucht, den Naturalismus auf die Lyrik zu übertragen, aber als dieses Experiment von Grund auf missglückt war, erwuchs aus der Verbindung der alten Ästhetik und des neuen Wirklichkeitsgefühls eine neue Lyrik, deren Höhepunkt Richard Dehmel, noch mehr aber Liliencron vorstellt—dieser kernhafte Poet, dem alle Schulregeln fremd waren, der wenig nach künstlerischen Theorien fragte und nur aus sich selbst heraus schuf und dichtete, keck, gesund, ursprünglich. Erst Mitte der neunziger Jahre erreicht er mit seinem 'Poggfred' die angestrebte Verbindung der älteren lyrischen Formen—jenes Idealismus, den schon die Dichter früherer Perioden gepflegt hatten—mit der neuen Form, die aus äusseren Eindrücken, aus dem verstärkten Wirklichkeitssinn hervorgeht. Damit hält die "Stimmung" ihren Einzug in die neue Poesie—der idealistische Impressionismus, der sich allmählich zu nervöser, reizbarer Spannung verdichtet und so zur jüngsten Periode der deutschen Literatur herüberleitet: der Wirklichkeitssinn strebt auch das Seelische zu

erfassen und darzustellen. Vor allem die Wiener Herman Bahr und Arthur Schnitzler haben in ihren Erzählungen und dialogisierten Skizzen von einem mildtönenden, weichen Charakter diese Form der Vollendung nahegebracht.

Eingeleitet worden war diese letzte bis jetzt erreichte Phase der Dichtkunst durch die Musik, durch Liszt und Wagner. Wagner —er hat einer ganzen Kulturperiode sein Siegel aufgedrückt— wirkte mächtig auf die Entwicklung und Vertiefung unseres Gefühls und Empfindens ein: er hat die Tonkunst zum Ausdruck der feinsten Schattierungen des Seelenlebens der Gegenwart gemacht, das Unsagbare, das sich in Worten nicht wiedergeben lässt, das in der tiefsten Tiefe unserer Psyche schlummert, hat er in Töne und Harmonien zu kleiden gewusst. Daneben eroberte sich die Malerei neue Gebiete, die ihr durch die erhöhte Aufnahmefähigkeit unserer Nerven für Farbeindrücke und Stimmungen eröffnet wurden: vor allem Böcklin und Klinger führen uns in eine neue Welt und erzeugen neue Sensationen, wie Wagner und seine Schüler durch die Tonkunst geben sie durch die bildende Kunst Empfindungsnuancen wieder, die bisher nicht zum Ausdruck kommen konnten. Auch Friedrich Nietzsche wird erst als Künstler und Dichter, als Seher und Prophet—ein Philosoph ist er trotz seines 'Menschliches Allzumenschliches' niemals gewesen—verständlich, wenn man ihn als ein Produkt des modernen Lebens mit seinen schwer vereinbaren Gegensätzen betrachtet. Wie die moderne Musik mit ihren Dissonanzen, wie das Leben der Jetztzeit mit seinen furchtbaren, tiefgreifenden Widersprüchen, so ist die künstlerische Persönlichkeit, die hinter dem Werke steht, das jedes empfängliche Gemüt berauschte, ohne ihm doch ganz verständlich zu werden: 'Also sprach Zarathustra.' Die wundervolle Musik der freien lyrischen Rhythmen packte die Jugend auch da, wo der Inhalt rätselhaft und dunkel blieb—das Unausgesprochene, Ahnungsvolle, das sich an das Gefühl, nicht aber an den Verstand wandte, kam dem Suchen der Zeit entgegen. Nietzsche musste fühlen, dass seine Lehre eine Auflösung alles Bestehenden bedeutete, dass sie ein weiches Empfinden an Stelle der Tat setzte, also wandte er sich vom Pessimismus ab und schuf das Ideal einer neuen Menschlichkeit: "In die Höhe will es sich bauen mit Pfeilern und Stufen, das Leben selber: in weite Fernen will es blicken und hinaus nach seligen Schönheiten,—darum braucht es Höhe!" Es war der Ausdruck der

grossen Sehnsucht der Zeit—der Sehnsucht nach etwas Unbestimmten, eine echte Dichtersehnsucht, an der ein Philosoph keinen Anteil hatte. Der das Ziel dieser Sehnsucht, die "Höhe," erreichen sollte, das war der "Übermensch"—auch er das Produkt einer dichterischen Phantasie und unmöglich wie die Gestalten in den poetischen Träumen der Romantiker. Aber die gesamte Generation, die zur Zeit des Erscheinens des Werkes jung war, berauschte sich an den Farben und Tönen des Zarathustra-Buches: in der Literatur wenigstens hat kein anderes von Nietzsches Werken gleichen Eindruck gemacht und gleich tiefe Spuren hinterlassen. Die Poeten, die früher Sozialisten gewesen waren, wurden jetzt Aristokraten und predigten einen schrankenlosen Individualismus. Bei Sudermann, bei Hauptmann, selbst bei Ibsen zeigen sich Nietzschesche Einflüsse. Eine Art Neuromantik beginnt, die ehemaligen Naturalisten verwandeln sich in Allegoristen und Symbolisten—ähnlich wie Nietzsches Zarathustra. Alle möglichen neuen Schulen und Kunstrichtungen tun sich auf, und bis auf den heutigen Tag dauern die literarischen Experimente fort: "Es gibt wieder mal etwas Neues, wir haben wieder mal eine neue Kunst, etwa die einundzwanzigste in diesem Jahrhundert, wenn man nur die Hauptströmungen rechnet," beginnt Meier-Gräfe noch im Jahre 1899 seine 'Beiträge zu einer modernen Ästhetik.'

Inzwischen hatte jedoch eine Richtung Bedeutung gewonnen, die man zwar zuerst ebenfalls nur als Spielerei angesehen hatte: Der Dichterkreis Stefan Georges. Im Oktober 1892 erschien das erste Heft seiner 'Blätter für die Kunst,' einer "zeitschrift im verlag des herausgebers," die "einen geschlossenen von den mitgliedern geladenen leserkreis" hatte. "Der name dieser veröffentlichung sagt schon zum teil was sie soll:" heisst es auf der ersten Seite, "der kunst besonders der dichtung und dem schrifttum dienen, alles staatliche und gesellschaftliche ausscheidend. sie will die Geistige Kunst auf grund der neuen fühlweise und mache—eine kunst für die kunst—und steht deshalb im gegensatz zu jener verbrauchten und minderwertigen schule die einer falschen auffassung der wirklichkeit entsprang. sie kann sich auch nicht beschäftigen mit weltverbesserungen und allbeglückungsträumen in denen man gegenwärtig bei uns den keim zu allem sieht, die ja sehr schön sein mögen aber in ein anderes gebiet gehören als das der dichtung . . . Wir wollen keine erfingung von geschichten sondern wiedergabe von

stimmungen keine betrachtung sondern darstellung keine unterhaltung sondern eindruck." Diesem Programm ist Stefan George bis zum heutigen Tage ohne Wanken treu geblieben: er hat versucht, in seinen Gedichten Eindrücke wiederzugeben und ist dabei einer einseitigen Manier verfallen, einer Manier allerdings, in der er Vollendetes geleistet hat. George und sein Kreis sind Versciseleure, denen die Form über alles geht, deren wunderbare blutlose Strophen aber trotz ihrer hoheitsvollen Sprache, die übrigens häufig genug in direkten Unsinn ausartet, kalt und fremd anmuten: Eine starre Schönheit ohne Wärme und Leidenschaft, tönende Formen, seltene Reime ("hat ein künstler einmal zwei worte miteinander gereimt so ist eigentlich das spiel für ihn verbraucht und er soll es nie oder selten wiederholen." *Blätter für die Kunst*, Zweite Folge, II. Band, p. 35), dabei natürlich, wie schon aus den Citaten ersichtlich ist, Gesuchtheit und Geheimniskrämerei. Es ist begreiflich, dass die Werke dieser Esoteriker nur einen "geschlossenen leserkreis" suchen und finden konnten. Sie erklärten, Deutschland sei nur ein "bildungsstaat zweiter ordnung" und seine Literatur "bürgerlich-pöbelhaft und unterhaltend-beeindruckend." Ein richtiges Gefühl dafür, dass Deutschland in einer Reihe der feinsten Dinge der Kultur hinter den westlichen Nationen zurückstehe, liess sie sich ihre Lehrmeister unter den englischen Prärafaeliten und Swinburne, unter den Baudelaire, Mallarmé, de Régnier, Verlaine und d'Annunzio suchen. Das Seltsame und Prunkende, das Exotische und Blasierte zog sie an—sie wenden sich mit Verachtung von allem Volkstümlichen und Einfachen ab. Dabei versuchen sie mehr zu geben als Poesie: ihre Verse sollen eine Vereinigung von Musik und Malerei und Dichtkunst sein, eine Art Gesamtkunstwerk im Kleinen, wie es sich Richard Wagner für die Oper erträumt hatte. Stefan George selbst hat sich weit weniger als alle seine Anhänger entwickelt: er ist sich seit der Veröffentlichung seiner 'Hymnen'—auch sie erschienen im Jahre 1890 zuerst nur für einen "geschlossenen Leserkreis" und erst später im Buchhandel—völlig gleich geblieben. Stärker schon ist der Pulsschlag wirklichen Empfindens bei Karl Wolfskehl zu vernehmen, und weiter noch ist der Blick, mit dem Hugo von Hofmannsthal in seinen weichen Versdramen in die Herzen der Menschen schaut. Übrigens haben die Gedichte Conrad Ferdinand Meyers auf die Mitarbeiter der '*Blätter für die Kunst*' wenigstens

in gewissen Äusserlichkeiten eingewirkt: die Plastik der Darstellung, die innere Wärme und Leidenschaft, die selbst die höchste Form- und Sprachvollendung nicht verwischen konnten, hat keiner der Georgischen Dichter erreicht oder erreichen wollen.

Wenn aber schon bei George der männliche Ton fehlt, so droht eine nebelhafte Weichheit und Verschwommenheit die neuste Dichtkunst zu überschwemmen, wie sie der Vlame Maeterlinck in seinen zeit- und raumlosen Dramen vertritt: der Mystizismus. Die Poesie hatte sich dieser neuen Richtung schon lange genähert, die ethisch-religiöse Kunst der Franz Evers und Maurice von Stern hat den Weg dazu geebnet. Das Stimmungs-drama lenkte ebenfalls darauf. Vielleicht allerdings ist die Gefahr—denn eine Gefahr für die deutsche Dichtkunst bedeutet es unzweifelhaft—nicht so gross: Frank Wedekind ist inzwischen auf den Plan getreten und hat mit seiner rücksichtslosen Offenheit und Ironie den Schleier von Kultur und Konvention fortgerissen und uns in seinen modernen Dramen mit frivoler Freude das Leben als eine Kette von Verworfenheiten und Schwächen gezeigt. Keine Phrase, kein hohes Pathos bleibt vor seinem teuflischen Lachen bestehen, er weiss, was die Welt bewegt und wie der Erdgeist eine stärkere Macht ist, als unser Idealismus und unser Glaube an die Götter. Wird sich aber der alte Idealismus dem gegenüber als der Stärkere erweisen? Einstweilen deutet vieles darauf hin. Dichter wie Wilhelm Raabe und Gustav Frenssen und besonders die Heimatkunst weisen doch wohl den Weg zu einer neuen volkstümlichen Dichtung voll Wirklichkeitssinn und Ideentiefe. Mit ernster männlicher Begeisterung sucht auch Wildenbruch gegen die Gefahr einer kosmopolitischen Literatur anzukämpfen — nur dass man schwerlich schon so bald die gesuchte nationaldeutsche Dichtung finden wird. Dagegen spricht schon der Charakter des deutschen Volkes, der heimatliche Verfassung und landschaftliche Sitte über die nationale stellt, der es aber auch vor jenem einseitigen geistigen Schaffen bewahrt, das den übrigen europäischen Nationen mit ihrer straffen Konzentration eigen ist. Richard Wagner hat das schon vor mehr als sechzig Jahren erkannt, als er in seinem Artikel 'über deutsches Musikleben' schrieb: "Das wahrhaft Eigentümliche der Deutschen bleibt in einem gewissen Sinne somit immer provinzial, so wie wir nur preussische, schwäbische, österreichische Volkslieder, nirgends aber ein deutsches Nationallied haben." Inzwischen hat sich zwar

vieles geändert und das deutsche Volk hat einen gewaltigen Schritt vorwärts getan, aber selbst die Ereignisse der letzten vierzig Jahre haben seine innere Veranlagung nicht dauernd verändern können. Otto Neumann-Hofer meint einmal, das deutsche Volk sei "kein Volk von literarischer Initiative" und habe zu allen Zeiten "die literarischen Anstösse von aussen" erhalten. So richtig das bis zu einer gewissen Grenze ist, so vergisst er doch, dass einen vielleicht noch mächtigeren Anstoss noch stets die deutsche Kunst gegeben hat. Es ist nicht ohne Bedeutung, dass jetzt wieder Maler von so ausgesprochen deutscher Art wie Moritz von Schwind in den Vordergrund treten und mehr Verständnis als zu ihren Lebzeiten finden, dass Hans Thoma, der Bauernsohn aus dem Schwarzwald, dessen Kunst nicht die kleinste Spur von Kosmopolitismus aufweist, sondern einzig und allein deutsch ist, eine immer grösser werdende Germeiude um sich sammelt—er, der ein Menschenalter lang vergebens auf Anerkennung warten musste—und dass die Gemälde Hans von Volkmanns so rasch Gemeingut des deutschen Volkes werden! Sie mag nicht nationaldeutsch sein, die deutsche Literatur der kommenden Jahre—sicherlich wird sie deutsch sein, und wenn das Provinzielle ein Teil des deutschen Wesens ausmacht, dann wird sie eben provinziell sein. An die Stelle der Künstelei wird wieder das wahrhaft Lebendige treten, das keine literarische Richtung und keine Mode zu zerstören vermag und das über aller Kunst und Musik und Literatur steht: die Poesie.

GEORG EDWARD.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY.

THOMAS MURNER'S VON DOCTOR MARTIN<sup>o</sup> LUTER'S  
LEREN VND PREDIGEN.

**L**AZARUS Spengler, Nürnberger Stadtschreiber, ein eifriger Anhänger Luthers, veröffentlichte im Jahre 1519 'Schützred vnd christenliche antwurt ains erbarn liebhabers go<sup>t</sup>licher warhait der hailigen geschrift, auff etlicher widersprechen, mit antzaigunge, warumb Doctor Martini Luthers leer nitt sam vnchristenlich verworffen, sonder mer als Christenlich gehalten werden so<sup>ll</sup>. Apologia.'

Gegen diese Schrift wendet sich Murner in seinem Büchlein: 'Von D. M. luters leren vnd predigen. Das sie argwenig seint vnd nit gentzlich glaubwirdig zu<sup>o</sup> halten.' Dasselbe erschien auf St. Katharinenabend, d. h. am 24. November, 1520 bei Grüninger in Strassburg.

Spenglers Schutzrede wurde wieder abgedruckt in Riederer, Beitrag zu den Reformationsurkunden. Altdorf 1762.

Murners Gegenschrift ist meines Wissens seither nicht wieder neugedruckt worden. Beide Schriften sind ein interessanter Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte. Sie stammen aus einer Zeit, wo man noch über religiöse Dinge streiten konnte, ohne gleich mit Keulen drein zu schlagen oder den Gegner mit Schmutz zu bewerfen. Man hoffte noch auf eine friedliche Beilegung des Mönchsgezänkes, der Gedanke an eine Lostrennung von der alten Kirche lag noch völlig fern; beiden Parteien ist ehrlich darum zu tun, die bestehenden Übelstände in der Kirche, die dringend der Abänderung bedürfen, zu bessern. Beide Schriften zeichnen sich deshalb vor vielen späteren durch eine wohlthuende Ruhe aus, durch einen angenehmen Respekt vor der Person des Gegners, dem man nicht nur unlautere Absichten unterzuschieben sucht. Es ist zu verwundern, dass man gerade diese Schrift Murners nicht früher bereits wieder an die Öffentlichkeit gebracht hat, um seinem so

stark verunglimpften Namen Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren zu lassen.

Neben seinem Lied von dem Untergang des christlichen Glaubens gehört diese Schrift zu dem besten, das aus der Feder des streitfreudigen Mönchs hervorgegangen ist.

Der Neudruck folgt dem Original, das sich auf der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin befindet, Cu. 4706.

ERNST VOSS.

MADISON, WIS.

# VON DOCTOR MARTIN<sup>O</sup> LUTER<sup>S</sup> LEREN VND PREDIGEN.

Das sie argwenig seint, vnd nit gentzlich  
glaubwirdig zu<sup>o</sup>halten.

(Gegen Laz. Spenglers Schutzrede.)

## VORREDE.

SO mich wyder Doctor Martinum Luther zu<sup>o</sup> schreiben, oder yemans andren, seines gunsts oder anhangs, weder neid noch hasz, noch andre billich zu<sup>o</sup> straffne vrsachen, beweget haben, dan allein das er meiner achtung in christlichem glauben (vsz bewegung menschlicher anfechtung) mit vngeweschnen henden gegriffen hat, vnd dem selbigen glauben Christi Jhesu zu<sup>o</sup> schwerem nachdeill, seinen vnuerdeuwten magen vszgeschüttet hatt, nit allein sich hat lassen verniegen das in latinscher sprache zu<sup>o</sup> thu<sup>o</sup>n, sunder zu<sup>o</sup> gro<sup>o</sup>sserem schaden der geletzten warheit, seine lere an filen orten wol vnd christlich gethon, an filen auch dar gegen vnwarlich, vnnd mit dem gifft vermischet, auch vff den essich stechend, in manigfeltigen deutschen biechlin alle winckel erfüllet hatt, dester annietiger geho<sup>o</sup>ret worden ist, ie mer er der oberkeit, vnnd mit nammen der geistlichkeit in den bart gegriffen hatt, vnd wie sie lecherlich sagen vngenetzet geschoren, Vnd aber



in solchen gethonen straffen bey hanz karst vnd der vngeler-  
ten vnd vffrierigen gemein nit ein kleinen gunst, vnd anhang  
erlanget hatt, sich des selbigen anhangs zu° miszbruchen  
vnderstanden. Die armen einfeltigen, vnder dem deckmantel  
vnnnd schein fill myszbruchs yn Christlycher kirchen ab zu°  
thu'n in miszglauben fieren wyl, vnd yrtums christlicher  
warheit. Hat mich notturtig beducht nyt me zu° schlaffen,  
vnd [Aii] weiters zu° zu° sehen, sunder dem frummen eyn-  
feltigen christen man der leider daz nit verstat, wie subtil die  
vnwarheit, mit der warheit verkauffet ist, vnnnd der tuffelisch  
engel sich in die engel des liechts verstelllet hat, mir vnd  
christlichem glauben zu° rettung vnd hanthabung zu° zu°  
springen, vnd nach meinem besten vermügen als ich in eids  
krafft, vsz gelüpfen vnd ansehung meines ampts zu° thu'n,  
schuldig bin die warheit die got selb ist zu° retten vnd  
beschirmen, vnd darumb lyden was mir got darumb zu°  
fiegt zu° lyden. Will aber da by mengklich vnd iederman  
erbetten haben, mit warlicher vnd vorgonder protestation, mein  
schreiben anders nit zu° verstou, dan da durch die hoch-  
uerstendigen zu° verursachen in solcher meiner reden vnd der  
widerparthen gegenreden, den warhafftigen christlichen ver-  
stant darusz zu° erlesen, on schmach beweisung, des erwür-  
digen geistlichen vnd hochgelo°rten vatter vnd herren Doctor  
Martin Luther oder iemans anders seines gunsts vnd anhangs,  
sunder alsz ein gehorsamer, zu° erwarten in disem span den  
vszspruch des zu°künfftigen conciliums wa eins würde, oder  
wer sunst in christlicher kirchen darin hab zu° erkennen,  
oder wer mich hierin eins besseren zu° berichten kan dem  
vnuerstockt, sunder christlicher vnderthenigkeit zu° gehellen .zc.

ES SEINT FIER BÖSER EIGENTSCHAFT  
DER VNWARHAFTIGEN LERER.

**W**O sich der tüfel vnd die vnwarheit, deren er ein vatter  
ist, in eigner art vnd gestalt zu° erkennen geben, so  
würdent sie beid on alles zweiffen von iederman geschühet

vnd geflohen werden. Darumb ire eigenschafft ist sich in erlichen nammen titel vnd schein zu<sup>o</sup> transformieren vnd verendren, vnd lasz mich klein irren dz mir für gewendet würt, das Doctor Luther oder seine gynner gelert leut seint, alsz der wol weisz das solches nieman den geschickt lüt vnderston dörfen vnd vermügen, welche geschicklicheit wo sie die brüchten zu<sup>o</sup> fürdrung des glau<sup>o</sup>bens vnd der warheit ein gantze christenheit sich ir zu<sup>o</sup> freuwen vnd beriemen hett, so sie aber dz nit thu<sup>o</sup>nd sunder die edle gottes gab der kunst sich miszbruchten, werdent sie byllich vergleicht eynem schwert dz ein schelliger zu<sup>o</sup> seinen henden bringt, sich vnd andre da mit schediget vnd verwundet. Ist auch der massen für vnsz kumen vnder andrem doctor Martin Luthers biechlin ein Schirmred von einem gethon, der sich ein liebhaber götlicher warheit der heiligen geschriff tennet, des obgenanten doctors leren vnd predigen zu<sup>o</sup> beschirmen vnd verfechten etlich anziehen, dz sie yn für docter Luters discipel achten, des er sich dan nit schamet, sunder vrsachen dardu<sup>t</sup>, die yn vsz rechter göttlicher billicheit bewegen seiner leren an zu<sup>o</sup> hangen, er alsz ein Daniel durch got erweckt die ersame Susannam das ist die christliche kirch wider die bo<sup>s</sup>zwicht von babilonien zu<sup>o</sup>beschirmen, vnd andre dergleichen fil vnbedachter vnd vermessner [Aiii] freueller wort on fundament geret, lut der selbigen schirmreden.

Gyb ich dem selbigen liebhaber der wahrhelt der besten meinung zu<sup>o</sup> verston, das niemans sich des erlichen nammens selb beriemen sol, er wysse dan dz solches dem er anhangt ein warheit sei, das zu<sup>o</sup> dem richter stot vnd mit seiner erkenntnisz, So wir nun vnd darzu<sup>o</sup> Doctor Luther in hangender sachen ston, vnd er daryn nichts ernüweren solt, alsz der für das zu<sup>o</sup> kinfftig concilium appelliret hat, habt ir üch keiner warheit zu<sup>o</sup> nennen (Quia res iudicata pro vero habetur) Dan ein geurteilte red sol für ein warheit geachtet werden, vnd nit hangende oder spennige reden, den wir zu<sup>o</sup> gleicher weisz vermeinen, das wir vnsere artikel so wider dich seint auch vsz dem heiligen ewangelio ziehen, vnnd gleich so wol gern

behalter vnd liebhaber des ewangeliums wolten erfunden werden als yr. Da bei auch zu<sup>o</sup> verston geben, das üwere leren so wir dem glauben widerwertig achten, nit in dem ewangelio standen noch darusz mo<sup>o</sup>gen gezogen werden, ir vch darumb des ewangeliums wider vnsz nit zu<sup>o</sup> beriemen haben bisz zu<sup>o</sup> vsspruch der sachen vnd des sententz dan niemans flucht dan ir selbs, so üch weder satel noch recht, noch platz, weder personen wellen gelegen sein, alsz die niendert richterlich erscheinen do<sup>o</sup>rffen, vnd stetes von einem vff das ander appellieren, mittler zeit vnd yn hangender appellation fil ding ernüweren, den teutschen adel anriefen, vnd anders mer vnderston zu<sup>o</sup> einem vffrierigen vnd nit richterlichen handel dienen, sunder zu<sup>o</sup> eiguem vnd freuenlichen mu<sup>o</sup>twil, wie sich vor zeiten deren menschen gleichen von dem freien geist nanten, vnd nachvolger der armu<sup>o</sup>t des ewangeliums, als die armen von leyon<sup>1</sup> vnd die sich selbs geiszleten vnd andre mer, Ir üch auch vffwerffen für alle welt alsz lerer des ewangeliums die fil ernstlicher biecher im glauben geschriben haben, Vnd ir aber gegen inen kum drü bletlin erarbeit haben vnd eins hallerwerths dinten verschribben, vch selbs ein nammen geben den ir von dem richter erwarten solten, myner achtung die erste irrung üwers fürwendens darusz entstot, dz ir vch selb bewerer. So doch sant Paulus spricht Nit der sich selb riemet beweret ist, sunder den got beweret .z.c. Die ander bo<sup>o</sup>se vnd billich zu<sup>o</sup> argwenigen vwer eigentschafft ist, dz ir iederman so dapffer können fürhalten, vnd das vsz der geschriff bewerer das den mindren gebüren mo<sup>o</sup>g den mereren zu<sup>o</sup> straffen, habe doch .s. Paulus Petrum dz haupt der .xii. botten gestraffet, Auch dabei in sachen des glaubens, vnd die üwer selen seligkeit betreffen, zime sich vch alsz wol alsz allen andren lereren sie seint heilig oder nit, dar zu<sup>o</sup> zu<sup>o</sup> reden, vnd wz ir wissen hab vch got so wol alsz ynen geoffenbaret. Auch sei Doctor Martin ein ordensman, priester, vnd doctor, dem in krafft derer dryen gebüre zu<sup>o</sup> leren, vnd wie wol vch dz allein von

<sup>1</sup> Waldenser in Lyon.

üweren predigen vnd leren hinderschläg dz ir verboten sind zu<sup>o</sup> predigen von der oberkeit des glaubens, wil ich es üch dennoch zu<sup>o</sup>lassen, vnd dz verbot nit ansehen, indem macht ir aber üwer ler argwenig, alsz bald ein andrer wider vch redet, alsz man vwer widerred gedultig ho<sup>o</sup>ret, so rieffent ir mort an allen glocken, vnd nennen dieselben lecker, bu<sup>o</sup>ben, appostutzler,<sup>1</sup> traumprediger, schwetzer, iuncker ecken, gauckelprediger fabelen vnd meren sager vnd wie sie haben die heilige geschrift durch ein nebbor loch gelesen, die deglich plerren, vnd murren, doch wenig beyssen, vnd der iuffs wo<sup>o</sup>rter fil, die einem hippenbu<sup>o</sup>ben basz an stünden, denn solchen ewangelischen lereren vnd liebhaberen der go<sup>o</sup>tliehen warheit, für die ir vch vsz geben, alsz ob sie nit auch doctor weren ordens leut, vnd priester, denen irer selen seligkeit nit alsz wol zu<sup>o</sup> hertzen gieng als die üwer, die ir doch solten als billich ho<sup>o</sup>ren, alsz sie üch ho<sup>o</sup>rent, vnd gedultig ietz bisz in das dritte iar, zu<sup>o</sup>letst nit mer schweigen können oder mo<sup>o</sup>gen, so yr also ein schedlichs end an üweren leren machen. So nun das ewangelium wie christus vnser her sagt, lyden mag, das es vff den decheren geprediget werde, warumb leident ir vnser wyderred nit als billich, alsz wir die üweren, vff das die hochuerstendigen vsz so<sup>o</sup>lecher red vnd widerreden die rechte warheit ermessen mo<sup>o</sup>chten vnd erkennen. Darumb vwer vngeduldt vnsz zu<sup>o</sup> ho<sup>o</sup>ren, üwer leren ein grossen argwon bringt, das ir vns nit mit der warheit, sunder mit vnsinnigem vnd vngefundierten widerfechten erblenden wellen, vnd mit dem zucker dz schedlich giffet der vnwarheit bieten, also das bisz har mancher geschwigen hat, vff dz er von vch nit geleckert vnd gebu<sup>o</sup>bt würd, so man das aber ietz von üch gewon ist, so laszt man üch schellig sein, vnd achtet üwere schelt wort nit mer.

Zu<sup>o</sup> dem dritten, machent ir üwere leren da mit arg wenig, dz ir üch selb Agustino, Hieronimo, Gregorio, Ambrosio, den fier liechten der christenheit so vnschamhaftig vergleichen, so

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Dieffenbach, *Wörterbuch*: apostüzler = superstitiosus.

sie wider vch retten, vch nit destminder gebüre vwere meinung dar züthu<sup>n</sup>, vnd wiewol dz war ist, solten ir, das ander lüt von vwerent wegen lassen melden, vff dz es vch für kein vermessenheit erschetzet würde, vnd vwer lob nit in eygнем mund erstüncke. Es ist vch auch nit genu<sup>o</sup>g solche heiligen lerer zu<sup>o</sup> hinderschlagen, sunder die concilia der gemeinen christenheit myessent vch weichen, Vnd welche vch gefallen die nemment ir an, welche wyder vch seint die verwerffent ir, Die doctores der schu<sup>o</sup>len wellen ir gar nit wyssen vnd weder ho<sup>o</sup>ren noch sehen. Ich wil auch weiters reden des ich mich erbüt bei zu<sup>o</sup> bringen, so Christus Jhesus etwas redt, so zwingent ir im seine reden vff üweren verstant den weder syn, noch meinung, nimmer vff in tragen, vnd ist das alles nit genu<sup>o</sup>g das vch Christus vnser her, die heiligen vnd warhafftigen doctores, mit sampt den gemeinen concilien aller christenheit weichen miessen, Ir mo<sup>o</sup>gent auch kein richter noch wellen vff erden dulden, Appellieren von einem vff den andren, vnd vff ein zu<sup>o</sup>künfftigs concilium, alsz die wol ermessen können das es schwerlich geschehen kan oder mag vff dz ir mitler zeit in verachtung yedermans vwer hertz in mu<sup>o</sup>twilligen dingen vffblasen vnd erwecken, die solcher grossen vffru<sup>o</sup>ren nie würdig warent. Das fierd dz vwere leren am aller argwoningsten macht, Ist daz ir an filen orten hüpscht vnd wol auch andechtig einfieren, doch alwegen ein gifftigen schwantz vnd stich daran hencken, vnd ein besondere fro<sup>o</sup>d doran habt so ir etwz yn fieren künden, das bisz har der massen nit ist geret, geschribben, oder gehalten worden, oder yemans in miszthaten ergreifen [B] mo<sup>o</sup>gen in sünden vnd dem kot menschlicher blo<sup>o</sup>digkeit. Als z dan so kumpt ir (wie Luther selber sagt in der fünfften bit seines pater nosters) vnd fallent in den selben kat alsz ein sauw, freszt yn darzu<sup>o</sup>, weltzet sich darin, woltent mit dz sie nit geschehen weren, dan yr lust hont dar von zu<sup>o</sup> reden, richten vnd lachen, Darumb hab ich das gesagt, wer gern klafft vnd nachret, der ist keinen menschen hold, Ja er ist ein gemeiner feint der menschlichen natur glych wie der tüffel, Dan ir habt nicks liebers dan dz ir sünt vnd

schant der menschet ho<sup>e</sup>ret sagen vnd handlen mo<sup>g</sup> vnd sich ires vbels frewet, dz seint doctor Martinus wo<sup>e</sup>rter von dem nachredner bistu sein discipel so kenstu die wort deines meisters wol, Nun ligt es an dem tag dz ir alle vwere lere vff ernüwerung setzen, vnd solche ernüwerung die so wyder den bruch der christenheit seint, so auch wyder gemeine concilia vnd alle heiligen lerer, vnd so man vch nit volget gleich üwers willens, so vergessen ir der zuchten, vnd nachreden auch, vor vnd hinden auch bei seitz reden ir iederman, vnd ob im schon also were wie ir sagen, soltent ir das mit christlicher bescheidenheit thu<sup>n</sup>, vnd da bei gedencken dz solche vbeldaten vnd sünden die ir straffen vsz menschlicher blo<sup>d</sup>igkeit beschehen, vnd nit in den heiligen geist gesündet wurt, sunder die ir straffen in irem hertzen sich selb erkennen vnd dz besseren werden, vnd nit alle ding also zu<sup>o</sup> dem mortlichsten vszlegten, wie wol ich da bei nit wil verstanden werden, das von straff des bo<sup>s</sup>en ab sol gestanden werden, sunder das ich das von vch begere, das ich in aller vwer leren, predigen schreiben, straffen, reden geduldig leiden die wyderred, vff dz die hochuerstendigen vnd richter darusz die warheit ermessen, welcher sententz ir vnd wir darnach billich ston sollen vnd geloben. Dunckt vch dan dz wir vch vnbillichs zu<sup>o</sup> legen, alsz dan habt ein freien gewalt vch zu<sup>o</sup> dem besten zu<sup>o</sup> verantwurten, wellent wir vnsere gegen red thu<sup>n</sup>, vnd darnach vnseren span in den richter setzen vnd ergeben mit beschlusz.

DAS DER HEYLIGEN VND DER SCHU<sup>o</sup>LEN LERER SPAN, MIT  
DOCTOR LUTHERS SPAN SEER VNGLEYCH IST .̄zc.

**I**CH kere mich ietz zü dem schirmer vnd vorgefchter der leren Doctor Luthers, vnnd zuhe harfür seinen ersten schirmstreich (aber warlicher ein spiegel fechten) alsz er vermeinet seine leren in glauben vnd scepter zu<sup>o</sup> bringen, darumb dz sie der ewangelischen leren gleichformig sei, vnd der leren s. Pauli dz zeigt er nit weiters an, beweret auch dz nit, dan wir sagen dz etlichs vnd der mererdeil seiner leren wider dz

ewangelium sei vnd wider. s. Paulus alle concilia vnd gemeine christenheit, alsz wir in den andren biechlin in sunderheit daruon geret probieret haben. Auch dz er seinen nutz darunder nit su<sup>o</sup>ch wer weisz dz es ist mer nutz den gelt nemmen, sie ist auch nit an allen orten der vernunft gemesz, sunder gro<sup>o</sup>sser vnuernunft vnnd richlichen vsz giessen eins vffsteigenden haupts in die flammen. Als du aber meinst dz gedruckt werck geb seiner lere kuntschafft der gleichformigen art des ewangeliums christi, sag ich nein darzu<sup>o</sup>, dan alle ding sollent gu<sup>t</sup> [Bii] geachtet werden in ansehung des ends, den wa Christus selb sein ewangelium nit zu<sup>o</sup> gu<sup>o</sup>tem bewerlichen end gebruchet hett, so würde es vndo<sup>o</sup>glich erfunden, so nun Luters lere alle zeit anfencklich wol vnd lieplich ynfürett, vnnd doch entlich sticht vff den misz glauben, dz ist sie lecket vornan vnd kratzt do hinten, würdt sie in ansehung des ends argwenig vnd zu<sup>o</sup> schühen geachtet. Vnd ob du meintest man sol im seine lere nit gantz verwerffen, er hab doch an filen orten wol, christlich vnd warlich geleret, dz billich nit zu<sup>o</sup> verwerffen ist, dz sol man annehmen, vnd wa er vngleübig geret hab, sol man lassen fallen, Darzu<sup>o</sup> sag ich, man sol sy gantz verwerffen, darumb das seine warheit mit dem giff des vnglaubens vermischet ist. Vnd ist nit der heiligen christenheit gewonheit wie sant Hieronimus sagt, die warheit zu<sup>o</sup> lernen von denen, die sie mit der vnwarheit vermischet haben dan so ein fu<sup>o</sup>der weins vergiffet würde, alsz dan schüttet man dz gantz fu<sup>o</sup>der von eins tropffen giffs wegen vsz, keme aber ein meyster, der das giff von dem wein scheiden künt, so behielte man den wein. Darumb so lang die oberkeit des glaubens das giff von seiner lere nit abscheidet, sol sie billich mitler zeit verworffen vnd gantz vngeachtet beleiben. Weiters schirmstu do har, Das Doctor Luthers lere hab er allein vff das heilig ewangelium die spruch der heiligen propheten vnd den heiligen Pauluz on mittel ergründet, Ich hab es vorgesagt, er zwacket vnderweilen die wor<sup>o</sup>ter sant Paulus vff vnd legt sie nider seiner gefallens, vnd brucht an filen orten das ewangelium, wie der

tüffel die heilig gschrifft, gegen Christo vnserem herren, doch zu<sup>o</sup> letst da hyn, dz er yn solt an betten, also zwingt auch offt doctor Martin seine ler entlich vff den stich des vnglaubens, Dz du aber nach gonds vermeinest er mo<sup>g</sup> wol wider der heiligen lerer meinung seine meinung auch fürwenden, dan die selben heiligen lerer seint offt selb vnder einander vneins gewesen vnnd spannend, so seint sie menschen gewesen, vnd habent auch mo<sup>g</sup>en irren, Sag ich darzu<sup>o</sup>, dz ir span vnd Doctor luthers span gar vngleich seint, dan ir zwittracht hat den glauben vnd ein myszuerstant des ewangeliums selten betroffen, Darumb wo einer den andren berichten kunt, wiche einer dem gelerteren, wa aber yr span den glauben berieret, habent sie sich dem babst vnderworffen vnd im iren span heim gesetzt darin zu<sup>o</sup> erkennen alsz ich beweren mo<sup>cht</sup>, durch kürzte vnder laszen. Aber doctor martin der bleipt verstocket vff seinen fünff augen, vnd wil sich weder babst noch bischoff oder bader lassen berichten, Vnd lasz mich nit irren dz er an filen orten spricht wie er nüt anders begere dan dz man yn berichte, dz redt er mit den worten, aber mit den wercken fart er für vnd für, vnd kan eins den andren kum entweichen, Darumb ich vnder worten vnd wercken einen grossen vnder-scheid halt, vnd solchen worten gar kein glauben gib da wider die werck fechten, Ja er wil sagt ir von einem Concilium berichtet sein, find ich nit dz die heiligen lerer sich vff die concilia sunder den babst berieffet haben, nit dz es mir miszfal das ein concilium begeret würt, allein mich das vrtratzet, das es vsz vnd in krafft deren irthumen sol begeret werden, welches so es schon würde, wir deren [Biii] irthum nit wurden ingon doch mit zierlicher protestation dem Concilium nit wider zu<sup>o</sup> sein. Seint aber sunst schedliche miszbrüch von einem concilium billich ab zu<sup>thu</sup>n daruon wil ich nüt geret haben, sunder Ro<sup>m</sup>ischer vnd Hyspanischer maiestat beuelhen, dan mich vff erden wider Doctor luther nüt beweget hat, dan vnseren glauben zu<sup>o</sup> bewaren vnd vnser vetterlichs gesatz. Das du aber achtest er sei allein der sich vff dz ewangelium vnd die leren Pauli fundiere, solt dir wol



geschehen alsz Helia geschahe in dem dritten künycg bu<sup>o</sup>ch am .xix. cap. der sich auch vor got beklagt, dz er allein were in Israhel der seine knüwe nit gebogen het zu<sup>o</sup> ere der abgo<sup>o</sup>tterei, vnd gab im doch got zu<sup>o</sup> verston dz noch süben tusent man in Israhel weren die ire knüw den abgo<sup>o</sup>tteren nit gebogen hetten, also wo ein Concilium würde, solte wol ein solcher huffen frummer lerer des ewangeliums erfunden werden, dz doctor Martin sehen würde, dz er nit allein ein lerer desz ewangeliums Christi were, vnd der leren sant Pauli, vnd freylich die im ietz eigentlich zu<sup>o</sup> sehen vnd doch erlernen wo hin er sein datum enden welle.

Das ander so du für wendest die opinionen vnd mu<sup>o</sup>tmassen der schu<sup>o</sup>len lerer betreffen, acht ich niendert für, dan solche opionenen den glauben nit betreffen, vnd geben weder nement nüt, man volge welchen man wel, so gilt es doch gleich, dan es allein zu<sup>o</sup> gelassen vnd erdacht ist, zu<sup>o</sup> einer behoblung vnd fürdernusz der vernunft. Aber das mag vnd kan ich vnuerantwort nit lassen das du sprichst die postillierer vnd schreiber vber die ewangelien haben dem text iren rechten verstant genummen, dz du bewerest deiner achtung mit den zehen malezigen<sup>1</sup> zu<sup>o</sup> denen Christus sagt, gadt vnd zeigt vch der priesterschaft, da bei sie wellent verstanden haben, man sol vsz verstant des texts den priesteren beichten, blassest hoch wyder sie vff, vnd malest dir selv ein menlin vff den ermel, zühest an die frummen herren des sie nie gedacht haben, Ich hab mein leptag nie keinen funden der in sensu textuali, dz ist in verstant des texts ie gesagt hab, die beicht da werstenden werde. Sunder dz in einem andren sin der selbig text zu<sup>o</sup> der beicht vergleichtet werden mo<sup>o</sup>g der massen alsz wie die sundersiechen gereiniget von der priesterschaft erkent solten werden. Also were auch dem sündler der uon dem priester solt rein erkant werden, dz ist aber nit des textes meinung, sunder eins andren sinnes gleichnisz darumb du vnwarhaftigs ynne zu<sup>o</sup> legst, vnd dich gro<sup>o</sup>blich mercken

<sup>1</sup> Aussätzigen.

lassest, das du der fier sinn der heiligen geschrifft kein verstant noch vnderscheid hast, vnd solches solt ein vngezweifflet argument der beicht sein. Zühest für yn schad were es das nit noch vff erden geschickt vnnnd gelert lüt weren, sunder alle vernunft mit den heiligen lereren abgestorben solten sein, daran du war hast, wer wolt aber das glauben, das aber Doctor Martin der selben einer sey, das soltest du bewerenn, doch lasz ich dir das zu°, im zu°n eren das er gelert sey das würdt nitt von ym klagt das er vngelert sey, sunder seyner künst sich myszbruchet zu° einem bo°sen vnnnd vffryerigen end. Solte sich der leren .s. Pauli behelffen nitt mer zu° verston vnnnd wyssen dan zu° wyssen ist, zu° einer niechtere .zē.

Gibst ein weitere antwurt vff die red alsz gesagt ist das der schu°len lere sei von der kirchen zu°gelassen, das auch der gleich Doctor Luthers lere von der kirchen nit verbotten sei, dz gestand ich dir gar nit, dan seine lere an filen enden wyder gemeine Concilia der kirchen ist, vnd darumb billich verbotten, wil dir da mit dynen ersten schirmstreich versetzt haben, Dz doctor Luthers lere vnd der heiligen lerer doctrin weisz vnd schwartz gegen eyn ander seint vnd Luthers lere ynen nienen gleichen mag.

#### DAS DOCTOR LUTHERS LERE

DURCH MIZBRUCH DER CONFSSIONAL, DES APPLASZ, DES  
BANS VND DER SELEN IN DEM FEGFEÜR NIT  
BESTETIGET WÜRD.

**I**CH kum vff deinen andren schirmstreich den du für den o°berhouw achtest vnd stellest, das eyns yeden vernunft heim zu° ermessen, ob doctor Luthers lere christlicher ordnung gemesz sei oder nit, du ho°rest wol wz wir daruff halten, Das du aber sie so hochgemesz dem ewangelio vergleichest, vnd durch dein vrteil sie so hoch bestetiget, ho°ret dir nit zu° in einer frembden sachen zu° erkennen, sunder der christlichen kirchen welche lere sol angenommen, oder verworffen werden, doch wyl daruon in gro°sserer sunderheit geret sein. Darnach

fichtes tu mit deinen schirmstreichen weiter, vnd meldest vil miszbruchs der andren, dz doch zu° keiner befestigung doctor Luthers leren dienet, ob schon die gantze welt vnrecht handelt. Erstlich, wie yff den Cantzlen fil merlin vnd opiniones oder mu°tmassen geprediget werden, vnd die begeinschen geistlichen mit rosenkrentzlin, vnd psalteren, vnd paterlogien, auch gemalte heilgelin kindesch sich selb vnd ander lüt effen, das ich selb von iungen tagen vnd noch fil mit mir gehasset haben, wz fündret aber dy luthers lere mit nammen wa er wider den glauben ist. Schiltest auch das zu° beichten, so geflissen von den sünden geschriben ist alsz ob das fil bo°se vnd enge wissen machen, das ich gar niendert für acht, dan solche biechlin seint meer zu° berichtung der beichtuetter gemacht, dan zu° nachuolgen der beicht kind, man sihet doch wol dz man sich nit darnach halt noch fraget, dan wo etwa enge conscienzen kummen, den mu°sz man ires gefellens für gon, wie fast man sie berichtet von der engen strassen in den weiten vnd breiten weg der barmhertzigkeit gottes zu° ko°ren, meist es sei erdacht mit beichtpfennigen den beütel zu° füllen, dz ist gu°t luthers alle ding zu° dem bo°sisten vsz legen. O du vermaledeite vnd vnmenschliche bo°se art, so einer mo°cht ein sach zu° dem besten vszlegen vnd felt alle zeit in den dreck. Sag an mag ein priester nit vmb seine geistliche arbeit vnd administration zeitlich gelt oder gu°t vmb seine narung nemmen, er verkaufft dir darumb dz sacrament nit, dan er dz selbig vergebens empfangen hat, vnd sol auch dz vergebens wyder vszdeilen. Sag an ich mu°sz ein wenig deiner vnuernünfftigen reden ein beweglich antwurt geben, Du kanst das gantz iar gelt verspilen ich setz den fal, vnd [C] verhu°ren, auch verzeren, vnd kanst auch nit einem armen priester den du da teubst vnd mit filen reden dol machest vnd hirn wietig darzu° wie oft geschicht mit deinem stinckenden maul vnd otem den do°tlichen schweisz vsz treibst, ein pfennig vmb seine arbeit, gedult, vnd vnderweisung geben, vnd wo du dz schon gipst, so ist es so ein verdientter lon, dz der beichtuatter lieber ein gulden oft geb einen vngeschickten nit

zu<sup>o</sup> ho<sup>re</sup>n den etwas von im zu<sup>o</sup> entpfahen, Dz es sich aber zimpt vmb solche geistliche arbeit zeitlichen lon vnd narung zu<sup>o</sup> entpfahen, stot in sant Paulus lere ad Ro. xv. Nam si spiritualium .zc. Seint ir heiden der geistlichen gaben von den inden deilhaftig worden, sollent ir ynen wider in zeitlichem helfen, Vnd i ad cor. ix. Si nos vobis spiritualia .zc. So wir vch geistliche ding seyen, ist es dan ein grosses das wir leipliche belonung darumb nemmen vnd schneiden, Seint andre vwers gewalts deilhaftig worden, warumb nit wyr allermeist, wissent ir das nit, wer der heiligkeit dienet das er von der heyligkeit vnd dem altar essen sol, vnd seine narung da har entpfahen. Dan got hatt das also verordenet das die, die dz ewangelium verkünden, von dem ewangelio leben sollen, vnd i ad Thimoteum .3. Non quasi habuerimus. stot auch dergleichen das ein ieder geistlicher arbeit, ein diener, mag darumb zeitliche narung vnd belohnung nemmen, vnd darumb das nit war ist das alle sacrament der kirchen für ein kauffmanschatz feil getragen werden, vnd ist auch der priesterschafft felschlich vnd erdichtet zu<sup>o</sup>gelegt worden, dan sie allein vsz der lere der .xii. botten ire zeitliche narung nemmen, von wegen irer geistlicher administration. Nachgons gipstu den myszbruch des applas zu<sup>o</sup> verston, hab ich mich anefengklichen protestierett, da selbest von nichts zu<sup>o</sup> reden, vnd weder gu<sup>o</sup>ts noch bo<sup>o</sup>ses daruon zu<sup>o</sup> schreiben, vnd setz den applasz dem concilium heym zu<sup>o</sup> erkennen. Das aber die selen vmb gelt vsz dem feg für seint verkaufft worden, glaub ich nit das solches geschehen sei, das hab ich aber wol sehen practicieren, das man gelt gestüret hab etwa zu<sup>o</sup> milten vnnd barmhertigen wercken alsz vor zeyten für die christen collecten geschehen seint, vnd du ad Roma .xv. findest Nunc igitur proficiscar in hierusalem .zc. Das sant Paulus denen von hierusalem gelt erbitten vnd gesamlet hatt vnd das vsz geteylett, Dar gegen ynen geischliche gaben in belonungs weisz gethon, das selb gelt den notturfftigen vsz geteylet. Als auch ietz der babst an statt sant Peters in krafft seins ampts zu<sup>o</sup> begeren vnd erfordren hatt vnd vsz zu<sup>o</sup> teilen alsz ein

schaffner, deylet er das gelt vnzimlich vsz, würt er vor got verwurten, vnd schadet den geberen an belonung zu<sup>o</sup> erholen nit vmb ein har ob er das schon alles verspilet. Das er aber keinen gewalt sol haben vber die selen des fegfüers, vnd solche geistliche genaden vnbillich vsz deile, setz ich dem concilium heim zu<sup>o</sup> erkennen dan dar von stot vnsz ein grosse vnd schwere reden zu<sup>o</sup> erwegen, daran auch nit wenig ligt, noch bleibt aber so der applasz, so erlo<sup>e</sup>sung der selen vsz dem fegfüer zweyffallhafftig vnd hangend erachtet, dz ir vwer lere da mit nit bestetigen mo<sup>e</sup>gen, bysz zu<sup>o</sup> vsspruch der sachen. Mit den filen der [Cii] gesatz redent ir also vngefor das wyr nit wissen was ir da mit gemeinen, darumb so zeichent an welches ir wellent abgethon haben vnd welches nit, alsz dan wellett wyr vch darüber antwurt geben nach gelegenheit vwers fürwendens. Von dem miszbruch des bans schweig ich gantz vnd gar stil, dan es mir selber miszfallet, wolt got dz es die bischoff vnd oberkeiten bessereten, vnd vnderliessen vmb zeitlichs zu<sup>o</sup> richten, vnd iren geistlichen stat darunder betrachteten setz ich auch dem concilium heim zu<sup>o</sup> besseren. Doch beschlüz ich disen schirmredner, das er sein fürnemmen gar nüt probieret hatt, Doctor luthers leren beweret sei, vnnd nit wyder den christlichen glauben, darumb das fil merlin geprediget werden, oder geflissene beichtbiechlin geschribben seint, der applasz miszbruchet die selen (wie ir sagent) verkaufft, fil gesatz gemachet, der ban weiters dan wie billich geiebet, es stadt wol bei einander daz doctor Martinus lere in christlichem glauben argwenig sey, vnd er dennocht wyder die obgenanten miszbruch predig vnd lere, Darumb du meiner achtung vnfruchtpar schirmest, vnd vergebens geret hast, dein fürnemmen gar nüt beweisest, sunder deine reden doctor Martinus leren zu<sup>o</sup> befestigen gro<sup>s</sup>sere bewerungen bedo<sup>r</sup>fften, den dz du beweren wilt zu<sup>o</sup> latin petitio principii genant zu<sup>o</sup> deütsch an den wenden gon, oder mit den blinden fechten, bist wyder mit grosser arbeit kummen da du vsz gingest, und hast ler strow getroschen.

KEIN LEERE WÜRT GLAUBWÜRDIG GEACHTET, DARUMB  
DAS SICH DER LERER VON YRENT WEGEN  
IN FERLICHEIT ERGIBT.

**E**S würt weiters von dissem schirmer vnd fechtmeister yngezogen zu<sup>o</sup> dem dritten das doctor Martinus lere sol war sein, glaubwürdig, dem ewangelio gleichförmig, darumb dz er Christum nit questum dz ist eignen nutz, als die applasz prediger su<sup>o</sup>chen, vnd von des wegen so sich, so auch seinen orden in ferlicheit ergebe, darumb billich von yederman sol glaubet werden, dz er in seiner leren vnser selen seligkeit betrachte .zē. Lut des selbigen dritten artickels. Darzu<sup>o</sup> sag ich erstlich vnd frag dich von der leren Christi, wa vnser her Jhesus christus in dem garten alsz er in ho<sup>o</sup>chsten engsten got seinen vatter batt sein heiliges leiden von im zu<sup>o</sup> nemmen wer erho<sup>o</sup>ret worden vnd hett seine leren nit mit seinem heiligen blu<sup>o</sup>t vnd sterben versiglet, were sein lere auch glaubwürdig oder nit, Oder het er Petro geuolget alsz er im riedt dz er nit in das iüdisch lant ko<sup>o</sup>ret vnd sich in solche ferlicheit des dots ergebe, wo er in krafft des rats geflohen were, ob seine leren auch nit dest minder war oder glaubwürdig weren oder nit. Ich glaub das warheit, warheit beleibt, einer fliehe oder beleib, sterb darumb oder nit, zu<sup>o</sup> latin. ab eo quod res est vel non est oratio dicitur vera vel falsa, vnd were dz ewangelium Christi war beliben, wa vnser her darumb [Ciii] schon nit gestorben were, Fragt alle richter vff erden, ob sie daruff vrteil sprechen wz ein man redt vnd daruff stirbt ob sie das glauben vnd darnach erkennen, werden sie alle sagen nein, Wie wol es ist ein starcke mu<sup>o</sup>tmasz waruff einer stürb das es war sei, dan niemans gern sein sele zu<sup>o</sup> verdammen angesehen würt, zu<sup>o</sup> latin presumptio sz non probatio, Darumb du wol ein mu<sup>o</sup>tmassen meldest aber kein bewerbung wir verdent aber disz iar nit also vn Sinnig das wir ein vnwarhafftige falsche vnd vngelebige reden in krafft einer mu<sup>o</sup>tmassen werden annemen, vnd beweret leren durch alle oberkeit des christlichen

glaubens, vnnnd der heiligen lerer, gemeine concilia der christenheit verlassen. Meyster Johannes husz vnnnd Hieronimus, seint auch gestorben vnd in dem fñer gen himmel gefaren oder wa sie dan seint, vnd seint dennocht ire artickel falsch vnwarhafftig vnd vngleubig erkant, nit allein durch den babst vnd die cardinel wie yr sagen, sunder durch ein gemein Concilium, wie wol ir sie gern bescho<sup>n</sup>en wolten vnd da mit vch irer ketzerey deilhafftig machen vnd giessent vwer giff vñ dem babst oder wie ir sie vsz neid nemmen den Romanischeen, das sie ynen ir geleidts nit gehalten haben, vnnnd lassent die epistel Pogii drucken Hieronimo zu<sup>o</sup> einem ru<sup>m</sup>, wie er alsz der ander Paulus stanhafftig sei gewesen, verschweigent aber da bey, dz sie zu<sup>o</sup> schwerem nachdeill der gantzen christenheit, sich vngeleitlich gehalten, vnnnd ir geleit selb gebrochen, ir werdent auch da bey bald eins andren berichtet werden mit der warheit, das ir dem Concilium zu<sup>o</sup> Costinis gewalt thu<sup>n</sup> vnd den geleits bruch vnbillich vnd erdicht zu<sup>o</sup> legen, Ich gib es aber zu<sup>o</sup>, das man ynen dz geleit gebrochen hab das nit ist, vnd ein vbele dadten were, frag dich ob ire leren darumb glaubwürdig weren oder nit, geb man einem mo<sup>r</sup>der ein gleit, vnd radbreche in darüber, wer wolt aber also vnsinnig sein, der da sagen do<sup>r</sup>ffte das im vnrecht geschehe, wie wol das geleit vnrechtlich gebrochen würd. Also mo<sup>c</sup>ht auch gesagt werden, das sich Lucretia billich erstochen hett, das nit war ist, dan sie an der vnkeusheit vnschuldig was, vnd vmb vnschuld nie mans sol erdo<sup>d</sup>tet werden, wer wolt aber daran zweiffen das der tüffel nit also wol seine marteler het alsz vnser her got. Ob sich nun Martinus luther in ferlichkeit ergebe vnd fill ernüwerung, vffru<sup>r</sup>en, vnd vngleübige artickel leret, solten wyr darumb glauben, das er daz dedte von vnser sel seligkeit wegen, oder vnser heil darunder betrachtet. Ich mu<sup>s</sup>sz dir aber wie vngern ich das thu<sup>n</sup>, mit gawalt sagen was die hochuerstendigen betrachten, vnnnd in Luthers sachen mu<sup>t</sup>massen, auch warumb er sich in solche ferlichkeit ergibt, vnd glaubent selb wie du sagst, sey es ein sach von got, so bestande es, sey es ein menschliche erdichtung, so zergang

es selb, das es aber ein menschlich erdichtung sey, wer ver-  
 stodt das nit, das sich durch Martinum die deütsch nation  
 der beschwerden des abblasz beklaget durch seynen mundt die  
 bischoff des grossen gelts so sie gen Rom geben, vnd durch  
 in die thu<sup>m</sup>herren die vneleitlich burden iren pfrienden mel-  
 den, die des in eigner personen nit eroffnen do<sup>r</sup>ffen, dar von  
 hatt er geprediget, dz ist begirrig geho<sup>r</sup>et worden, vnd ist  
 also mit gewalt wie er selber sagt, in aller mund vnd in  
 solche geferlichkeit gestossen, vnd von einem vff das ander  
 gefallen. Da bei wol zu<sup>o</sup> verston ist dz got nit vsz im  
 ret, sunder die bischoff, die stett, die thu<sup>m</sup>herren, vnd wer  
 sich dunckt beschweret sein, was gat vns armen christen  
 lüt dz an, hat yemans ein beschwerden, so klag er das da es  
 mag vnd kan gebesseret werden. Was darff doctor Martin so  
 er die burden ettlicher zeitlich gelt vnd gu<sup>t</sup> betreffen in irer  
 personen beklaget darumb irrung in dem glauben erwecken zu<sup>o</sup>  
 zerstö<sup>r</sup>ung der klo<sup>o</sup>ster vnd kirchen raten, ein vngewo<sup>n</sup>liche  
 form des heiligen sacraments ernüweren dz die gemein hab  
 priester zu<sup>o</sup> erwelen, vnd so sie dem ampt abston seient sie wie  
 vor vnd deren gleichen hundert artikel in vnserem glauben  
 vbel lautent, wer wolt doctor Luther alle miszbruch, so er  
 meldet zu<sup>o</sup> Rom von dem babst vnd den cardinelen zu<sup>o</sup> Aug-  
 spurg von den fuckeren, zu<sup>o</sup> Straszburg von dem bischoff vnd  
 seinen thu<sup>m</sup>herren vnd fil andren orten yngeben haben dan  
 die menschen, die gern ernüwerung, oder es mu<sup>o</sup>sz doch harusz  
 ein *concilium* sehen. Ist es dan ie die meinung das man eins  
 concilium begeret, in gottes nammen so beschehe es. Allein  
 verfecht ich das, vnd begere mitlerzeit, sitten mal das die  
 menschen vnnd nit Christus vnser her vsz doctor Martin redet,  
 das im nit gestattet werde vnseren glauben zu<sup>o</sup> letzen, alsz er  
 gethon hatt, vnd sol billich seine lere nit glaubwürdig erkant  
 werden, bisz zu<sup>o</sup> vsztrack der sachen vor dem Concilio. Nun  
 frag mich, warumb doctor Luther sich in soliche ferlichkeit  
 stosz. Gib ich dir die antwurt, er schampt sich zu<sup>o</sup> wider-  
 rieffen, das er so offentlich geret hat, er hat denen gedient, die  
 beschweret sein von denen zu<sup>o</sup> Rom, sie haben im zu<sup>o</sup> gesetzt,



hat er sich an inen wo<sup>l</sup>len rechen, vnd mit hitzigem zornigem haupt obenusz wo<sup>l</sup>len faren, vnd nienen an, in aller diser antwurt findstu nit das wir glauben, er vnser heil in seiner leren betrachtet hab, vnd von vnser selen selikeit wegen, sich in soliche ferlicheit verwicklet. Aber solche lüt, als da sein bischoff, thu<sup>m</sup>herren, pfarer, die im seine oren mit irer beschwerden gefüllet haben, fileicht dadurch ein entladung irer bürden, durch ein zu<sup>k</sup>ünfftig Concilium begeren, vnd in ansehung zeitlicher hab, ein solche grosse kostenreiche vffru<sup>r</sup> in der cristenheit begeren. So nun doctor Luther weiters wirbt, dan ir begeren ist, man sol den bischoffen ein solche competenz geben vnd den thu<sup>m</sup>herren, vnd die pfrienden gleich theilen, das sie nit ein solchen bracht füren, vnd dy gemein hab pfafen zu<sup>o</sup> erwo<sup>l</sup>en, wan solches nun beschehe, so müst ich in meine feüst lachen, das sie ein wenig begert haben sie zu<sup>o</sup> entladen, vnd würd inen die beschwerden gar ab genummen, das wer ir verdienter lon. Als dan würd die gemein fragen, hastu .viii. tusent güldin ein iar, vnd wilt nit tusent daruon gen Rom geben, so stand ab, da ist einer, der wil es gern thu<sup>n</sup>. Ich wil mit disem allem also vil zu<sup>o</sup> verston geben, dz mancher ietz nach einem concilium süfftzet, der weinen würt, so es keme. [D.]

VIELE DER GEBOT WERDEN NIT ABGETHON DEM,  
VON DEM DER DES GEWALT HAT.

D<sup>V</sup> zögest an das gemeine cristenheit mit vil meren gebotten beschwert sei, dan vor malz die iudischeit, wie es auch nie sei dy meinung cristi vnsers herren gewesen, vnsz der massen mit vilen gebotten zu<sup>o</sup> beladen, den sein ioch leicht sei vnd süsz zu<sup>o</sup>tragen .ȝc. Vnd dar von hab vnsz luter entlediget, dz er dar wider predig, wan es war wer, so wolt ich im selber danck darum sagen. Du retst aber hie fast in der gemein, kan ich dir kein sundere antwurt geben, wan du sagtest, daz und dz gebot sol abgethon werden mo<sup>e</sup>cht darüber erkant werden, aber wa in lufft allein geblassen würt, da kan

nüt fruchtbars gehandelt werden. Nun sein aber alle gebot antweders von got, die hat Luther nit abzu<sup>o</sup>thu<sup>n</sup>, oder von den bo<sup>p</sup>sten vnd concilien, die hat niemans abzu<sup>o</sup>thu<sup>n</sup>, dan die sie vffgesetzt haben, vnd nit der Luther, oder sollen vsz gelübden gehalten werden, in denen geschicht niemans gewalt, dan sy sich willig daryn vnd vngebeten ergeben. Welche gelübden Luter auch nit hat abzu<sup>o</sup>thu<sup>n</sup>. Vnd vff das verstentlicher daruon geret werd, gib ich disz exempel. Es ist ein ieder priester in krafft seiner gelübden küscheit schuldig zu<sup>o</sup> halten, als der sich daryn willig ergeben hat, vnd wa er dar wider thet, engte in billich darumb sein gewiszne. Nun kumpt Luther vnd rat, wa sie concubinem vnd einzige bischlefferin haben in eelicher meinung, so sol er sie heimlich zu<sup>o</sup> der ee nemen, sei es warhafftig ein ee, vnd alle kinder eelich for got vnd in der warheit, meinstu aber das sie irer gelübden ledig sein, vnd vor got vnd in irer gewyssen sicher, darumb dz es der Luther gesagt vnd gepredigt hat, sie seien die gelübden nit schuldig zu<sup>o</sup>halten, vnd der bapst hab sie darzu<sup>o</sup> nit zu<sup>o</sup> drengen. Darumb ist es gar nichts gesagt, dz vch doctor Luther euwer conscientz vnd gewissen, durch seine leren erweitert oder erleichtert hab, dan es noch zweiffelhafftig bleibt, ob er des gewalt hat, oder mit der warheit darwider redt oder nit. Ein gleichs exempel, so verboten ist zu<sup>o</sup> stelen, iemans kem, vnd erlaubt zu<sup>o</sup>stelen, vnd prediget daz es nit sünd wer, vnd du vff bliesest. O der hat vnsz erlo<sup>s</sup>zt von dem gebot vnd frei gemacht zu<sup>o</sup>stelen, du müst in vor darumb fragen, ob er des gewalt het oder nit.

Als cristus Jhesus vnser her vnsz von den vilen der gebot des iudischen gesatz erlediget hat, als der des von got vollen gewalt gehabt hat zu<sup>o</sup> thu<sup>n</sup>. Ich weisz auch nit wo<sup>l</sup>che gebot du anders meinst, dan der kirchen gebot, so du sagest, wir seien mit villen gebotten beladen.

Da wer selbs mein ernstliche bit, das man vnsz dar von genedigklich erlediget, mit nammen der, der des gewalt hat zu<sup>o</sup> thu<sup>n</sup>. Ich wil auch in dissem artickel, allein, das dir zu<sup>o</sup> wider geredet haben, das du gar nicht probierest, das unsz

Doctor Luther von einicherley villen der gebot erlediget oder erleichtert hab, den er das zu<sup>o</sup> thu<sup>n</sup> gar kein gewalt hat, gibet vnsz woll vrsach das zu<sup>o</sup> begeren, er ist aber der selb nicht allein, es haben [Dii] solchs mer begert dan er, vnd treffenlicher lüt dan er, wil aber damit vnuerachtet haben.

# OB TODSÜNDER VND SUNDERIN

AUCH IN CRISTLICHER KIRCHEN BEGRIFFEN SEIN.

VAN der andern reden hastu gefragt, ob got nit von der sündler wegen vff erden kumen sei, festige deinen fu<sup>sz</sup> vnd stand stil, ich mu<sup>sz</sup> dich der fragen bescheiden vnd frag dich wider, ist got also vil an dem sündler gelegen gewesen, das er von seinet wegen, wie du sagst (vnd war ist) vff erden kumen sei. Warumb sein ir dan so freuel, vnd was gat euch der no<sup>ten</sup> an, dz ir den armen sündler vsz der cristlichen kirchen beschliesen vnd treiben, den got selb vnder seinem hertzen erboren, mit eignem blu<sup>t</sup> erquickt vnd erlo<sup>set</sup> hat, mir sol hie billich ein beistand von der grossen schar der sündler vnd sündlerin beschehen, so ich ir fürsprech sie hie verdrit, das sie von euch vsz cristlicher kirchen nit vertriben werden. Ir fragt mich des artickels, so sag ich in, ich glaub in die gemein cristlich kirch gemeinsame der heiligen. Nun sagt ir, ich sol mich des artickels halten, vnd lut desselbigen, nit weiter, dan in die gemein der heiligen glauben haben, es seien aber todsünder vnd sündlerin kein heiligen. Frag ich euch dan weiters, so sant Johannes sagt, wer da sag dz er on sünd sei, der verführe sich selb, vnd sei kein warheit in im. So wir nun alle sündler seien, von denen ir sagen, das sie von der cristlichen kirchen vszbeschlossen sein, wer ist dan in der cristlichen kirchen. Antwurten ir mir, vnd weisen mich vff dy kind in der wagen die seien dein. Ich het mich des zu<sup>o</sup> vch nit versehen. da ir alle verstendigen, sündler vnd sündlerin vsz cristlicher kirchen treiben, die ein solch grose schar der menschen, dz ir allein kind yngenumen hetten, ich het warlich gemeint, ir wolten die gensz yngelassen haben, wider

das alt sprichwort, das der himmel den gensen nit gemacht sei, zimpt es sich in sachen vnser glaubens spo<sup>t</sup>lich zu reden. Ich wil euch aber ein anzo<sup>e</sup>gen thu<sup>n</sup>, dz alle todsünder vnd sünderin heilig genant werden in den go<sup>t</sup>lichen büchern, vnd darnach sagen wie sie heilig sein, da mit nit weiters gethon haben wil, die gelerten verursachen klarlicher daruon zu<sup>o</sup> reden, dan ich disem fal zu<sup>o</sup> einfaltig bin. Erstlich so ir sant Paulum an dem trefflichsten für wenden, so schreibt er zu<sup>o</sup> den Ro<sup>e</sup>meren. cviii. sprechen der geist bit für vnsz, mit vnussprechlichem süfftzen, vnd der got der die hertzen erkennt, der weisz was der geist begert, der nach gottes gefallen begert für die heiligen, vnd bald darnach die noch fürsatz genant sein, heilig ist wol zu<sup>o</sup> verston, ob ich schon ietz ein todsünder bin, dannocht in hoffnung vnd fürsatz heilig bin. Ad Ro. xi. Ist die wurtzel heilig, so sein die est auch heilig. Ad Ro. c. xv. Darumb wil ich ietz gen Hierusalem vnd da dienen den heiligen. Vnd in dem. c. xvi. Das ir sie empfahe in got heilig, vnd gleich dabei, griessen mir alle heiligen die by inen sein. Vnd zu<sup>o</sup> den korintieren. c. i. Paulus genant ein apostel Jhesu christi .zc. den geheiligten in cristo Jhesu [Diii] genant die heiligen. Ad cor. r. c. i. in dem anfang. Ea. c. viii. vnd in dem. ix. c. in dem anfang, vnd schier an dem end, got erfüllet dz den heiligen gebrist. Ea. c. xiii. griessen einander in dem heiligen kusz, vnd es griessen euch alle heiligen. Ad. ephe. c. i. in dem anfang, vnd in dem. c. ii. dz wir sein burger der heiligen, vnd. c. iii. c. v. Als sich das heiligen zimpt, vnd kurtz daruon geret. Die gantze ler Pauli ist des fol, das er die cristen so er zu<sup>o</sup> dem glauben beko<sup>e</sup>ret hat, heiligen nennet. Wer wolt aber so vnsinnig sein, der da do<sup>r</sup>fft sagen, das nit der merertheil oder villeicht alle todsünder vnd sünderin weren gewesen, mit namen so er inen in den obgenanten seinen sendbrieffen, so manch treffenlich laster zu<sup>o</sup> misset, vnd sie darum strafft, noch dannocht heiligen nennet. Darusz etlich bewegt sagen, dz die ersten cristen sich heiligen, vnd in cristo Jhesu geheiliget nenneten, vnd ich glaub, das es war sei. Also wan man sagt ich glaub in gemeinschafft der

heiligen, sei also vil gesagt, ich glaub in gemeine cristenheit. Vnd das ist gefundiert in der leren sancti Pauli, das ale cristen mo<sup>o</sup>gen heilig genant werden, vsz vrsach, die ich melden wil, in dem büchlin von der cristlichen kirchen. Ob sie aber heilig sein, darumb das man sie heilig nennet, sag ich ia dar zu<sup>o</sup>, sie seien heilig wie das ko<sup>o</sup>rulin vff dem acker geseyet, in dem winter lebendig ist, vnd so es der sonnen werme entpfindt, wachset, vnd in ein frucht ergrünet. Also wa gott die sün aller sündler, sie mit go<sup>t</sup>licher genaden vnd werme erhitziget, grünen sie in das ewig leben, als geschriben stat, niemans kan zu<sup>o</sup> meinem vatter kummen, er ziehe in dan. Nun kummen aber die doctor Martino Luther anhangen, vff das sie die armen sündler der kirchen gottes berauben, vnd vsz treiben, die cristus Jhesus mit seinem blu<sup>t</sup> erarnet hat, vnnd also mit bitterem leiden in seine kirchen auff seinem heiligen nacken getragen, vnnd haben ein soliche fabel erdichtet Cristus vnser her sei das haupt der cristenlichen kirchen, das mu<sup>o</sup>sz ich inen zu<sup>o</sup>lassen, dan es ist war. Ad ephe. xv. vnd auch. Ea. c. i. in dem end. Sei nun Cristus das haupt, vnnd wir der leib vnd die glider, so miesse das haupt einfließen, das leben in die glider, das gestande ich auch. So aber ein todsünde den menschen to<sup>t</sup>e vnd das selbig glid tod erachtet werd, mag das haupt Cristus das leben nicht in ein tod glid eingiessen, oder einfließen. O ein treffenlicher tand von gelerten lüten.

Das ein todsünd ein menschen so gar to<sup>e</sup>det, gestand ich nit, er ersterb dan darin, dan der ist nimmerme tod zu<sup>o</sup> dem ein hoffnung des lebens ist, man vergrabt auch keinen menschen, zu<sup>o</sup> dem man sich noch des lebens versieht. So nun zu<sup>o</sup> einem todsündler noch ein hoffnung ist, seiner beko<sup>o</sup>rung, zu<sup>o</sup> ewigem leben, kan er nicht anders für tod geachtet werden, er ersterb dan darin.

Darumb ich dir das in keinerley weg zu<sup>o</sup> lasz, das die sündler tod seien, das wil ich aber dapffer geston, das es sieche vnd krancke glider sein, die das haupt Christus mag erneren, vnd gesunt machen, vnd in sie einfließen das ewig leben .z.c.

Nun bistu mir geschicklichen kumen, mit deinen worten

das got von der sündler wegen, vff erden kumen ist üch zu<sup>o</sup> ermanen die armen sündler nit also zu<sup>o</sup> verwerffen, an denen got dem herren also vil gelegen ist. Vnd wiewol Maria die mu<sup>o</sup>ter aller gnaden, aller sündler vnd sündlerin fürsprecherin ist, hab ich doch mich ires amptz der besten meinung vnderzogen, das sie nit also von doctor Luthers leren wegen von gemeinschafft der cristlichen kirchen vnd heiligen abgedrungen werden.

ES SOL IN SACHEN DES GLAUBENS  
NIT VON DER VNGELERTEN GEMEIN DISPUTIERT WERDEN.

**F**VRT verwunderstu dich weist auch nit wa für du das halten solt, das etlich die du spo<sup>t</sup>lich lux mundi nennest, sprechen, das die sachen vnseren glauben betreffen nit sollen vor der vngelerten gemein disputiert werden oder gerechtfertiget, dan sie die ler Lutheri gerecht vnd war sol sie niendert basz ero<sup>o</sup>ffnet werden, dan vor denen die ir bedo<sup>o</sup>rffen, vnd ir heil daruff stot. Vnd wie wol ich dir nit gestan dz seine ler an vilen orten war sei, als einer der da weisz, dz sy an manchem ort wider den glauben ist. Ich wil dir es aber ietz zu<sup>o</sup>geben sie sei war, sol sie dannocht als den glauben betreffen vor der gemein nit gerechtfertigt werden. Als wenig als in den stetten alle ret offentlich vnd vor der gemein sollen besessen werden, wiewol der gemein vnd iedermans nutz da betrachtet würt. Als das Keiserlich recht in dem anfang Condicis gebüdet die sachen des glaubens offentlich vnd vor iederman nit sollent gerechtfertigt werden noch dar von disputieret, vnd gipt auch der keiser des. ii. vrsachen, das es ein verschmähung were der concilien das wyder in zwyffal zu<sup>o</sup> berieffen, das durch so manig oberkeit des glaubens ist beschlossen worden, aber darum das ir auch der concilien nit achten, kumment ir in solche freuele vermessenheit, das ir wider die concilien leren der gantzen christenheit zu<sup>o</sup> schanden.

Die andre vrsach des Keisers, das solche offentliche rechtfertigung des glaubens so den iuden, so auch den andren vngleübigen ein grosse ergernisz bringen, vnnnd das wil ich mit

warheit dar zu° setzen, auch ein grosse ergernisz vnd vngehorsame den vnuerstendigen christen, Alsz wir leider ietz mit den henden greiffen, dz nit fil christen von doctor Martinus leren wegen zu° andacht beweget werden, allein zu° vffru°ren dem babst zwo kronen zu° zucken, nit zu° gehorsam sunder den ban mit den bischoffen zu° verachten, selber hinder dem offen vnd bey dem wein priester zu° erwelen, pfaffen megt diebschlich vnd verstollen zu° der ee zu° nemmen, vnd kurtz dar von geret wer ietz die ougen verko°rt hat vnd weder vff bischoff oder bader geben wil der spricht, Ich ko°r mich an niemans mer ich bin gu°t luters, das ist dz end, das ist die frucht seiner leren darumb sie billich iederman sol für gehalten werden zu° leren, aber lüz in beltz setzen lernet sich selbs, Ich besorg Luters lere werd sich bald mit der dadten zeügen, ob sie von got oder dem tüffel sei, dan gottes leren dienet zu° friden und einigkeit, vnd des tüffels zu° verachtung der [E] oberkeit mit vffru°ren, dan er syn ein lust hette in vnserem blu°t zu° baden, Dedte man nach dem vnd der Keiser gebotten hatt, dz man solche disputierer von dem glauben offentlich vor der gemein so sie priester weren, priesterlicher gemeinschaften beraubte, weren sie von dem adel ritterlichs gürtels vnd würdigkeit vnd die andren straffte nach erkenntnisz der richter, so werent wir des alles vertragen vnd sessen in ru°wen vnd friden, So es aber gestattet würt das Luther vsz dem geistlichen rechten wil ein roten hauffen machen, vnd das Keiserlich recht darzu° nit achten, In gottes nammen so dieg man alles recht ab, vnd handel ein ieder nach seiner macht. Aber we allenthalben we, wo gerechtigkeit darnider ligt. Vnnd kumpt diser fechtmeister in ein weytere irrung, vnd zu° gu°tem tütschen ein dorheit, so doctor Luthers ler schon vngo°tlich were, sol sie dennocht der gemein für gehalten werden, vff das sie als ein gifft vsz gerüet würde.<sup>1</sup> Ich wolt

<sup>1</sup> Dieses dürfte ein weiterer Beweis dafür sein, was für Gründe Murner bewogen, Luthers Schrift 'De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae' ins Deutsche zu übersetzen. Vgl. ausserdem *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XI, No. 3.

doch gern wyssen ob im ernst were, wz sol doch die gemein darzu° thu°n oder wz interesse, hat sie da, das inen solche ding des glaubens sollent fürgehalten werden, Ich halt sie sollent peterlin darzu° kauffen, dz es dester gschmacker werde, ich mu°sz doch dem dorechten man nach seiner dorheit ein antwurt geben, vermeinet auch da bey das solche leren Lutheri sol durch ein gemein concilium rechtlich versamlet vsz gerüet vnd abgethon werden, dunckt mich gantz nüt geradten vnd in zu° künfftigem ein bo°ses exempel vnd ein nachteiligs, also wolt fillicht ein ieder schelliger zükünfftigs vffru°ren in dem glauben anzünden, vff dz er die arme christenheit in kosten vnd schaden brechte, vnd ein concilium erweckte, die sach ist an ir selber nit so hochuerstendig, man fint noch wol on solche grossen schaden vnd kosten die darin erkennen mo°gen, vnd so dz nider gelegt würde durch der gelerten sententz vnd vrteil, darnach eerlich, rechtlich, wie sich dz gebüret vsz treffenlichen vrsachen die christenheit zu° reformieren ein Concilium begeret vnd gemacht würde.

DAS DOCTOR LUTHER NIT GEBÜR  
NOCH ZIMLICH SEY ZU° PREDIGEN.

**Z**U dem fünfftē vnderstat vnser schirmer Doctor Luters leren zu° beschirmen vnd befestigen, anfencklich dz er ein ordens man ist, in krafft des mit nammen so er ein heremit ist, gebüret im nit zu° predigen er sei darzu° ein prediger vnd ein doctor oder nit, den ob er schon in dem gericht die sünde zu° beklagen zu° erkennen hat, da ein person der anleger ist vnd der beklaget würt, alsz in rechtfertigung der sünden, sunder zu° dem dz er ein solchen gewalt hat die sünden zu° verlassen sol er nit destminder ein andren gewalt haben, vnd vnderthonen entpfhohen vber die er erkennen mag richterlich, dan ein ietweders vrteil von einem vnbequemlichen richter vnd nit vber sein vnderthonen beschehen, ist vndoulich, ob ein priester schon die schlüssel priesterlichs ampts hat, sollent im dennocht vnderthonen zu° erkandt werden in die die er zu°



erkennen hatt oder nit, dan ein richter zu° Nuerrenberg hatt nit vrteil zu°sprechen vber die von Augspurg vnd von [Eii] dem gewalt der priester stat geschribben Mathei. xviii. Sündet dein bru°der in dich, sprach Christus vnser her zu° Petro, sag im das zwischen dir vnd im, ho°ret er aber dich nit, so sag das der kirchen das ist den richteren der gemeinen christen, würt er alsz dan die selben auch nit ho°ren, so achten in alsz ein heiden, vnd ein offentlichen sündler vnd benügenden, wem ir die sünd vergeben werden, die sollent vergeben sein, vnd welchen ir sie vor behalten, denen sollent sie vor behalten sein, vsz welchen worten wol zu° erachten ist, das die priester zwischten christlichen briederen zu° richten habent, vnd wer ir urteil nit ho°ren wil, sol für ein vngleubigen geschetzet werden, Darumb so man mir vrteil zu° sprechen gewalt gibt, sollent mir auch da bei vnderthonen assignieret vnd anzeigt werden gegen denen ich meinen gewalt zu° bruchen hab, wil sich nun Luter des gewalts zu° predigen vnderston, vnd zu° erkennen zwischtem bru°der vnd christlichem mitbru°der, sol er dz thu°n in seine vnderthonen, deren ich noch keine ho°re die im zu° geeigt worden seint oder zu° geteilet, darumb alles erkennen in fremde vnderthonen krafftlosz vnd vndo°glich ist, alsz ein vrteil dz nit von seinem ordenlichen richter geschehen ist, Aber zu° predigen hatt er vsz krafft seines priesterlichen amptes, Dan Christus vnser her den .xii. botten alsz priesteren gewalt hatt gebet in alle welt zu° predigen, doch sagt sant Paulus Ad. Ro. x. Wie künnt sie predigen sie werdent dan gesendet, das ist zu° predigen do°glich geachtet, vnd ob doctor Martinus schon zu° predigen gewalt het, ist er doch ietz darzu° nit gesendet, sunder von der oberkeit des glaubens verboten. Vnd ob schon Johannes Tätzler prediger ordens, vil miszbruchs in verkündung des ablasz geübet het, gibt des eintzigen missethat doctor Luters leren ein krafft, das sie dest glaubwürdiger sei, ich mein nit das iemans das sagen würd, darum das der selbig oder ein anderer vnrecht gethon het, wil darumb doctor Luther gebüren (wie dem beren) den schaden an einem ieden seinem nächten

zu° rechnen. Das mo°cht ich wol zu° lassen, das doctor Luther zimpt miszbruch zu°straffen, aber in solcher straffen also vber dy masz mit luffs teding, vnd vngleubige irrungen yn her zu°bringen das wil sich weder im noch niemaus anders gebüren. Ich mag auch wol leiden, das du in für Danielem achtest, dan die Vle achtet ire kinder für die scho°nsten fo°gel vff erden, vnd schetzt ein ieder nach dem vnd er in seinem gemüt geneigt ist, so fer, das du in dem fal vnsz nit für dy alten bo°szwicht von Babilonien achtest. Dan woltestu vnsz für bo°szwicht achten, du mieschtest vnsz ein rechtlichen stand darumb erleiden, als denen, die ir eer nit gern versumen wolten. Wir mögen auch leiden, dz du in für Salomonem schettest, so fer vnsz vnd vnseren erben on schaden. Vnd das ich das sechszt in das fünfft beschliess von kürzte wegen. Sprichstu er hab sich alwegen schriftlich vnd mündtlich erbotten, so er seine lere in das heilig Euangelium setze, vnd die ware go°tliche geschriff, erbielte er sich in die Frantzo°sischen vnd Tütschen vniuersiteten, oder erkendtnüsz bebstlicher heiligkeit, oder der [Eiii] cristlichen kirchen daryn zu° erkennen, vnd allem dem geleben, was by dem selben erkennet würd. Er hat sich des auch zu° Leiptzig erbotten, warum hat er dan laut des erbietens nicht erwartet, was da selbs wer erkant worden. Sagt er dan, das doctor Eck der erst gebrochen hab vnd ero°ffnet das nit zu° publicieren was. Sol aber darumb doctor Martinus das den Bapst so hoch lasen entgelten, das er im von Doctor Ecken wegen zwo kronen zucken wil, die so mancher frummer Bapst in demütigem hertzen, mit aller eren getragen hat. Vnd ob schon der ietzig Babst der bo°sest vff erden wer, nach im ob got wil auch mancher mer in eren tragen würt, was sol er sich an dem Bapst rechnen, das doctor Eck vnrecht gethon hat seiner achtung, sol aber er vonn iemans sünden wegen, alle welt vbergeben. Seins erbietens halb das er der erkantnüsz Bäpstlicher heiligkeit wo°l geston, wie war das ist, erscheint da bei wol das er von dem Bapst so oft ersu°cht, dannoch vff seinem fünff augenblick, das were im aber basz angestanden, das er an dem Bapst, wa er ie etwas vermeint, wider in zu°

halten, das er die regel Cristi vusers herren an im gehalten het, vnd im das erstlich vnd vor allen dingen zwüschen inen beiden verkündet het, het er alsdan sich daran nicht keren wo<sup>e</sup>llen, solt er das der kirchen gesagt haben, wie er doch ietz thu<sup>t</sup>. Vnd ob iemans meinen wolt der Bapst het sich daran nichts keret, wer weisz das, es sol nicht also vor dem berren gefischet werden, vnnd in den rechten prophetieret. Es ist auch nicht einer warheit gleich, das doctor Martinus Luther sich das zu<sup>o</sup> thu<sup>n</sup> besorget het, sunder wol zu<sup>o</sup> mu<sup>t</sup>massen, darff er in der kirchen vnd ieder man verklagen, er do<sup>r</sup>ff auch im das zu<sup>o</sup> husz vnd allein sagen. Du hast dich auch seinenthalb nicht zu<sup>o</sup>beklagen, als ob man im vil widerwertigkeit zu<sup>o</sup> füge, dan er aller disser ding, der anfenger ist, vnd hat auch vilen widerwerdikeit zu<sup>o</sup> gefüget, sol billich deszgleichen von inen erwarten sein. Gibst im darnach den breisz des sickes gegen allen andern. Darnon wil ich nichts reden, dan solche vergleichungen sein hessig. Aber meiner achtung soltestu ein schiffung loben, so sie zu<sup>o</sup> land kem, ein kempffer so er triumphiert, einen menschen so er tod wer, das ist alles anders mit Luther, dan ich glaub es sei erst vmb den ersten wurff, vnd niendert an dem end. Darumb habt ir euch spanniger reden gantz nichts zu<sup>o</sup> beriemen, bisz zu<sup>o</sup> dem vsspruch der sachen. Ich lasz dir auch das gar nichts zu<sup>o</sup>, das er sich allein des heiligen euangeliums behelffe, dan ich müst sunst dich fragen, wa es in dem euangelio stünde, das doctor Martinus spricht, der Bapst sei kein haupt der Cristlichen kirchen. Vnd ob ir schon sprechen, wir finden in santt Paulus sendbrieffen, das Cristus das haupt sei der kirchen, das gestand ich, das aber darumb der Bapst auch nit ein haupt sei der kirchen, das zo<sup>e</sup>gen mir geschriben. Ia saget ir, ein leib kan nit zwei heupder haben, das lo<sup>e</sup>cken ich, zo<sup>e</sup>g mir wa stot es geschriben in dem euangelio Darumb gestonde [Eiiii] ir nit das er ein haupt sei der kirchen, in krafft der reden das ein leib nit zwei heupter haben mag, vnd nit in kraft des euangeliums. Sagt doch David von im selbs. Psal. xvii. Her du hast mich gesetzt in ein haupt deines

folcks. Vnd den. xxviii. Der her würt dich setzen in ein haupt vnd nit in ein schwantz. Vnd Ysaie primo, von dem haupt bisz vff den fuß, das ist von dem mereren, bisz vff den mindern, mo<sup>gen</sup> die heupter genant werden vnd können ir nicht auch ein sin finden, das ir den bapst auch laszt, bei seiner hauptmanschafft bleiben, vnd laszt dannocht Cristum auch ein haupt sein. Es mag aber kein leib zwei heupter haben, ia das ist war in leiblichen dingen, aber nit in geistlichen. Ir fantasieren eben als die iuden, da Cristus vnser her zu<sup>o</sup> inen sprach, das sie müsten noch ein mal geboren werden, bald fragten sie wie das m<sup>öglich</sup> were, wider in den leib zu<sup>o</sup> schlieffen, vnd zu<sup>o</sup> dem andern mal geboren werden. Vnd wolten das auch nit verst<sup>on</sup>, von der andern geistlichen geburt des tau<sup>ffs</sup>. Darumb bleibt es da bei, dz Luther vil ding redt, die nit in dem euangelio st<sup>on</sup>, vnd zücht dannocht schmachreden darusz, die im vb<sup>el</sup> an st<sup>on</sup> zu<sup>o</sup> reden, vnd iedem cristen noch vb<sup>eler</sup> an st<sup>on</sup> zu<sup>o</sup> ho<sup>ren</sup>, als mit der hauptmanschafft des bapst exemplificiert ist. Bapstenthum ist ein oberkeit vnser<sup>s</sup> glaubens, als bisz her von iederman ist erkent, vnd veriehen hat, vnd lasz mich wenig irren dz ir sagen, er hab sich als ein tiran in solch oberkeit selb gerungen. Darumb ob schon der bapst der bo<sup>st</sup> v<sup>f</sup> erden were, so sein doch vor im fil heiliger marterer bäbst gewesen, vnd kumment nach im ob got wil auch fil frummer bebst, solten ir darumb nit wyder die oberkeit des glaubens geret haben, vns vnd vnseren glauben darunder betrachtet haben, ob ir schon der Romaniseen abgesagt find weren.

#### BESCHLUSZ REDE.

**J**ETZ wil mir gebüren mit disem fechtmeister vnnd schirmredner das schwert vff zu<sup>o</sup> heben vnd der massen ab zu<sup>o</sup> dretten. Erstlich dz er wisse dz solches ampt eincherlei lern zu<sup>o</sup> confirmieren vnd glaubwürdig zu<sup>o</sup> machen, im nit zu<sup>o</sup> stande, sunder den concilien vnd gemeiner christenheit, alsz s. Augusti. sagt, er glaubte dem ewangelio nit, wo es nit von

dem concilio glaubwürdig zu<sup>o</sup>gelassen were vnd probieret. darumb du dich doctor Luters leren zu<sup>o</sup> bestetigen vnbillich vnderzogen hast, zu<sup>o</sup> dem andren, hastu dich vnderstanden doctor Luters leren zu<sup>o</sup> beweren, vnd hast das also vngeschickt gethon, dz deine reden vnd vrsachen niemans zwingen noch bewegen doctor Luters leren dest glaubwürdiger an zu<sup>o</sup> nemmen den reden, vnd probieren seint zweyerley du hast wol geret, aber nüt probieret, wir hethen auch deine reden alsz allein in lufft geblasen, lassen für iren wert hyngon vnd vnwyderfochten, wo du dich nit berietmet hettest vnd vnderstanden bewerblich zu<sup>o</sup> reden, alsz du billich, vnd wir vnbillich doctor Martinus leren hinderschliege, sunder vsz deinen dargethonen vrsachen, wir vnd mengklich solche leren begirig [Ev] entpfhohen solten, das wir doch nit werden thu<sup>n</sup>, bisz sie durch ein gemeine christenheit beweret, vnd warhafftig erkennet würt, vnd das giff von dem zucker abgesündret. Ich bezüg mich auch, dz ich in disem biechlin nie in meinung waz doctor Luters leren weder zu<sup>o</sup> verwerffen noch anzu<sup>o</sup> nemmen, bisz das ein concilium darin erkennet, wen dz geschicht so gang für go<sup>t</sup>licher wil in allen dingen, Allein das ich dir zu<sup>o</sup> verston gebe wie kiel vnd vnbewerblich du dich vnderstanden hast ein lere zu<sup>o</sup> approbieren, vnd das sogar nit gethon hast, auch deine reden gantz nüt beschliessen, sunder allein ein anzeigung thu<sup>n</sup>, das du der ding ein kleinen verstant hast dar von du alsz ein bewerer geredt hast. Auch mer dan vnweiszlich, alle so wider Doctor luter schreiben oder reden, anziehent als ob sie das dedten vsz neid vnd eignen nutz, ein ru<sup>m</sup>, lob, vnd eigne freüd da mit zu<sup>o</sup> erholen, alsz schellige ko<sup>pff</sup> die niemans dan sich selb ho<sup>ren</sup> wellen, dan ir allein seint die ewangelischen lerer, liebhaber der warheit nachvolger christi, allein vwere wo<sup>rter</sup> seint glat ballieret, vnd aller andrer ruch vnd rostigk, gebt vch selber kalt vnd warm vnd seint alle andren lecker, vnd bu<sup>ben</sup>, dan ir kurtz ab niemans zu<sup>o</sup> lassen dz er sich doch seiner eren verantwurte. Sol es dan also zu<sup>o</sup> gon so habt ir schon recht, got geb ir sagent was ir wellent ir habt aber darumb nit wz ir gern hetten, Fraget man vch

vwer meinung, so sol man alle münch vor allen dingen ab thu'n, alle klo'ster brechen, vsz hundert pfaffen einen machen, allen geistlichen stat zu° scheittren vernichten, mit vwer weisen solten ir ee ein landt verfiere dan eins gewynnen, vnd gebent bo'se hergot, dan ir mechten weder berg noch dall, es miest alles schlecht sein, Vnd wer vwer fürnemmen in dem grunt ermisset, der solt nit gern mit vch zu° thu'n haben, so ir nur mit gewalt, vnd gar mit keinem rechten zu° handeln vnderston. Das ist aber mein radt, lassent zu° den sachen reden wer da wel, vff dz die hochuerstendigen des Conciliums vsz reden vnd wyderreden, die warheit erkennen mogen, alsz dan wellent vnd sollent wir irer erkenntnisz billich ston vnd on alle wyderreden volgen, Vnd vff dz sich niemans dises schreibens alsz eins schmachbiechlinz hab zu° beklagen, ist dem hochwürdigen fürsten vnd herren einem bischoff von Straszburg der nam vnd die person des makers bekant den zu° melden nit einem ieden schmutz kolben, sunder wo es sein genad notturfftig erachtet, vnd wo ir ie meinten ir wellent dem schreiber ein suw schencken, so behalten vwer suw, dz ir den bottenlon nit do'rffen geben, er wyll vch seinen narren zu° husz schicken, die suw zu° reichen z̃c.

#### CENSORES.

DATUM IN DEM IAR NACH DER  
 geburt Christi vnsers herren. Tausent  
 CCCCC. vnd xx. Vff sant Ka-  
 therinen abent getruckt, mit  
 Keyserlicher mayestat.  
 Priuilegien, dz bei  
 pen in einem iar  
 nieman nach tru-  
 cken sol. z̃c.

# THE AUTHORSHIP OF "THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF."

ALTHOUGH *The Flower and the Leaf*<sup>1</sup> has been for some years excluded from the Chaucer canon,<sup>2</sup> no one but Professor Skeat has thus far hazarded a guess as to its true authorship. He thinks that *The Flower and the Leaf* and *The Assembly of Ladies*,<sup>3</sup> in both of which the author, writing in the first person, is addressed as a woman, may very probably be by the same person who wrote certain *Verses by a Lady*, printed in *The Paston Letters*.<sup>4</sup> This lady is conjectured<sup>5</sup> to have been the Countess of Oxford, youngest daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the celebrated 'King-maker;' and her *Verses* are assigned to about 1471.

That the Countess of Oxford may have written *The Assembly of Ladies* seems not inherently improbable, for all recent criticism has assigned that poem to a time rather late in the fifteenth century; but according to Professor Skeat's own chronology there is serious difficulty about making her the author of *The Flower and the Leaf*. Her husband was not born till 1442. She 'may have been as old' as he (to quote from Professor Skeat), but was probably no older. Her eldest brother—she was sixth and youngest in the family—was born in 1428. Accordingly she can hardly have been old enough to write *The Flower and the Leaf* till about 1460, and it is unlikely that she

<sup>1</sup> Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (Clarendon Press, 1897), pp. 361-79.

<sup>2</sup> See ten Brink, *Chaucer Studien* (1870), pp. 156 ff.; Skeat, Introduction to Bell's Chaucer (1878), and *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. lxii ff.; Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer* (1892), Vol. I, pp. 489 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 380 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Gairdner (Birmingham, 1875), Vol. III, p. 302.

<sup>5</sup> *Modern Language Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 111 (December, 1900).

was old enough even then. This poem, however, in its use of the final *e* and other peculiarities of language, seems to be of the first rather than the second half of the century, and considerably earlier than *The Assembly of Ladies*.<sup>1</sup> Hence the chronological situation is as follows: According to Professor Skeat the poem of *The Paston Letters*, written about 1471, is later than *The Assembly of Ladies*; according to him also *The Assembly of Ladies* is considerably later than *The Flower and the Leaf*;<sup>2</sup> yet all three, with all their differences of language and metre, must have been written between 1460 and 1471. This was the period of the Wars of the Roses, when—still according to Professor Skeat—‘the composition of these poems was hardly possible.’<sup>3</sup>

This striking chronological inconsistency of course does not positively disprove the theory, because the dates of the poems are all conjectural; but there are other objections. Except in the commonplaces of Chaucerian imitation, there is no similarity in the poems thus attributed to the same person; but decided dissimilarity in language, in spirit, and especially in poetical quality. The hint that authorship by Margaret Neville accounts for the references to the daisy (marguerite) in both *F. L.* and *A. L.*<sup>4</sup> is hardly worth consideration in view of the well-known cult of that flower by Machaut, Froissart, Deschamps, Chaucer, and others.<sup>5</sup> And especially does it seem improbable that a poet whose name was Margaret would treat the worshippers of the ‘margaret-flower’ as our author treats them.<sup>6</sup> On the

<sup>1</sup> I have noted in Lydgate, who died about 1451, and in *The King's Quair*, apparent allusions to *The Flower and the Leaf*. See my article on *Sources and Analogues of 'The Flower and the Leaf,'* in *Modern Philology*, Vol. iv, pp. 159, 317.

<sup>2</sup> *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. lxvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxx.

<sup>4</sup> Hereafter, for convenience, *The Flower and the Leaf* and *The Assembly of Ladies*, respectively, will be referred to by these abbreviations.

<sup>5</sup> Discussed in my article previously mentioned, *Modern Philology*, Vol. iv, pp. 157–60, and in places there cited.

<sup>6</sup> As pointed out by Professor Hales in the *Athenæum*, March 28, 1903.



whole, authorship by the Countess of Oxford may be dismissed as a not very plausible guess.

Professor Skeat's more serious contention that *F. L.* and *A. L.* are by the same person—the same woman—requires more detailed examination. It depends fundamentally upon the assumption that because the author purports to have been a woman, woman she must have been. Insistence upon this point implies not only that no man would have used so simple a device as concealment of sex; but also, in case the poem is a translation or adaptation from the French, that no English man would have translated a French woman's poem. As a matter of fact concealment of sex is not unknown in fourteenth and fifteenth century literature. Deschamps wrote several poems purporting to be by women,<sup>1</sup> and Christine de Pisan several purporting to be by men.<sup>2</sup> Lydgate, too, is credited with 'a balade sayde by a gentillwoman which loued a man of gret estate.'<sup>3</sup> Proceeding on the assumption, however, that *F. L.* and *A. L.* must be by women, Professor Skeat goes summarily to the conclusion that both are by the same woman.<sup>4</sup>

(1) 'The first point,' he says, 'is that (with the sole exception of the Nuthrown Maid) no English poems exist, . . . written previously to 1500, and purporting to be written by a woman.'<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the argument seems to run, these two poems which do purport to be by women, must be both by the same woman; because no two women in England in the fifteenth century could have written poetry. It would seem more reasonable to say that because Professor Skeat finds no record of early Eng-

<sup>1</sup> As noted by Professor Kittredge in *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *E. g.*, the 'Complaintes Amoureuses' in *Oeuvres Poétiques*, ed. Roy; Société des Anciens Textes Français, Vol. I, pp. 281 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1854-1875*, Vol. II, p. 699. The editor of *The Paston Letters* suggests that the *Verses* mentioned above may have been written by Lydgate.

<sup>4</sup> *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, Introduction, pp. lxiii ff.

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted by the way that *The Nuthrown Maid* does not purport to be by a woman, but by a man. See line 3 of the last stanza.

lish women poets,<sup>1</sup> therefore these poems were not by women at all.

(2) In *A. L.* all the characters, except the gentleman to whom the author's dream is told, are ladies; in *F. L.* 'the principal characters are ladies and the chief personages are queens.' It is difficult to see what force can reasonably be attached to this coincidence. Men have certainly been known in all ages to make women prominent in their poetry. The fact that Eustache Deschamps mentions the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf as orders particularly of women<sup>2</sup> abundantly accounts for the importance of the sex in *F. L.* And if it should be said that for this reason a woman is more likely to have written about the orders, the only answer needed is that all the other known references to them are by men—Chaucer, Deschamps, and Charles d'Orleans.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the resemblance in this respect, which Professor Skeat sees between the two poems compared, is not readily apparent. In *A. L.* no men play a direct part. In *F. L.* there are elaborate jousts by a 'rout' of 'men at armes,' including the most famous heroes of romance and history; and the number of knights and ladies in both companies appears to be equal.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, it can not be said that women are more prominent than men in *F. L.* except as the 'chief personages are queens.' And it is difficult to see how a mediæval poet of either sex could naturally have made anyone but Flora leader of a company of worshippers of the Flower; or why the choice of Diana as leader of a company of brave men and chaste women (especially in view of the inevita-

<sup>1</sup> However, Marie de France lived and wrote in England, though not in English, long before the fifteenth century; and Professor Manly tells me that he has a record of payment for a play made to a woman during the fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> *Oeuvres Complètes*, Société des Anciens Textes Français, Vol. iv, p. 259. Deschamps gives the names of men who apparently belonged to the orders, however.

<sup>3</sup> Chaucer, Prologue to *Legende of Good Women*; Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, Vol. iv, pp. 257 ff.; d'Orleans, *Poésies*, ed. d'Héricault, Vol. i, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *F. L.*, ll. 196, 504-25, 322, 326.

ble feminine leadership of the contrasted company) should be of any value whatever as evidence of feminine authorship. As well argue that a woman must have written *The Legende of Good Women*.

(3) 'But,' says Professor Skeat, 'the most characteristic thing is the continual reference to colours, dresses, ornaments, and decorations;' the implication being that only a woman would have been likely to write about such things. As a matter of fact, 'continual' is too strong a word. When the adherents of the Leaf are introduced, there is a rather elaborate description of their appearance and attire; and again when the adherents of the Flower appear, a much briefer description.<sup>1</sup> But these are the only passages of the kind, and mediæval poetry known to be by men is full of such passages.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, in the portion about the followers of the Leaf, much the greater amount of space (approximately nine and a half stanzas to three and a half) is given to such masculine appurtenances as 'scochones,' 'hors-harneys,' armor, and so forth. Hence if we must assume that only a woman would have written of 'seams and collars and sleeves,' must we not also assume that only a man would have shown detailed knowledge of the trappings of a knight and his horse?

(4) As to the verbal resemblances which Professor Skeat points out between *F. L.* and *A. L.*,<sup>3</sup> all may be accounted for by use of the common stock of imitators of Chaucer. All of the words, phrases, and short passages in *F. L.* which he compares with similar passages in *A. L.* may be found in works of Chaucer or Lydgate or others of the Chaucerian school; usually not once only but over and over again. I have made a list of

<sup>1</sup> *F. L.*, ll. 141 ff.; 327 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., *The Romaunt of the Rose*, Chaucerian version, ll. 562-79, 888-908, 1071-1128, etc.; Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*, ed. Sieper (Early English Text Society, 1901-3), ll. 347 ff., 1147 ff., 1392 ff., 1555 ff., 1724 ff., 2810 ff., 5337 ff., etc.

<sup>3</sup> Not only in his Introduction, but also in his notes on both poems—*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 529-38.

such passages, too long for publication; but persons familiar with Chaucerian English will hardly need it.<sup>1</sup>

(5) Proceeding with Professor Skeat's general argument, we come to the following: 'Very characteristic of female authorship is the remark that the ladies vied with each other as to which looked the best; a remark which occurs in both poems; see *F. L.* 188, *A. L.* 384.' Unfortunately this is not an accurate statement of the meaning of the passage in *F. L.*, as a careful reading of ll. 187-89 will at once show. There is no suggestion that the women of the company of the Leaf were consciously vying with one another; the author merely says that in her 'herber' she was well situated for looking at them carefully and deciding for herself 'who fairest was.'<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, in *A. L.*, ll. 383-85, the company of ladies, of whom the author was a member, laid wagers among themselves as to

Which of us was atyred goodliest,  
And of us al which shuld be paysted best.<sup>3</sup>

Surely observations so essentially different as these might have been made by different persons; and neither is quite beyond the reach of the masculine intellect.

(6). The resemblances in plan and structure upon which Professor Skeat comments are as truly parts of the common poetical material of the time as the phrases already discussed under (4). Opening with a description of nature is perfectly conventional; and there are many poems which in this regard resemble *F. L.* much more closely than does *A. L.*, because in

<sup>1</sup> A conclusion similar to mine is stated, without argument, by Dr. W. A. Neilson, in his study of *The Origins and Sources of The Court of Love*; *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> This passage in *F. L.* far more closely resembles Chaucer's remark in the *Knight's Tale*, A, ll. 2201-2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*, ll. 1945-46, in which Mercury, telling about the strife of the goddesses for the golden apple, says they contended as to

Who fairest was, and did excelle  
Of beaute for to bere the belle.

the latter the natural setting is not the usual one of spring. I have gone into this matter in some detail elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> and need only repeat here that, if such matters as the 'world of ladies,' the 'abundance of dresses, and gems, and bright colours,' the manner of explanation of the allegory, furnish evidence of common authorship of *F. L.* and *A. L.*, a large part of the French and English poetry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries must also have been by the same person.

On the whole the differences between *F. L.* and *A. L.* seem more notable than the resemblances. Professor Skeat himself mentions the much more frequent occurrence of the feminine *e* in *F. L.* Professor Neilson notes 'the frequency of run-on stanzas in the *Flower and the Leaf*, and the absence of them in the *Assembly*,' and comments on the decidedly different movement of the two poems.<sup>2</sup> Professor Skeat admits that *A. L.* is 'longer and duller,' but at once qualifies the admission in a way difficult to understand; for it is safe to say that most readers have found the two poems almost at opposite poles in interest and charm. Both consist largely of conventional material; both are allegorical, though in widely different ways; both are in language and metre imitative of Chaucer. But in *F. L.* the diction is picturesque, the action moves briskly, the central idea is brought out pointedly, and all the details are in harmony. On the other hand, *A. L.* abounds to an exceptional degree in repetitions, circumlocutions, 'tags,' unidiomatic English, and the clumsiest devices to secure rime; what little action it presents is dull and trivial; and the central idea is so far from clear that Professor Skeat himself has singularly misinterpreted it.<sup>3</sup> Especially in relation to the allegory are the

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, Vol. iv, pp. 281 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Harvard Studies*, Vol. vi, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> He says (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. lxx), 'A considerable part . . . may have been much appreciated at the time, as having reference to the ordering of a large mediæval household.' The foundation for this remark is the fact that various ladies are respectively the porter, usher, steward, chamberlain, etc., in the house of Loyalty; but any reference to the 'ordering of a

differences between *F. L.* and *A. L.* noticeable. In the former the companies of knights and ladies are introduced as real people. There is hardly a hint of allegory till the explanation is given near the end, and even then the characters receive no abstract names. But in *A. L.* we have from the beginning a host of such lifeless personifications as developed in the wake of the *Roman de la Rose* after the original inspiration had spent itself. *F. L.* belongs with *The Parlement of Foules* or the Prologue to *The Legende of Good Women*; it has interest apart from its allegory. *A. L.* is nothing without its didacticism and its allegory.

The conclusion, then, as to Professor Skeat's whole theory of authorship is that it is not only unproved but unlikely. The author of *F. L.* may have been a woman; but was probably not the same person as the author of *A. L.* And it should not be assumed on the present evidence that the author was a woman at all. The style and subject matter of *F. L.* present closer resemblances to undisputed work of John Lydgate than to that of any other known English author, even Chaucer.

The resemblances of *F. L.* to the work of Lydgate are of many kinds. To treat formal matters first, it is in Lydgate's favorite stanza, the so called 'rhyme royal,' and has in a marked degree the peculiarities that have been noted in Lydgate's use of the five-stress line.<sup>1</sup> Of the five types of lines described by Professor Schick, we may take no account of A and B, since these are not peculiar to Lydgate and B is rare in our poem.

Type C, however, deserves close attention. This is the 'peculiarly Lydgatian type,' says Professor Schick, 'in which

large mediæval household' is purely incidental, and apart from the purpose of the poem. Such allegorical household officers are met with regularly in poems of the Court of Love group, to which *A. L.* clearly belongs. It is not a treatise on housekeeping, but a Court of Love allegory. See in this connection Dr. Neilson's dissertation, chap. iii, *passim*; *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI.

<sup>1</sup> This discussion of metre is based mainly on Schick's chapter on Lydgate's metre in his Introduction to *The Temple of Glas*, E. E. T. S., 1891; pp. liv ff.

the thesis is wanting in the caesura, so that two accented syllables clash together,' near the middle of the line. Line 5 :

'Causing the gróund, féle tȳmes and óft,'

is an example of this type, which is frequent in *F. L.*, as the following list will show : ll. 5, 15(?), 20, 55, 172, 218, 222, 239, 242, 259, 268, 277(?), 300, 312, 421(?), 492. Many more lines besides these may be taken as of type C if Professor Skeat's emendations, made to normalize the grammar or the metre, are disregarded. Thus line 14 :

'Of this sesóun wéxeth [ful] glád and líght.'

may be scanned without 'ful' as a Lydgatian line of type C. 'Ful' is not needed for the sense, is not in the earliest text we have of the poem, and is not needed for the metre. Lines similar to this are : 50, 66, 75, 103, 116, 131, 175, 235, 425, 438, 494, 505, 542, 555, 562. It is not contended that in all these cases the emendations are undesirable, for they sometimes improve the lines ; but they are in the great majority of cases needless.

The foregoing figures indicate that this 'peculiarly Lydgatian type' of line occurs at least as frequently in *F. L.* as Professor Schick finds it in *The Temple of Glas*. It is found very rarely in Chaucer,<sup>1</sup> or in the poems by other writers than Lydgate in Skeat's *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*. It occurs rather frequently in the pieces by Lydgate in the volume just named : in *The Complaint of the Black Knight*, ll. 35, 50, 67, 76, 100, etc. ; *The Flour of Curtesye*, ll. 1, 22, 34, 44, 50, 54, 62, 63, etc. ; *To My Sovereign Lady*, ll. 4, 63, etc.

Type D, 'the acephalous or headless line, in which the first syllable has been cut off,' is very common in *F. L.* Though Professor Schick does not find many such lines in *The Temple of Glas*, Professor Sieper has pointed out that they are very common in *Reson and Sensuallyte*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Skeat's Oxford Chaucer, Vol. VI, Introduction, p. xcii.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II of his ed., pp. 11, 12.

Lines of type E, 'with trissyllabic first measure,' are rare in *F. L.*, and unimportant as not peculiarly Lydgatian.

Rough lines, not belonging clearly to any of the above types, are very numerous in *F. L.* Doubtless this is partly because of the many imperfections of the text, our earliest source for which, Speght's Chaucer of 1598, is apparently much modernized. Professor Skeat has made an effort to restore the probable original; but as we have seen, he has sometimes emended unnecessarily, while at the same time he has been forced to leave numerous unmetrical lines. Such are, for example, 126, 177, 178, 186, 195, 220, 229, 252, 272, 299, 325, 334, 352, 376, 397, 402, 404, 410, 430, 589, 593. It must be admitted that these lines show a lack of sensitiveness to rhythm such as Professor Schick finds frequently in the work of Lydgate.

As to rime, the characteristics on which Professor Schick comments<sup>1</sup> are found in *F. L.* Differences in the quality of the rime vowel are not regarded; e. g., in ll. 37-42, 198-201, 212-15, 328-29, 405-06, 590-93. No difference is made between *ei* and *ai* in ll. 421-23. Cheap rimes are frequent, especially of adverbs in *ly* and verb forms in *ing*: e. g., ll. 128-30, 156-59, etc.; 141-43, 251-52, etc. We also find *ese* rimed with *disese*, ll. 20-21, 377-78; *quantitee* with *plentee*, 76-77; *plesyr* with *desyr*, 113-15; *echoon* with *oon*, 142-44, 468-69; *cereal* with *al*, 209-10; *ware* with *were*, 261-63; *indede* with *dede*, 480-81; *notable* with *Table*, 513-15; *rede* (verb) with *rede* (adj.), 590-93. There are also in *F. L.*, as in Lydgate, rimes in which the final *e* is disregarded, as follows: ll. 27-28, 114-16-17, 163-65-66, 205-7-8, 212-14-15, 247-49-50, 387-89-90, 398-99. It should be particularly noted that probably the most important of these irregularities in *F. L.*,—the rimes of *passe* and *was*, ll. 27-8, 114-16; and of *compas*, *pace*, and *face*, 163-65-66,—have an exact counterpart among the examples given by Professor Schick on p. lxii. Still other rimes are of

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to *Temple of Glas*, pp. lx ff.



this type in Speght's edition of *F. L.*, but have been normalized by Professor Skeat's changes in spelling; as follows: ll. 1-3, 78-80, 85-87-89, 191-93-94, 219-21-22, 583-85-86. Among these latter are rimes of *y* and *ie* such as are found in Lydgate.

Last but not least of metrical points is the fact that run-on stanzas, such as are very numerous in *F. L.*, are frequently found in Lydgate's work, and rarely in that of Chaucer and of Lydgate's contemporaries. The following table will bring out the facts clearly:

*F. L.*, . . . . . 85 stanzas, 31 run-on.

Poems by Lydgate:

*B. K.*,<sup>1</sup> . . . . . 97 stanzas, 19 run-on.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations of titles will be used hereafter:

*A. G.*—*The Assembly of Gods*, ed. Triggs (E. E. T. S., 1895). Attributed to Lydgate, but L.'s authorship is questioned by Sieper; *R. S.*, Vol. II, Preface, p. vi.

*B. D.*—Chaucer's *Boke of the Duchess*. Chaucer references are to Skeat's Oxford ed.

*B. K.*—Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight; Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 245 ff.

*C. B.*—Lydgate's *Chorl and the Bird*; *M. P.*, pp. 179 ff.

*F. C.*—Lydgate's *Flour of Curtesye; Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 266 ff.

*Isopus*—Lydgate's translations from Aesop: I, ed. Sauerstein, *Anglia*, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.; II, ed. Zupitza, *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. 85, pp. 1 ff.

*L. G. W.*—Chaucer's *Legende of Good Women*.

*M. P.*—Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, ed. Halliwell (Percy Society, Vol. II, 1840).

*Night.*—Lydgate's *Two Nightingale Poems*, ed. Glauning (E. E. T. S., 1900); referred to as I and II respectively.

*Pil.*—Lydgate's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (translation from de Guilleville), ed. Furnivall (E. E. T. S., 1899, 1901).

*R. R.*—*Le Roman de la Rose*. References are to the Chaucerian version.

*R. S.*—Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*.

*Secrees*—Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees of Philosophers*, ed. Steele (E. E. T. S., 1894).

*T. G.*—Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*.

*Thebes*—Lydgate's *Story of Thebes*. References are to the reprint in Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, pp. 570 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Part of this is a lyrical "compleynt," less loose in structure than a poem mainly narrative or descriptive.

<i>F. C.</i> , . . . . .	39 stanzas,	5 run-on.
<i>T. G.</i> , . . . . .	119 “	16 “ <sup>1</sup>
<i>Night. I.</i> , . . . . .	59 “	13 “
<i>Night. II.</i> , . . . . .	54 “	9 “

Poems not by Lydgate in *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*:

Hoccleve's <i>Letter of Cupid</i> , . .	No run-on stanzas.
<i>La Belle Dame sans Merci</i> , . .	108 stanzas, 4 run-on. <sup>2</sup>
Henryson's <i>Testament of Cressid</i> ,	88 “ 2 “
<i>The Cuckoo and the Nightingale</i> ,	58 “ 2 “
<i>A. L.</i> , . . . . .	108 “ 4 “
Gower's <i>Praise of Peace</i> ,	No run-on stanzas.

Thus run-on stanzas are frequent, among Chaucerian imitations, only in *F. L.*, in works of Lydgate, and in *The Court of Love*, which is late and probably influenced by Lydgate.<sup>3</sup>

The language of Lydgate, in its grammatical aspects, is not sufficiently different from that of Chaucer to furnish solid ground for argument. It may be said, however, that *F. L.* resembles Lydgate's work in the usual but not universal use of the final *e*.<sup>4</sup> Professor Skeat himself points out that the use, in *F. L.*, of *very* with adjectives is like Lydgate and not like Chaucer.<sup>5</sup> I may also add that the insertion of 'scraps of French,' on which Professor Skeat comments in his comparison of *F. L.* and *A. L.*, is found in Lydgate frequently; e. g., in the poems numbered XI and XXII in *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*.

In the matter of style, it must be admitted at the outset that *F. L.* is more attractive to present-day readers than most of Lydgate's work. Yet it will be found that his main characteristics are here. Professor Schick pronounces his work 'drawled out and incompact.' 'His sentences run on aimlessly, without

<sup>1</sup> The stanzaic part here is largely lyric.

<sup>2</sup> The run-on stanzas occur in the translator's portion of the poem, which is doubtless late enough to have been influenced by Lydgate.

<sup>3</sup> As shown by Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, chap. vii.

<sup>4</sup> See Schick's Introduction, pp. lxxiii ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. lxv.

definite stop, and it is often difficult to say where a particular idea begins or ends.'<sup>1</sup> This description applies very well to the structure of at least the following portions of *F. L.*: ll. 1-14, 15-21, 22-36, 64-77, 92-105, 113-26, 141-63, 190-203, 218-30, 239-63, 274-87, 302-13, 323-33, 360-71, 427-41, 547-57. Some of these sentences are so involved as to seem incapable of grammatical analysis, and may therefore be classed with the anacolutha found frequently in Lydgate's work; especially ll. 51-3, 89-91, 151-3, 214-15, 222-3, 521-3, 530-32, 554, 558-65.

The 'long sermons and moralizations' in which Lydgate delights are represented in *F. L.* by the elaborate explanation of the allegory in ll. 467-581.

Such incongruous mixture of ideas and persons of different ages of the world as Professor Schick discusses is not so much characteristic of Lydgate as of mediæval literature in general. It is found in *F. L.*, to a degree, in the association of the Nine Worthies, the Knights of the Round Table, the *Douze Pairs*, the Knights of the Garter, and women of all ages, under the leadership of Flora and Diana.

The use of 'expletives, pleonasms and certain stock phrases' is also characteristic of Middle English poetry in general. Such expressions are frequent in Lydgate and in *F. L.*, as indeed in Chaucer, but not so frequent as in later poems of less inspiration, such as *A. L.*

'The effort after parallelism of expression,' which Professor Sieper finds very prominent in Lydgate's work,<sup>2</sup> is plainly apparent in *F. L.* A few examples from the opening stanzas will illustrate the point: 'fele tymes and oft,' l. 5; 'feld and mede,' 9; 'good and hoolsom,' 10; 'old and deede,' 11; 'glad and light,' 14; 'siknesse nor disese,' 21; 'my gere and myn array,' 26; etc.

<sup>1</sup> See *T. G.*, pp. cxxxiv ff. Probably the run-on stanzas noted above are largely to be accounted for by this loose, wandering structure.

<sup>2</sup> *R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. vi, 2, 6, 45 ff.

Other peculiarities of Lydgate, discussed by Professor Schick under the head of style,<sup>1</sup> will be treated below in connection with resemblances of the subject matter of *F. L.* to the work of Lydgate. These are chiefly his love of allegory, his familiarity with the Court of Love idea, and his apologetic vein. The Lydgatian peculiarities pointed out by Dr. Glauning<sup>2</sup> will also be discussed below.

In the consideration of subject matter, it is desirable to examine in some detail the principal elements of our poem. This can be done rapidly, however, owing to my discussion of these elements in the paper already mentioned.<sup>3</sup> Many of the elements are conventional, and therefore separately of no great value; but taken altogether they are surely of significance, especially because of the numerous cases in which the phrasing as well as the thought of *F. L.* resembles Lydgate. The similarities to be pointed out below are not merely verbal, like most of those which Professor Skeat has been criticized for over-emphasizing;<sup>4</sup> they are similarities in both thought and expression.<sup>5</sup>

The specific details of the astronomical reference at the beginning of *F. L.* find their closest parallel in Lydgate's *B. K.*<sup>6</sup> Descriptions of spring are common in Lydgate, several presenting in similar terms practically all the points dwelt upon in *F. L.* The most elaborate is in *R. S.*<sup>7</sup> In Lydgate's *Testament*,<sup>8</sup> also, the 'bareyn soil' is clothed with 'newe lyveree,' flowers

<sup>1</sup> *T. G.*, pp. cxxxviii-xlii.

<sup>2</sup> *Night.*, pp. xxxv-vi.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Philology*, Vol. iv, pp. 121 ff., 281 ff. To be referred to hereafter simply as *Sources*. I shall as completely as possible avoid repetition of matter therein contained.

<sup>4</sup> P. 377 above.

<sup>5</sup> Of course it must be continually borne in mind that *F. L.*, like nearly all of Lydgate's work, is a conscious imitation of Chaucer.

<sup>6</sup> *Sources*, p. 282. Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 1-3, 7-9, 534; with *B. K.*, ll. 1-4, 595.

<sup>7</sup> *Sources*, p. 310. Cf. *R. S.*, ll. 96 ff.; with *F. L.*, ll. 4-14. The phrase at the end of l. 14—'glad and light'—seems to have been a favorite one with Lydgate. I find it in *M. P.*, pp. 4, 217; *T. G.*, l. 1216; *Thebes*, pp. 571, 582, 586.

<sup>8</sup> *M. P.*, pp. 242 ff.

spring up, birds sing, there are 'holsom shoures,' it is the season of joy.<sup>1</sup> In *Pil.*<sup>2</sup> Nature tells the poet how she renews the earth's beauties year after year, clothing with buds all

Wych, with wynter, dede I made.<sup>3</sup>

Like other mediæval writers of love allegories with the spring-time setting, Lydgate often represents himself as sleepless;<sup>4</sup> and as rising before dawn, or about dawn, and going into a pleasant grove or meadow. Thus in *F. C.* (ll. 34, 35) he goes to a grove to see the birds choose their mates; in *B. K.* he goes

Into the wode, to here the briddes singe.<sup>5</sup> (l. 23)

In *R. S.* there is a forest with a regularity of arrangement resembling that described in *F. L.*—a regularity found also earlier in *R. R.* and in *B. D.*<sup>6</sup> The 'path of litel brede,' 'forgrowen . . . with gras and weede,' which the poet finds in *F. L.*, resembles the 'litel wey' of *B. K.*, which leads

Toward a park, enclosed with a wal  
In compas rounde,

like the 'herber' enclosed by a 'hegge . . . that yede [as] in compas,' of our poem.<sup>7</sup> A similar arbor, in both *C. B.* and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 6, 10. 'Holsom aire' and 'holsom shoures' are frequently mentioned by Lydgate. See *M. P.*, p. 244; *Thebes*, pp. 579, 588, 594.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 3468 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 11-12. Further specific resemblances to *F. L.* will be found in *B. K.* and at the beginning of the Prologue to *Thebes*. See *Sources*, pp. 307-9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 17-21; with *T. G.*, l. 12; *R. S.*, ll. 194 ff.; *Night*, I, l. 44; *B. K.*, ll. 15 ff. Glauning, in his Introduction to *Night*, p. xxxv, mentions 'the sleepy poet' (apparently an error for 'sleepless') among 'points . . . common in Lydgate's works.'

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 27, 37. Cf. also *F. L.*, ll. 36-38, with *C. B.*, p. 181:

[The bird] with hir song made hevye hertes lighte  
That to beholde it was an hevenly sighte.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 29-31, with *R. S.*, ll. 2730-32, 2767-68; *R. R.*, ll. 1391 ff.; *B. D.*, ll. 419 ff. See *Sources*, pp. 286, 300, 311, 320.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 43-45, 49-55; with *B. K.*, ll. 38-40.

*B. K.*, is said to be 'benched;' in *C. B.* 'benched with turves,' as in *F. L.* and in Chaucer's Prologue to *L. G. W.*<sup>1</sup> The attribution of healing powers to the odor of the eglantine in *F. L.*—a common device—in manner of expression strikingly resembles the following lines from *R. S.* :

That ther nys hert, I dar expresse, (l. 5607)  
Oppressed so with hevynesse,  
Nor in sorwe so y-bounde,  
That he sholde ther ha founde  
Comfort hys sorowe to apese  
To a-sette her hert at ese.<sup>2</sup>

The description of the nightingale's song in *F. L.* (ll. 99–105), though in part conventional, bears particular resemblance to *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale* (ll. 98–100),<sup>3</sup> and to various passages from Lydgate. Thus in *Night. I* (ll. 82–84) her notes rang 'thorgh-oute the wode,'

so merily ande so shryll,  
The wych enchesoned me tabide there styll.

In *B. K.* the birds

So loude songe, that al the wode rong ; (l. 45)

and the nightingale

With so gret mighte her voys gan out-wreste  
Right as her herte for love wolde breste.<sup>4</sup>

The use of 'ravished' as in *F. L.* (ll. 103, 114) is very common in Lydgate, several times in passages similar to these. In *Night. I* 'thys blessed bred' 'thorghly my hert raueshed had and persed' (l. 52). In *R. S.* (ll. 203, 204), 'I was ravysshed, as thoughte me,' to hear the birds.<sup>5</sup> The description of the

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. W.*, B, ll. 203–4; *C. B.*, p. 181; *B. K.*, ll. 125–26.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 79–84; also *B. K.*, ll. 99–105.

<sup>3</sup> A poem to which the author of *F. L.* appears to allude in ll. 39–42, and Lydgate in *M. P.*, pp. 23, 119, 205.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *M. P.*, p. 182.

<sup>5</sup> See also *R. S.*, ll. 3656, 3839, 5094; *T. G.*, l. 16. In this connection also *F. L.*, l. 447, may be compared with *Night. II*, l. 73, and with *C. B.*, bottom of p. 181.

voices heard from the arbor in *F. L.* (ll. 128–33) is very closely paralleled in *R. S.* (ll. 5202–20), especially in the use of the words 'melodious acorde,' 'soote armonye,' 'aungelyke,' and in the thought that no man ever heard such melody. The comparison with angels and the word 'armonye' seem to have been favorites of Lydgate.<sup>1</sup>

The vision of a company of people similar in a general way to the adherents of the Leaf and of the Flower is very common, especially in poems connected in any way with the Court of Love idea. The most influential poem of this type was *R. R.*, of which one of the best imitations, *Les Echecs Amoureux*, was the original of Lydgate's *R. S.* The description in the latter poem of a company of lovers in the garden of Deduit and Cupid presents numerous striking points of resemblance to *F. L.*<sup>2</sup>

The costumes of the company of the Leaf are richly adorned with precious stones, a fact which Professor Skeat emphasizes because of similar details in *A. L.* The closest parallels, however, are between *F. L.* and passages from Chaucer and Lydgate. As Schick and Glauning have noted,<sup>3</sup> the latter seems to have been a notable lover of precious stones. From a long list of references I suggest special comparison of *F. L.* 148, with *R. S.* 2848; *F. L.* 153, with *R. S.* 1400; *F. L.* 149–50 with *C. B.*, p. 188; and *F. L.* 149, 224, with *Isopus I*, p. 1.<sup>4</sup> The description of the costumes in general is more than matched in Lydgate's *Pur le Roy* (*M. P.*, pp. 2 ff.), and especially in the description of the appearance and clothing of the chief personages in *R. S.*<sup>5</sup> Diana's clothing is particularly worth notice because of her leadership of the company of the Leaf. She

<sup>1</sup> See *M. P.*, pp. 8, 10, 11, 182, 246, etc.; *T. G.*, ll. 269 (and notes thereon), 581, 1304, 1363, p. 62; *R. S.*, ll. 161, 277, 1765, 3637, 5215; *Night. II*, ll. 5, 357; *Thebes*, pp. 572, 577, 601; *Secrees*, l. 1308.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *R. S.*, ll. 5232 ff. (see *Sources*, p. 312), with *F. L.*, ll. 137, 183 ff., 196, 295, 302–3, 326.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to *T. G.*, p. cxvi, note; and note on *Night. II*, l. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See also *M. P.*, p. 46; *T. G.*, p. 12; *F. C.*, ll. 120–21; *Night. II*, ll. 33 ff.; *R. S.*, ll. 6112, etc.; *Thebes*, p. 581.

<sup>5</sup> Already referred to, p. 377 above, note 2.

wears in *R. S.* a dazzling white robe 'ryche of stonys and tresour,' and a golden crown 'ful of grete pereles whyte.'<sup>1</sup> The white clothing of the adherents of the Leaf seems to have been suggested by the leadership of Diana and by the common use of white as the color of purity. That this use was familiar to Lydgate is shown by passages in *Pur le Roy* that I have cited elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The use of green for the costumes of the adherents of the Flower is in harmony with the specific meaning of inconspicuity given that color by Lydgate in *Falls of Princes*.<sup>3</sup> The chaplets of flowers worn by the company of the Flower accord with the conventional association of such chaplets with the festivities of light love; as also in *R. S.* (ll. 1572-74), where Venus wears a crown of roses.

The details in *F. L.* as to the jousting of the knights of the Leaf are paralleled in Lydgate's *Thebes*. In the account of a combat between Tideus and Polimite, we are told how "they ronne togider on horse-backe" and "Either on other first his spere brake."<sup>4</sup> And in describing the kings and princes that came to help Adrastus in Thebes, Lydgate assures us:

That as I trow, sith the world began  
There was not seene so many a manly man,  
So wel horsed with spere and with shield.<sup>5</sup>

The cult of the daisy, the object of worship of the Order of the Flower, must of course have been well known to Lydgate. He mentions this flower frequently, usually with an allusion to Chaucer's choice of it as Alcestis' flower.<sup>6</sup> In one such passage, in the *Poem against Self-Love*, there is a possible allusion to *F. L.*:

Alcestis flower, with white, with red and greene,  
Displaieth hir crown geyn Phebus bemys brihte,  
In stormys dreepithe—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 141, 148, 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Sources*, pp. 143-44.

<sup>3</sup> See *Sources*, p. 147; also *A. G.*, ll. 320 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Thebes*, p. 581; cf. *F. L.*, ll. 280, 284.

<sup>5</sup> *Thebes*, p. 591; cf. *F. L.*, ll. 124-26, 198.

<sup>6</sup> See *T. G.*, l. 74 (and Schick's note thereon); *M. P.*, pp. 23, 161; *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, xxii, l. 22.



the italicized words describing exactly the state of the Flower and its followers after the storm.

This brings us to the allegory of *F. L.*, with which Lydgate is notably in harmony. The white-robed adherents of the Leaf, unaffected by the heat and the storm that annoy the company of the Flower, are people who have been chaste, brave, and steadfast in love; the green-robed adherents of the Flower, whom the sun's heat burns and the rain bedraggles, are people who have cared for nothing but hunting and hawking and playing in meads. In other words, those who take the Leaf as their emblem are characterized by 'during qualities' such as laurel and woodbine and hawthorn leaves possess; those who serve the Flower have the instability of the flower.

Lydgate often mentions the enduring nature of certain kinds of leaves and the transitory nature of flowers. Most of his references I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> but I shall add a few striking lines from the *Testament*:

Lych as in Ver men gretly them delite  
 To beholde the bewté sovereyne  
 Of thes blomys, som blew, rede, and white,  
 To whos fresshnesse no colour may atteyne,  
 But than unwarly comyth a wynd sodeyne,  
 For no favour list nat for to spare  
 Fresshnesse of braunchys, for to make hem bare.  
 . . . . .  
 Whan Ver is fresshest of blomys and of flourys,  
 An unwar storm his fresshnesse may apayre.<sup>2</sup>

The use of the nightingale, singing in the laurel tree, as the bird of the Leaf, is notably in harmony with the exalted character Lydgate gives this bird. In *Night. II* the poet thinks the bird is asking Venus to take vengeance

On false lovers whiche that bien vntriewe. (l. 17)

The bird in *C. B.* (not specifically the nightingale, however) sings from a laurel tree. The nightingale sings from a laurel

<sup>1</sup> *Sources*, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *M. P.*, pp. 245-46.

tree in *Night*. I (l. 63), and from a hawthorn in *Night*. II (l. 356).

The allegorical conflict in *F. L.* is essentially between two views of life—a serious view and a frivolous view. It somewhat resembles the conflict between Reason and Sensuality in Lydgate's *R. S.*, and still more the rivalry of Venus and Diana in the same poem.<sup>1</sup> Nowhere else have I found so important a contrast of the two views of life presented in *F. L.* Reproof of idleness, like that of the followers of the Flower, is frequently found in Lydgate's work.<sup>2</sup> Especially worthy of quotation is the description of the author's first pawn in *R. S.* It—

(l. 6936)

Was y-callyd ydelnesse ;  
 In whos shelde men myghte se  
 Ful depe y-grave a drye tre  
 Without(e) lefe, fruyt, or flours,  
 Lych as yt hadde be wyth shours  
 Be made naked and bareyn,  
 To signyfien in certeyn  
 That ydelnesse, to declare,  
 In vertu maketh a man ful bare.

Finally, as to detailed resemblances of *F. L.* to Lydgate's work in subject matter, the concluding stanza is in an apologetic vein such as is found in almost every one of Lydgate's poems of any length. Chaucer, it is true, apologized half humorously at times ; but Lydgate always seems to be serious, and his apologies are much more frequent and abject than Chaucer's. Furthermore, Lydgate repeats substantially the same apology over and over again, with almost the precise expressions that are found in *F. L.*<sup>3</sup> The apostrophe, 'O litel book,' is particu-

<sup>1</sup> See *Sources*, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> See *M. P.*, pp. 68, 84 ff., 219, 254 ff. ; *R. S.*, ll. 463, 1076 ; *Isopus* II, ll. 118, 124.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *F. L.* 589, with *B. K.* 170 ; *F. L.* 590, with *Pil.* 162-63, and with *M. P.*, pp. 5, 48 :

Wherefore I pray to alle that schalle it reede,  
 Under support of your pacyence.

The last line occurs also in *Thebes*, p. 572.

larly characteristic of Lydgate; as Professor Schick points out, even the *Falls of Princes*, with its 36,000 lines, is a 'little booke.'<sup>1</sup> Often Lydgate apologizes for his 'unconning,' or his rudeness.<sup>2</sup> The expression 'put thyself in press' he frequently uses.<sup>3</sup> On the whole I have seen nothing more 'Lydgatian' than the last stanza of *F. L.*

It is not contended that the foregoing detailed resemblances between *The Flower and the Leaf* and the work of Lydgate prove that he was the author of our poem. Purely internal evidence can seldom be conclusive in such a matter. Indeed, any one resemblance taken by itself is usually of very slight value. It is mainly the cumulative effect of a great number of similarities in different kinds of details that I rely upon. It may be urged that the resemblances found in subject matter and phrasing are conclusive of no more than intimate knowledge of Lydgate and close imitation of him. Yet I doubt if ever an imitator succeeded in resembling his original in so many different ways at once as are pointed out above. The metrical evidence is especially valuable on this point. A poet may succeed in imitating another in matter and diction, the more obvious and easy subjects of imitation; and yet go decidedly astray in versification. Lydgate himself, in his early days, wrote some excellent imitations of Chaucer, almost every idea and phrase of which may be paralleled in his master; but his metre is not like Chaucer's. *The Flower and the Leaf*, however, is like the known work of Lydgate in versification, in subject

<sup>1</sup> See Schick's note on *T. G.*, l. 1393. Cf. also *T. G.*, l. 1380; *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 407; *Night. I.*, l. 1; *M. P.*, pp. 45, 48, 49, 149, 163, 175, 259.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *F. L.* 591, with *B. K.* 607, *F. C.* 104, *T. G.* 951; *Night. I.*, 112, 177; and the passage from the *Troy Book*, cited in Schick's note on *T. G.* 947. Cf. *F. L.* 595, with *Pil.* 169, 182; *F. C.* 268; *M. P.*, pp. 22, 48, 193; *Isopus I.*, Prologue l. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Eleanor P. Hammond tells me of seven examples in the first two books of the *Falls of Princes*. Cf. *F. L.*, 592, with *Secrees* 555, 611; Lydgate's *Edmund and Fremund III.*, l. 1075; *A. G.* 256, 1755; *T. G.* 533, 545, 547; *M. P.*, pp. 103, 150; *Thebes*, pp. 589, 599.

matter, and in style. It is more like Lydgate at his best as an imitator of Chaucer, than it is like any other known work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and I have seen no other poem, not by Lydgate, which presents so many and such striking resemblances to Lydgate's early work.

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TRACES OF THOMSON'S SEASONS IN KLOPSTOCK'S  
EARLIER WORKS.

ALTHOUGH so much has been written on the influence of Milton and Young on Klopstock, so far as I can discover no attempt has been made to connect Thomson's *Seasons* with the *Messias* or with the early odes by the same author. It may have been considered that *Paradise Lost* and *Night Thoughts* accounted for all the evidences of foreign influence which occur so often in the first three cantos of the *Messias* and in the first poems of Klopstock and perhaps it is on account of the great influence of Milton and Young that the lesser influence of Thomson has been overlooked. No mention is made by the Klopstock commentators of any influence of Thomson's poem and Knut Gjerset in his thesis: "Der Einfluss von Thomsons Jahreszeiten auf die deutsche Literatur des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts,"<sup>1</sup> does not consider even the possibility of such a connection. Also in the introduction to Kleist's *Frühling* by August Sauer nothing is said of any direct relation between the works of Thomson and Klopstock. Kluge, in his *National-Literatur*,<sup>2</sup> writes: "Ausser Brockes fand Thomsons Richtung auch bei Haller, Klopstock, Kleist tief-empfundene Nachahmung."

It is true that Klopstock nowhere in his letters or in his odes mentions Thomson although he praises Milton, Young, Pope, Singer (Elisabeth Rowe) and Addison<sup>3</sup> in his poems and refers to them in his correspondence. Although no direct evidence can thus be produced that Klopstock knew the

<sup>1</sup> Inaugural-Dissertation, Heidelberg, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Page 100, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Milton, in 5 Odes, Singer in 5, Addison in 2, Pope in 1 and Young in 1.

*Seasons*, still there exist indisputable traces of their influence on the earlier odes and perhaps on the *Messias*. This influence is not shown in any large way, as is the case with *Paradise Lost* and *Night Thoughts* which affected the style, content and arrangement of Klopstock's material in his early works but it consists rather in borrowings of ideas, incidents or pictures. So closely do the passages referred to below resemble each other that there can be no question but that Klopstock had read the *Seasons*, either in the original or as is more probable in a translation. It is well known that he did not understand English, at least before 1752, for in the oft-quoted letter to Gleim from Copenhagen, April 9, of that year, he states that he is learning English by reading Young's works in Count Bernstorff's excellent library of English poets. Moreover, Bodmer in a letter to Zellweger, September 5, 1750, declared that Klopstock understood neither English nor Italian. Hence it is quite certain that prior to 1752 he could not have read Thomson's poem in the original.

At the time when Klopstock was writing the first three cantos of the *Messias* and the early odes there was in German but one complete translation of the *Seasons*, that by B. H. Brockes which appeared in 1744 or 1745.<sup>1</sup> The latter is the date of the volume of the *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* which contains this translation. This is a long-winded affair in which the author has taken great liberties in reproducing his original and which was severely criticised by his contemporaries.

Prior to this complete translation of the *Seasons*, Brockes had attempted to put into German several selections from Thomson's poem. 1. The earliest was in 1740 when he added a fragment from *Spring* (vv. 897-1030) to his translation of Pope's *Essay on Man*. This was accompanied by the English text on the opposite page under the title: *The Wild and Irregular Passion of Love* which he translated: *Die wilden und unordentlichen Eigenschaften der Liebe, aus Mr. Thomsons Seasons*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gjerset's Dissertation, p. 3.

2. *The Hymn to the Seasons* was translated by him as an introduction to his *Harmonische Himmelslust im Irdischen* (1741).

3. Verses from *Summer* (46–95) were inserted in his *Morgengedanken* (1743).

4. Verses from *Spring* (535–827) were used in *Frühlingsgedicht* (1743).<sup>1</sup>

In addition to these early efforts there appeared at the end of *Thirsis und Damons Freundschaftliche Lieder* (1745, 2d edition 1749) three translations of incidents from the *Seasons* under the title *Erzählungen aus Thomsons Seasons*. These were the stories of Lavinia (*Au.* vv. 184–307), Damon (*Sum.* vv. 980–1037) and Celadon and Amelia (*Sum.* 897–935).<sup>2</sup> Also Bodmer in his *Neue kritische Briefe* published a translation of 16 verses from *Spring* (715–731).

Perhaps it is because Thomson was so poorly introduced to Klopstock that the latter took less interest in his works and was less influenced by him than by the other English authors with whom he was acquainted. But the literature of the times in Germany was extensively influenced by the *Seasons*<sup>3</sup> and that poem was much discussed during the middle of the eighteenth century. The great interest is shown by the numerous references in the letters of that day to Thomson and his work. It is scarcely possible that Klopstock did not know the *Seasons*, although he does not mention it anywhere, as we know that his friends were acquainted with the poem and were advising each other to read it. Thus Schmidt wrote Gleim from Langensalza in September, 1750: "Ich habe gestern einen sehr vergnügten Abend gehabt, weil ich mit meiner Schwester in einem ziemlich artigen Garten allein war und ihr die Stelle von der Liebe aus Thomsons *Frühling* vorlas. Mir dünkt Thomsons Poesie ist beinah männlicher als Kleist's, der fast

<sup>1</sup> Both 3 and 4 are in vol. VII of *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*.

<sup>2</sup> Verse numbers from edition of 1730.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sauer's introduction to Kleist's *Frühling* in vol. 1 of his edition of that author's works and also Gjerset's dissertation.

zu viel arbeiten lässt. Thomsons Empfindungen sind particularer und mehr aus ihren verborgenen Gegenden aufgesucht und feiner entwickelt und er ist wachsamer, bei jeder Gelegenheit die einfachsten Empfindungen seines Herzens mit zu entdecken, die er aufs geschichteste in seine Beschreibungen zu verweben weiss; anstatt, dass Kleist manchmal in seinen Gemälden zu brusque und ohne genugsamer Anleitung aufbricht und sein Herz enden lässt. Es scheint mir als wenn der Engländer, den Dingen, die er beschreibt, mehr Sitten zutheilt. Vielleicht ist dies Urtheil nicht genug überlegt; demungeachtet hab' ich es gewagt, weil ich glaubt' alle meine Gedanken in Ihren Schooss ausschütten zu dürfen."<sup>1</sup>

Now if Schmidt and Gleim knew the *Seasons* as well as this Klopstock must have heard about the poem from one or the other of these, his best friends. We know that Klopstock knew Kleist's *Frühling*, for he wrote J. G. Schulthess, April 17, 1750: "In einem einsamen Sommerhaus las uns Ebert, der beste Recitator, den ich kenne, Kleistens *Frühling* vor."<sup>2</sup> In any discussion regarding Kleist's poem it is scarcely conceivable that Thomson would fail to be mentioned, and hence it may be assumed that Thomson's poem was known to Klopstock by 1750. But some of the odes prior to that date show such unmistakable traces of the *Seasons* that it must be admitted that Klopstock knew the poem shortly after the first translation appeared in Germany.

Up to the time Klopstock began to learn English the above mentioned translations afforded the only means by which he could have become acquainted with the *Seasons*. Some of the passages quoted below occur in the minor translations but others do not, especially one concerning whose influence there can be no question. Hence the author of the odes must have

<sup>1</sup> Erich Schmidt states that Schmidt knew Kleist personally and was able to compare his *Frühling* with the *Seasons* intelligently. *Quellen und Forschungen*, vol. 39, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Cited also by Hamel in the introduction to his edition of Klopstock's works in Kürschner's *Deut. Nat. Lit.*, vol. 46, 1, p. lv.



used Brockes' work. As before mentioned had Klopstock but made the acquaintance of Thomson in the original or in a better translation, it is possible that the latter might have influenced him to an even greater extent, for the two poets are not so entirely different in their attitudes towards the subjects they treat. Thomson is so pre-eminently a nature-poet that we often lose sight of the fact that a large part of the *Seasons* is made up of panegyrics to God, praises of benefactors, odes to friends, songs of love and patriotic eulogies of England. In all of these he is paralleled by Klopstock, whose odes are commonly grouped under the four subjects: religion, friendship, love and patriotism. Nowhere does Klopstock indulge to any great extent in a description of nature and in his few attempts he is not successful.<sup>1</sup> Even in the *Zürcher See*, generally considered one of his best nature-poems, the picture is vague and incomplete, and he soon turns from his setting to the more congenial topic of the friends who were with him. Hence we cannot hope to find any traces of Thomson as the painter of nature in the odes, but we must search rather these portions of the *Seasons* which treat of friendship, love and patriotism.

One feature the two poets had in common, the love of solitude or at most the presence of two or three close friends only. And it is in a passage of this nature that the influence of the *Seasons* is most unmistakably shown.

*Die Stunden der Weihe.* (1748.)<sup>2</sup>

- V. 25. Deckt, heilige Stunden, decket mit eurer Nacht  
Den stillen Eingang, dass ihn kein Sterblicher  
Betrete, winkt selbst meiner Freunde  
Gerne gehorchten, geliebten Fuss weg!  
Nur nicht, wenn Schmidt will aus den Versammlungen  
Der Musen Sions zu mir herübergehn;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ferd. Rösiger: "Ueber Klopstocks Naturbetrachtung" in the Festschrift zur Einweihung des neuen Gebäudes für das grossherzogliche Gymnasium in Heidelberg.

<sup>2</sup> Text from the Muncker-Pawel edition of Klopstock's Odes.

As this passage was considerably changed by Thomson in his last edition of the *Seasons* (1746) I quote the English of the 1730 text as well as its translation by Brockes, this early form of the poem not being easily accessible.<sup>1</sup>

Win. 458.      Silence, thou lonely power ! the door be thine ;  
                  See on the hallowed hour that none intrude,  
                  Save Licidas the friend, with sense refined  
                  Learning digested well, exalted faith,  
                  Unstudy'd wit, and humor ever gay.  
                  Or from the Muses' hill will Pope descend,  
                  To raise the sacred hour, to make it smile,  
                  And with the social spirit warm the heart :

This passage Brockes has laboriously worked over into the following :—

O Stille ! einsame Gewalt ! Es ist die Thür in deiner Macht.  
 Besorge du und nimm in Acht,  
 Dass ja, in den geweihten Stunden, kein anderer herein sich dringe,  
 Als Lycidas, mein wehrter Freund, der so erhabne Sinnen weist,  
 Der von so wohl geprüfter Treue, ein tiefer Kenner aller Dinge,  
 Von einem ungezwungenen Witz und immer aufgeweckten Geist.  
 Wie, oder wenn, wo Pope will von des Parnassus Höhen steigen,  
 Die heiligen Stunden zu erhellen, um sie noch lächelnder zu zeigen,  
 Und mit dem Geist, der so gesellig, mein Herz zu wärmen und zu neigen.

Klopstock may have taken his title : *Stunden der Weihe* from Brockes' translation of *hallowed hour* which he renders by *geweihten Stunden*.

The same idea of solitude is found in *Wingolf*, v. 145 :—

Doch fern von beyden, näher der Geisterwelt,  
 Wo unbemerkt sich Tugend und Freundschaft eint,  
 Wo unberühmte schöne Thaten  
 Königlich sind, doch nicht also heissen,  
 Wollen wir manchen langsamen Wintertag ;  
 (Ihr Bildniss sey dann zwischen uns aufgestellt !)  
 Da wollen wir von deinem Glücke,  
 Deiner empfindenden Freundin, reden.

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<sup>1</sup> For changes in the text of the *Seasons* cf. Karl Borchard's dissertation, Halle, 1883 : "Textgeschichte von Thomson's *Seasons*."

This is a close parallel to the following passage from *Winter* which Klopstock could have found only in Brockes' translation.

V. 468. Thus in some deep retirement would I pass  
The winter-glooms, with friends of various turn,  
Or blithe, or solemn, as the theme inspired :

This is rendered by Brockes :—

Auf solche weise wollt ich gern, an einem abgelegnen Orte,  
Des Winters Dunkelheit vertreiben, mit Freunden von verschiedner Sorte  
Bald fröhlich, bald voll tiefen Ernst, so wie der Vorwurf es erlesen.

This desire to be alone is also found in *Summer*, vv. 381, 439 ; *Autumn*, vv. 902, 970, but these passages have not contributed directly to the odes.<sup>1</sup>

Again in the oldest form of the ode *An Ebert* there is a passage which shows indisputable signs of having been taken from the *Seasons* :—

V. 21. Ja, wie einen reisenden Jüngling, der seiner Geliebten  
Und dem empfangenden Blick  
Und dem klopfenden Herzen voll heiliger Zärtlichkeit zuweint,  
Wie du den, Donner, ergreifst,  
Tödtend ihn fassdest, und seine Gebeine zu fallendem Staub machst,

Here we find the idea of a youth, his beloved and most striking of all, the lightning-stroke changing the body to falling dust. Compare this with the tale of Celadon and Amelia in *Summer*, v. 937, where these two lovers, returning from a walk, are overtaken by a thunder-storm and even as Celadon embraces Amelia to calm her fears the lightning strikes her. To quote from Brockes :—

Und in demselben Augenblick  
Fällt, o Geheimniss-voller Himmel ! und unerforschliches Geschick !  
Dies schöne Bild in einen Haufen von blasser Asche.

Klopstock might have found this passage in the above-mentioned *Erzählungen* in the *Freundschaftliche Lieder* where it is rendered :—

<sup>1</sup> In the last edition of the *Seasons* these verses correspond to *Summer*, 458, 516, *Autumn*, 963, 1030.

Aus seinen Armen fiel, o des geheimen Schicksals !  
 Das schöne Kind denselben Augenblick  
 In einen Aschenhaufen.

Gessner in his *Tod Abels* has used this same peculiar thought :—  
 5. Canto. So wie wenn drei liebenswürdige Gespielen, (so zärtlich haben sich noch keine geliebt) wenn sie Hand in Hand am schönen Sommerabend aufs weisse Aehrenfeld gehen und ein plötzlicher Donner vor ihre Füße sich hinschleudert, betäubt stürzen sie aufs Feld hin ; wenn dann zwo von ihnen aus der Betäubung bebed erwachen und den Aschenhaufen ihrer Freundin vor sich sehn : so erschrocken erwachten die Schwestern und sahn den Erschlagenen. Otto Ritter calls attention to this passage in Herrig's *Archiv* (vol. 111, 1903, p. 170). Adolf Frey in his introduction to Gessner's works (*Nat. Lit.*, vol. 41, p. xxiv), writes concerning this quotation : " Hin und wieder verfällt der Dichter im Streben nach poetischer Sprache ins Lächerliche." However two famous poets have found that thought not unworthy of their verse.

At the close of the tale of Celadon and Amelia is one of the few similes of the *Seasons*. This is so closely paralleled in the *Messias* that there can be but little doubt that Klopstock borrowed the image from the earlier poem.

Canto III, v. 363.                      Dass meine Gebeine  
 Felsen würden, und ewig hier stumm, und ewig hier einsam  
 Stünden, und ein Denkmal der bängsten Traurigkeit würden.<sup>1</sup>

Brockes gives his original as follows :—

Summer, 943.                      Als wie ein Grabmahl aufgeführt  
 Von Marmorstein, stund er, gekränket,  
 Und starr, durch übermachten Leid,  
 In einer tiefen, steten Still' und einer steten Traurigkeit.

As in the preceding case this might have been taken from the *Erzählungen*, where it is translated more correctly :—

So steht, doch dieses Gleichniss ist nur matt,  
 Der Traurende auf eines Grabmals Marmor  
 Gebückt, auf ewig stumm, auf ewig jammernd.

<sup>1</sup> In the edition of 1748. These verses are omitted in the 1799 edition.

It is scarcely probable that Klopstock got this idea from Gleim whom he first met personally in 1750, although the latter had learned of the simile from Kleist in a letter dated April 19, 1746: "Ich schwöre Ihnen bei der heiligkeit meiner Freundschaft, dass ich mein Leben noch einmal so viel Unmuth und fast wie Thomsons Marmorsäule ewig stumm und ewig jammernd zu Ende gebracht hätte, wenn ich Sie nicht hätte kennen lernen."

Hamel, in his edition of Klopstock's odes (*Nat. Lit.*, vol. 47, p. 80) calls attention to a similar passage in *Die Königin Luise* (1752) —

V. 9. So steht mit starrem Blick, der Marmor auf dem Grabe.

This the editor compares with the following lines from Glover's *Leonidas*, Bk. IX:—

She could no more. Invisible despair  
Suppressed all utt'rance. As a marble form,  
Fixed on the solemn sepulchre, inclines  
The silent head in imitated woe  
O'er some dead hero, whom his country loved;  
Entranced by anguish, o'er the breathless clay  
So hung the princess.

Hamel further quotes Klopstock's letter to Bodmer, November 5, 1748, in which the former mentions Ebert's translation of *Leonidas*, and where he writes: "Die Geschichte (Teribazus and Ariana) hat mich so angegriffen, dass ich mir wie das marmorne Bild vorkomme, das über dem Grabmale eines todtten Helden steht." The question thus arises whether Klopstock found the image in the *Messias* in Thomson or in Glover, Thomson's imitator and scholar.<sup>1</sup> The translation by Ebert appeared in 1749 in Hamburg and was finished in 1748 prior to the above-mentioned letter. The first three cantos of the *Messias* appeared in the Spring of 1748 and were of course finished before that time even in the rhythmical form. This would seem to preclude the possibility that it was the simile in

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Wülker, *Englische Lit. Geschichte*, p. 439.

*Leonidas* that influenced the verses in the *Messias*. In the case of the ode, *Die Königin Luise*, it is open to discussion which source Klopstock followed. But that is not important, the whole point is that he knew the *Seasons* and had used this idea in the earliest edition of his great work. He remembered the passage and on finding it a second time in Ebert's translation made use of it in describing how *Leonidas* affected him. The quotation in the letter above-mentioned is undoubtedly based on Glover.

In the following quotation we have to do with the portrayal of the same situation rather than the borrowing of an idea or incident: the poet is watching the shades of the departed pass before him.

*Wingolf*, v. 25.

Sohn der Olympier

Wo bleibst du? Komst du von dem begeisternden  
Pindus der Griechen? Oder kömst du  
Von den unsterblichen sieben Hügeln?

Wo Zeus und Flaccus neben einander, wo  
Mit Zeus und Flaccus Scipio donnerte,  
Wo Maro, mit dem Capitole,  
Um die Unsterblichkeit, götlich zanzkte.

This is very suggestive of a passage in *Winter* (419-454)<sup>1</sup> too long to quote where the poet hails the apparitions of the great men of Greece and Rome. It begins in Brockes' translation:—

Durch die begeisternde Gedanken recht angehaucht und aufgebracht,  
Zur Seiten der bejahrten Bücher, gesegn' ich, voller Ueberlegen,  
Die heiligen Schatten, welche sich, sanft hebend, hin und wieder regen  
Vor einem Blick, der sie bewundert.

These are the shades of Socrates, Solon, Lycurgus, Numa, Cimon, Aristides, Cato, Scipio, Timoleon, Pelopidas, Epaminondas, Homer and finally the British Muse.

Again in *Wingolf* the same idea is found; the use of the phrase *langsam heilige Schatten* is particularly striking:—

V. 205. Da seh' ich langsam heilige Schatten gehn,  
Nicht jene, die sich traurig von Sterbenden

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 431-540 in the edition of 1746, the last revision by Thomson.

Loshüllen, nein die, welch im Schlummer  
Geistig vom göttlichen Trinker duften.

Die bringt die Dichtkunst oftmalt im weichen Schoos.  
Zu Freunden. Kein Aug unter den sterblichen  
Entdeckt sie; du nur, seelenvolles  
Trunknes poetisches Auge, siehst sie.

These passages remind one also of the following verses from *Summer* (v. 461), where a similar idea is expressed :—

Dort senken aus des Himmels Höhe viel tausend Geister sich hernieder,  
Und schleichen durch die Dunkelheit, mit leichtem Schwärmen, hin  
und wieder,  
Verschiedne schweben majestätisch.

- V. 482. Gestimmte, luftige Gesänge von Engels-Harfen, mit der Stimm'  
Gefügt, zu uns herabgesandt. Ein seligs Glücke das nur wir  
In den Betrachtungen empfinden, und mit uns ein geweihtes Ohr  
Von einem Dichter, das ihn führet selbst zu des Seraphinen Chor.

In the original this passage is as follows :—

- V. 462. Shook sudden from the bosom of the sky  
A thousand shapes or glide athwart the dusk,  
Or stalk majestic on.
- V. 481. Now here, now there, now wheeling in mid-sky,  
Around or underneath, ærial sounds,  
Sent from angelic harps, and voices joined.  
A happiness bestowed by us, alone,  
On contemplation, or the hallowed ear  
Of poet, swelling to seraphic strain.

The peculiarity here is that only the poet can perceive the shades gliding before him.

But this idea of the spirits appearing to the poet is characteristic of Klopstock in his youthful days. The following passages show that the seeing of visions was surely original with him and was not borrowed from the English authors, as there are no signs of foreign influence in them. In many of the odes these apparitions are referred to : *Wingolf*,

- V. 71. Doch bleibt am Leichnamvollen Ufer  
Horchend der flüchtige Geist noch schweben.

- V. 89. Wenn ich einst tod bin, Freund, so besinge mich.  
 Dein Lied vol Tränen soll den entfliehenden  
 Dir treuen Geist noch um dein Auge,  
 Das mich beweint, zu verweilen zwingen.

Dann soll mein Schutzgeist schweigend und unbemerckt,  
 Drey mal dich segnen, drey mal dein heilig Haupt  
 Umfliegen, und nach mir bey dem Abschied ,  
 Drey mal noch sehn, und dein Schutzgeist werden.

- V. 145. Doch fern von beyden, näher der Geisterwelt,  
 Wo unbemerckt sich Tugend und Freundschaft eint,

- V. 213. Drey Schatten kommen.

- V. 226. Schatten wer bist du ?

*An Ebert, v. 31 :—*

Um die Mitternachtszeit gieng das Bild vom Grabe der Freunde  
 Meine Seele vorbei.  
 Um die Mitternachtszeit sah ich die Ewigkeit vor mir,  
 Und die unsterbliche Schaar.

- V. 71. Aber wenn du bisweilen erwachtest, dein Elend zu fühlen,  
 Banger unsterblicher Geist !  
 Rufe, wenn du erwachst, das Bild vom Grabe der Freunde,  
 Das nur rufe zurück !

- V. 79. Sammelt euch, Gräber, um mich, ich will mit bebendem Fusse  
 Gehn, und auf jegliches Grab  
 Einen Cypressenbaum pflanzen, die noch nicht schattenden Bäume  
 Thränend um mich erziehn ;  
 Oft in der Nacht auf biegsamen Wipfeln die himmlische Bildung  
 Meiner Unsterblichen sehn ;

*Salem, v. 1 :—*

Einen festlichen Abend stieg mit dem Schimmer des Mondes  
 Salem, der Engel der Lieb' und mein Schutzgeist,  
 Von Olympus herab ; ich sah den Göttlichen wandeln.

There are many other such references to angels and to messengers of God in the odes, late as well as early. This characteristic tendency of the author was increased if indeed it was not animated by the *Messias* in which many of the characters belong to the spirit-world and whose last ten cantos portray only the life beyond the grave. These ideas of shades and



ghosts Klopstock did not need to borrow from the English poets, for he grew up among a people whose religious views were tinged with the belief in spirits and angels and therefore received such ideas as a boy. He was most strongly influenced in these views by his father who lived in a spirit-world and who believed in a real and personal devil with whom he wrestled even as Luther did. Hence we need not look to Thomson or even to Ossian or Young for the inspiration of such visions in the odes. But the passages before compared portray such similarity of situation that it is safe to assume that Klopstock borrowed the picture if not the idea from Thomson.

In several odes Klopstock describes the woes of love; especially in *Selmar und Selma* he voices this aspect of passion :

- V. 11. Dann, dann wein' ich um dich mein ganzes übriges Leben,  
Jeden schleichenden Tag, jede schreckliche Nacht !  
Jene Stunde, die sonst, mit deinem Lächeln erheitert,  
Unter dem süßen Gespräch zärtlicher Thränen entfloß !

In *Petrarca und Laura* this same theme is treated :—

- V. 19. Mich nur flohe die Ruh, und mein Gespiele sonst,  
Mein geselliger sanfter Schlaf,  
Ging dem Auge vorbey, und dem getrübteren  
Ihm zu wachen und bangen Blick.  
Tief in die Dämmerung hin sah es, und suchte dich,  
Seiner Thränen Genossin auf,  
Dich, des nächtlichen Hains Sängerin, Nachtigall !

In *Spring* (897–1030)<sup>1</sup> Thomson describes what Brockes called *Die wilden und unordentlichen Eigenschaften der Liebe*, in which he makes use of several ideas that are also found in the above quotations :—

- V. 931. Da alle Freund' ihm widrig seyn ;  
Sitzt er in jeglicher Gesellschaft ganz unaufmerksam und allein.
- V. 938. Schnell springt er auf und reisset sich  
Aus seinem zärtlichen Entzücken ;  
Er rennet ohne Rast, noch Ruh

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 983–1112 in the last edition.

Den schwärmerischen Schatten zu  
 Und sympathetschen Dunkelheiten, da, wo die grüne Schatten-Nacht  
 Den weiss-beschäumten Wasser-Fall romanisch schwärzt und dunkel  
 macht.

V. 953. Es seufzt die Seele,  
 Und wünschet sehnlich, dass die Eul' ihr Weh mit seinem Weh vermähle.

V. 961. Wirft er sich nun ins Bett hinein ;  
 Fliegt gleich der Schlaf von seinem Lager ; er wird von seiner innern Pein  
 Die ganze Nacht hindurch gerüttelt.

The similarity here consists in the inability to sleep or rest, the aversion to usual pleasures and to old friends and the rushing out into the solitude of the night "to mingle woes with the bird of eve." This phrase Brockes has curiously enough rendered by "die Eul'." Although the description of the effects of love is a subject so common that the mere fact that it is treated by two poets would not be sufficient grounds for assuming any connection between them, still where these peculiar aspects of passion and the bitter side are so strongly dwelt on by both Thomson and Kropstock it is safe to conclude that we again have a case of borrowing.

In *Die Frühlingsfeyer* (1759), although written so late, there is one expression which so closely resembles an oft-repeated line of Thomson's that there would seem to be some connection between them.

V. 17. Wer sind die tausendmal tausend, wer die Myriaden alle,  
 Welche den Tropfen bewohnen, und bewohnen ?

As Klopstock, by the time this was written could read English and probably had read the *Seasons* in the original, I quote the text of 1730 :—

*Snimmer*, v. 113. The mixing myriads of thy setting beam,

V. 243. Where they slept away  
 The wintry glooms, by myriads, all at once,

V. 248. Ten thousand forms ! Ten thousand different tribes !  
 People the blaze.

Brockes translated *myriads* in both cases by *viele Millionen* as

the word *Myriaden* had not been introduced into German at the time he was translating the *Seasons*. Klopstock, however, did not get this word from Thomson, but from the translations of other English authors of earlier date. This is also true of many other words which Klopstock undoubtedly borrowed from English and which Thomson used in common with the other poets of his times. But it cannot be proved that they were taken from the *Seasons* and in most cases it is more likely that Klopstock found them in the translations of Milton, Young and Pope, with which he was more familiar. There is one exception, however, the phrase so often used by Klopstock that it became a by-word of the language: *wenigen Edlen* probably came from the *Seasons* where Thomson wrote *Ye noble few Winter*, v. 777. Brockes translates this *Ihr edle Wenigen*. In *Winter*, 334, Thomson uses the expression, *the generous few*, which Brockes renders *diejenigen grossmüthigen Wenigen*. In the original the passages are as follows:—

*Win.*, 777. Ye noble few, who here unbending stand  
Beneath Life's pressure, yet a little while,  
And what you reckon evil is no more;

*Win.*, 334. And here can I forget the generous few,  
Who, touched with human woe, redressive fought  
Into the horrors of the gloomy jail?

In both cases the expressions are applied to those men who are striving for better things either material or mental. Particularly *the noble few* are those men of philosophical nature who do not seek to gain wealth and power but who prefer simple joys and pleasures. *The noble few* are those who are trying to live on a higher plane and who are seeking to raise the remainder of man-kind to their level. It is to men of this same lofty nature and to those with the same lofty ideals that Klopstock applies the term *die edle Wenigen* (in *Wingolf*, v, 240, *Messias*, I, 20, 652, etc.).

Another word which Klopstock seems to have obtained from Thomson is *eisern* in the sense of grim, etc., when applied to

war or things connected with it. Thomson uses the word as follows :

<i>Sp.</i> 179 iron caves,	Brookes translation, Nest von Stahl.
<i>Sp.</i> 326 iron times,	Zeit von Eisen.
<i>Sp.</i> 789 iron war,	Kriegen von Eisen.
<i>Au.</i> 1189 iron race	ein eisern Volk.

The following citations are taken only from Klopstock's earlier works :

*Der Lehrling der Griechen*, v. 12, das eiserne Feld.

*Wingolf*, v. 68, Eiserner Krieg. (1798 changed to, kühnen Schlacht).

*Wingolf*, v. 158, Zeiten von Eisen.

*Heinrich der Vogler*, v. 8, Im eisernen Gefilde.

*Genesung*, v. 8, mit dem eisernen Fusse.

*Aganippe und Phiala*, v. 22, eiserner Schlaf.

*Messias* II, v. 894, mit eisernem, dumpfen Getöse. (in 1748 mit eisernem wilden Getöse.)

*Messias* IV, 180, vor eisernen Wagen.

For a more complete list of references to *eisern* in Klopstock's works, see Chr. Würfl's article: "Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des Sprachgebrauchs Klopstock's."<sup>1</sup>

That the word in this metaphorical sense was new to Germany is shown by the derision with which it was received by Schönaich in his "Neologisches Wörterbuch."<sup>2</sup>

As might be expected, the evidences of the influence of Thomson on Klopstock are confined to the earlier works of the latter. With the exception of the *Frühlingsfeyer* the odes mentioned were all written before 1749. As Klopstock gained in experience and confidence he became more independent, even the influence of Milton and Young waned. This is most clearly seen in the *Messias*, where in the first three cantos the

<sup>1</sup> 12. Jahres-Bericht des k. k. zweiten deutschen Obergymnasiums zu Brünn, 1883. Also in Herrig's *Archiv*, vol. 64-65.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Deutsche Literaturdenkmäler*, No. LXVI-LXXXI.

author borrows continually from his predecessors, but later makes less and less use of those two poets.<sup>1</sup> If he thus forsook his two great models it is not surprising that no traces of the *Seasons* are to be found in the later odes and in the latter parts of the *Messias*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hamel's edition of the *Messias* in Kürschner's *Nat. Lit.* in the foot-notes.

A COMEDY ON MARRIAGE AND SOME EARLY  
ANTI-MASQUES, MARCH 5, 1565.

IT is known from a document preserved in the State Paper Office that on Shrovetide (March 4 and 5), 1565, 'showes' by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn and 'masks' were given before the Queen.<sup>1</sup> This document, which is an estimate for the revels, says nothing of the substance of these shows and masques; it has to do only with the properties used in representing them. In the *Calendar of State Papers*, however, is a letter, in which Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador, gives King Phillip some interesting comments on the merry-making and entertainments of March 5. This rather gossipy letter preserves some specific account of one of the 'showes' by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn and of two 'masks' which occurred the same evening. Under the date of March 12, 1565, De Silva writes:<sup>2</sup>

'On the 5th instant the party of the earl of Leicester gave a supper to the Queen in the palace, which was the wager their opponents had won of them on the previous day. The French Ambassador with Margaret and the other of the principal ladies supped with the Queen, as is usual on such occasions.

<sup>1</sup>This document is listed under the date of 1565, in the *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series, 1547-1580*. Edited by Robert Lemon. London, 1856, p. 250. It was first printed by George Chalmers in his *Apology*. London, 1797, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup>See *Calendar of State Papers: Spanish Department, 1558-1567*. London, 1892, p. 400. A letter of De Silva's, written to the Duchess of Parma and dated August 19, 1564, throws some light on the plays at Cambridge during the Queen's visit to the University in that month. See *Calendar of State Papers: Spanish Department* (as above), p. 375.

There was a joust and a tourney on horseback afterwards.<sup>1</sup> The challengers were the earl of Leicester, the earl of Sussex, and Hunsdon . . . . . When it was ended the Queen entered her apartments asking me, if I was not tired, to stay and see the rest of the rejoicing for the day. She left Viscount Montague and her Vice-Chamberlain with me until the earl of Leicester disarmed, when the rest of the guests and I went to his apartments to supper. When this was ended all went to the Queen's rooms and descended to where all was prepared for the representation of a Comedy in English, of which I understood just so much as the Queen told me. The plot was founded on the question of marriage, discussed between Juno and Diana, Juno advocating marriage, and Diana chastity. Jupiter gave a verdict in favour of matrimony after many things had passed on both sides in defence of the respective arguments. The Queen turned to me and said, "This is all against me." After the comedy there was a masquerade of satyrs, or wild gods, who danced with the ladies, and when this was finished there entered 10 parties of 12 gentlemen each, the same who had fought in the foot tourney, and these, all armed as they were, danced with the ladies—a very novel ball, surely. After this the Queen went up to her apartments again where they had spread a very large table in the presence chamber with many sorts of cakes, confitures, and preserves, and in one part of it there were herrings and other small fishes in memory of the principle of Lent. The Queen asked whether I would eat anything, and on my replying that I would not she laughed and said, "I understand you very well and will not cheat you, 12 o'clock has struck," and with that she entered her chamber not very tired to all appearance, although the entertainment had been so long. She said how much she wished your Majesty had been present, and she could entertain and feast you here.'

With this extract from De Silva's letter, especially the part concerning the comedy, should be compared the following item

<sup>1</sup> *I. e.*, the tourney came after the joust, but both, of course, before supper.

in the estimate before mentioned which specifies the charges for 'payntars workinge uppon the Townes and Charretts for the Goodesses and div<sup>rs</sup> devisses as the Hevens and Clowds.' Opposite the item stand marginal notes; one 'Gentillmen of the Innes of Court,' and the other 'Diana Pallas.' These details about the properties and stage setting fit admirably with what De Silva reports of the comedy, and the marginal note 'Diana Pallas' makes the identification perfectly sure.

This comedy on marriage, the moral of which Elizabeth so frankly accepted, is only one more evidence of the great agitation of the English people as to who the successor to the throne would be, in case their Queen should die unmarried. All classes desired the Queen's marriage, and this play was only an expression of the universal wish. The fact that here the argument was so plainly directed toward the Queen, helps one to believe that in Edward's Palaemon and Arcyte (1566) Emilia's marriage to Palaemon allegorized the desired marriage of Elizabeth, as Lyly's Endymion later allegorized her relations with Dudley.

## II.

De Silva's description of the masqueraders, though interesting, is meagre. Yet from it, from the estimate already referred to, and from some masks cited in Kempe's *Losely MMS*,<sup>1</sup> I wish to construct a case for an early appearance of the anti-masque. According to Soergel,<sup>2</sup> the anti-masque did not make its appearance till 1608 in Ben Jonson's *Hue and Cry after Cupid*. Soergel of course is speaking of the anti-masque as a part of the developed literary masque, the *Maskenspiel*, and is not specially interested in the long line of court masques that preceded the establishment of the literary form. Yet it is likely that the early literary elements of the masque, though

<sup>1</sup> *The Losely MMS*, edited by A. J. Kempe, London, 1836.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, A. Soergel, Halle, 1882, p. 46.



most traces of them are lost, go back farther than we ordinarily think. And similarly if it can be shown that these court entertainments of Mary's time and the early years of Elizabeth constituted real anti-masques (except for the element of dialogue), the final form of the masques of Ben Jonson will be more easily understood, because of our knowing this early stage in the growth of this important element in the artistic effect of the later master-pieces.

The anti-masque consists essentially 1) of 'antick' personages, 2) who perform grotesque dances of wild, swift, irregular or leaping motion; and 3) the purpose of both the costume and the dance is to emphasize by contrast the beauty and stateliness of the regular masque. Dialogue was, of course, a later outgrowth from these essential features.

In this 'masquerade of satyrs or wild gods' in 1565 one element of the anti-masque was *certainly* present, viz., that of fantastic personages. Soergel speaks of examples of antick figures on the popular stage before 1608—as in Munday's *John a' Kent and John a' Cumber* and Greene's *James the Fourth*. There were such 'anticks,' however, in the court masques at a far earlier period, as in this one described by De Silva; and even earlier when, in the reign of Mary, George Ferrers was the popular 'Lord of Misrule' at the Christmas festivities. In *The Losely MMS* is found a note of properties required for some of Ferrers' entertainments, among which are the following:

'Item, agaynste this night VIII visars for a drunken maske, and VIII swords and daggers for ye same purpose' (p. 28). Again a masque 'of apes and cats for a mask of bagpipes to sit on' (p. 87). Again there is to be a 'maske of greek worthies,' and Ferrers requires '6 pair of oxen leggs and counterfett feete for satyrs, being torchberers for the same mask' (p. 88). Still again, a masque of 'Medyoxes,' a name given to figure half man, half death. Here are certainly antick figures enough; and as early as 1552.

Besides fantastic costuming, it is quite possible that another

antic element was present in these masques of drunken men, satyrs, medyxes, and wild gods. There may well have been in the measure of the dances that swift, wild, ludicrous or unusual motion, which, in its sharp contrast with the stately elegance of the masque proper, constitutes an essential characteristic of the Jacobean anti-masque. Such fantastic creatures would scarcely dance otherwise. De Silva speaks of the wild gods and men-at-arms as dancing with the ladies, but it is not unlikely that in both masques the performers after the custom in vogue for many years, first danced the previously rehearsed measures of the particular masque and then joined with the ladies of the audience in the simpler popular lavoltos and corantos of the day. This, then, gives us the second element of the anti-masque.

But what of the element of contrast, which is also essential? Are these 'antick' masques of strangely customed and swiftly moving figures used to set off the stately dances of other beautiful and graceful masques? In the masque of oxenfooted satyrs who acted as torchbearers to the masque of 'Greek worthies,' Ferrers must surely have consciously used the principle of contrast for his effect. In the case of the entertainment of 1565 a rather tenuous web of proof may be woven to show that the idea of contrast was apprehended there also. The argument is confessedly filmy. A sort of contrast there was very evidently,—the contrast of wild gods and men-at-arms dancing with the court ladies,—but I shall try to show that a contrast of the sort used by Ferrers, a contrast of masque with masque, was purposed.

In the estimate of expenses, referred to above in connection with the comedy on marriage, occurs this description of the properties for the Shrovetide masques: '*and four masks too of them not occupied nor sene w<sup>th</sup> thare hole furniture w<sup>ch</sup> be verie fayr and Riche off old stuff but new garnished w<sup>th</sup> frence and tassells to seme new,*' etc.<sup>1</sup> The maker of the estimate, of course,

<sup>1</sup> Italics mine.

would be careful to mention particularly the items of expense for those two masques which were not seen, lest the money should seem to have gone for nothing; hence it may be taken for granted that it was the costuming of the two masques *not* presented that was 'verie fayr and Riche.' Now the Shrovetide festivities certainly included Monday, March 4th, as well as Tuesday, March 5th, and it must be admitted that these two richly costumed masques which never came off may have been scheduled for Monday's entertainment as well as for Tuesday's which we are considering. However, it is quite possible that the Master of Revels meant them to be presented along with the two masques of Tuesday night which De Silva mentions, but that the unexpected supper given by the party of the Earl of Leicester (which was, as De Silva says, 'the wager their opponents had won of them on the previous day') threw out the calculations of the worthy Magister—and compelled him to omit part of his entertainment. He was not long in deciding what to leave out. It was a quick choice between 1) the two masques, staled by custom, the properties of which were 'fayr and Riche,' but also 'off old stuff'; and 2) the two masques which were shown for the first time, fantastic and full of novelty.

Hence one can see how, instead of two fantastic performances, the original plan may have embraced four masques: the first a masque of satyrs with a wild, antic dance, followed by the conventional stately masque, then another odd fantastic dance of the men in armor followed in its turn by another stately masque and dance with the ladies. That would have amounted practically to two ordinary masques each preceded by an anti-masque similar in essential elements to the anti-masque of Ben Jonson and the Jacobeans. Since something had to be omitted however the conventional masques were cut out and the others left, the particular element of contrast being sacrificed to that of novelty.

This explanation is advanced only tentatively. But from the combined weight of this case taken with the earlier masque

of Ferrers, we are pretty safe in believing that the idea of contrast was commonly employed even in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Thus it is seen that the anti-masque with its three essential features of fantastic customing, swift antic dances, and the notion of contrast was established in England before Ben Jonson was born; and by the time he was ready to use it in the *Hue and Cry after Cupid*, it had no doubt developed till it was fit to his hand. Jonson's fame as chief of English masque writers is so secure that the fact that he was only the developer of the already existing anti-masque can not detract from it. Nor can the obscure but fertile-witted George Ferrers with certainty be given the credit for the first one; since many similar entertainments may have preceded his fantastic masque of satyrs, torch-bearers to the masque of Greek worthies.

One further point may be noted: the actors in the Jacobean anti-masques were usually hired professionals; those in these earlier ones were evidently gentlemen of the court, else they would not have danced with the ladies, as De Silva reports they did.

W. Y. DURAND.

## CHAUCER'S 'LAC OF STEDFASTNESSE.'

## A CRITICAL TEST.

## I. THE STEMMA.

## (a) The MSS.

MS. Harl. 7333; vellum; leaf 147, back; from Shirley; denoted in this paper by	H
MS. R. 3. 20, Trinity College, Cambridge; tenth leaf from the end, back;	S
MS. Cotton Cleopatra, Dvii; vellum; leaf 188, back;	C
MS. Fairfax 16; vellum; leaf 104; Bodleian Libr.;	F
MS. Addit. 22, 139; vellum; leaf 138, col. 1.; Brit. Mus.;	A
MS. Harl. 7578; vellum; leaf 17;	Hh
MS. R. 14. 51, Trinity College, Cambridge; vellum; leaf 2, flyleaf;	Tr
MS. Bannatyne; leaf 67, a; collated by Mr. J. B. Murdoch;	B
MS. Hatton, 73; leaf 119; Bodleian Library;	Hat
Wm. Thynne's edition of Chaucer's works (1532); leaf ccclxxxi. col. 1;	Th

(The facts given above are gleaned from Furnivall's Six-Text Edition).

For the present we shall leave out of consideration Th., which is an edition, and Hat., which we expect to prove gives evidence of contamination.

- (b) The remaining MSS. are H S C F A Hh Tr and B. The first grouping is that of the two MSS. H S, separate from from all the others. This division is founded on the following differences, which are of so radical a nature that we

cannot doubt they denote two distinct branches from the lost original MS., X.

	H S		F C A Hh Tr B
1	this	the	(this B)
2	holde	—	
4	werke	dede	
5	Beon	ys	(ar B)
5	oon	lyke	(els Tr)
8	made	maketh	(causyht Tr)
10	nowe adayes	among vs nowe	
11	collusyone	conclusyon	(collusion Tr B.)
22	for	—	(for B.)
28	drive thi peple	wedde thy folke	(bring thy folke. B.)

- (c) Next taking the larger group, we find significant and peculiar features which serve to isolate MS. B. Note particularly the instances cited below in lines 4, 13, 16, 20, 25 and 26.

	B		F C A Hh Tr
1	so steidfast was	was so stedfast	(Tr. omits so.)
4	discordis	as	
5	ar	ys	(A. ar.)
5	bot	for	(Tr. butt for)
5	and	so	(Tr. and)
6	greid	mede	

B prints the second stanza as the third, and the third as second.

9	quhilk	that	
9	hes but discretioun	haue in discencion	
12	doing	do	
13	makis	causeth	
13	wofull	wilfulle	
16	hes nane at hir devotioun	hath now noo domynacion	
17	and	—	

- 17 ——— is (A omits is)  
 17 meretabill merciable  
 18 Blind is is blent (Tr. blent ys)  
 20 ressonne to wilfulnes trouthe to fikelnesse  
 22 for ———  
 24 bene may be  
 25 (B has line 26 of other versions here).  
 26 (Corresponding to l. 25 of other versions) reads: That  
     vertew may rigne within thy regioun. This line is  
     not found thus elsewhere.  
 27 richtousnes worthynesse (Tr. Ryhtwisnis)  
 28 bring wedde

(d) The third division is that of MS. Tr. from the remaining MSS. F C A Hh. No further argument than a glance at the number and character of the differences set forth below is needed, I believe, to establish this division.

	Tr	F C A Hh
1	Wylum	Some tyme
1	wordule	worlde
1	———	so
3	———	and
5	els	lyke
5	butt for	for
5	&	so
6	wordul	worlde
6	throv	for
8	causyht	makith
8	the	this
8	wordul	worlde
9	men	folke
10	———	nowe
11	maner	———
13	And alle causyht	What causeth this but
15	hold	holden (A. hold)
18	blent ys	is blent

19	werdul	worlde
22	desyryht	desire
26	yerd	swerde
27	Rhytwynis	worthynesse
28	ayeyn thy folke	thy folke ayeayne

- (e) With these large divisions in mind, it remains to determine the interrelations of those MSS., (where there are more than one in a group), in each group. Taking the H S group first, I have noted the cases where they possess different readings. Only a brief examination of such instances as those found in lines 6, 17, and 27 will convince that neither MS. is directly copied from the other. There remains, then, only the third alternative—they are the direct descendants in brotherly relation from a common original.

	H	S
2	——	for
2	obligacion	oblighacone
3	——	so
6	thorowe mede &	by wikked
8	made	maye
8	this	the
9	folke	folkes
9	discencion	discencone
12	oppression	oppressyone
15	thus	put
16	dominacion	domynacone
17	wight	man
18	descrescioun	descrecone
19	——	a
19	permutacioun	parmutacone
23	extorcioune	extorcone
27	thorow all goodnesse	trouth and worthynesse

- (f) Next considering the F C Hh A group, a glance at the comparative insignificance of the instances below and of



their small number will impress us at once with the closeness of the relation of the four MSS.

	C	F	A	Hh
1	the	the	this	—
1	so	so	so	—
3	—	so	—	so
5	is	is	ar	is
5	turned	turned	torned	torneth
5	vp so	vp so	so vp and	vp so
6	is	is	in	is
9	disce- cion	dissension	discecon	descencioun
10	holde	bolde	holde	holde
11	by	by	bi	be
12	do	do	done	doo
12	oppres- sion	oppression	oppression	expressioun
15	holden	holden	hold	holden
16	no	noo	no	none
17	is	ys	—	is
23	cherice	cheryssh	(All of last verse omitted).	chirsshe
23	thi	thy		thine
25	thi	thy		thine
26	thy	thy		thine

MS. A may be separated immediately from the remainder as possessing the most numerous as well as the most significant differences—differences which render it impossible as the progenitor of any of the others and improbable as the immediate descendant of any. The isolation of MS. A leaves three MSS., F, C, and Hh, the relations of which are to be determined. Obviously C cannot father F and Hh, as the instances in lines 3 and 19 would tend to prove; no less obviously Hh cannot father C and F as line 1 (both cases) and 16 prove. Two possibilities remain: F is the immediate ancestor from whom is derived both C and Hh,

or all are descended in brotherly relation from the lost original.

The differences between F and C consist in two omissions on the part of C (lines 3 and 19) and the change in line 10 of 'bolde' of F to 'holde'. The first two mentioned would prove no argument against the paternity of MS. C, as they may easily be accounted errors of the scribe, but the last might. The tenth and following lines read (using Skeat's text for the present):

" Among us now a man is holde unable  
But-if he can, by som collusioun  
Don his neighbour wrong or oppressioun."

With these lines in mind it is evident that the word 'bolde' makes no sense at all, and that even the most worthless scribe might perceive that it was miswritten for 'holde.' It is our belief that this is the case and that C is immediately derived from F.

Passing to the discussion of the relation between F and Hh, we find more differences, although none which would necessarily argue against the same conclusion. In the tenth line, Hh has 'holde' for 'bolde,' which may be explained as above. Other differences are: the two omissions in line 1, 'torneth' for 'turned' (5), 'be' for 'by' (11), 'expressioun' for 'oppressioun' (12), 'none' for 'noo' (16), 'chirsshe' for 'cheryssh' (23), and 'thine' for 'thy' (lines 23, 25, and 26). None of these differences are so radical as to preclude the probability of their being the errors of the copyist. F, then, is the parent of C and Hh, while A is to be referred to the same original as F.

- (g) Up to this point we have left Thynne's edition and the Hatton MS. entirely out of consideration. It is time now to place them.

Thynne's edition shows absolutely no contamination either with the H S group or that group of which MS. B is the sole representative. In all the examples given where

H S differed from the remaining MSS., Thynne's edition agrees with the latter, and the same is true in the case of MS. B and its differences with the other MSS. of its branch. Two groups of MSS. are left by which it may have received contamination, the F C A Hh group and the Tr. The tables below will show the extent of the contamination, and will justify, we believe, the statement that Thynne's edition was formed from a comparison of Tr. and some member of the F C A Hh group.

(a) Th. Tr. C F A Hh

6	throv (Th. through)	for
8	the	this
9	men	folke
10	—	nowe
11	collusyon (colusyon Tr.)	conclusyon
22	—	O
26	yerde (Tr. yerd)	swerde

(b) Th. F C A Hh Tr.

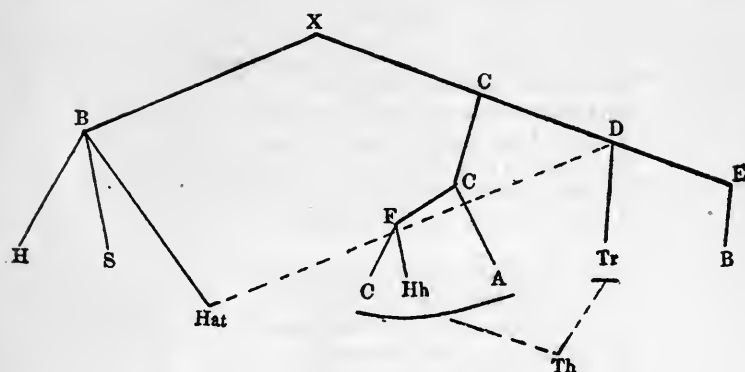
1	sometyme	wylum
1	so	—
5	and	—
5	lyke	els
5	for	butt for
5	and	so
8	maketh	causyht
13	what causeth this but	and alle causyht
18	is blent	blent ys
19	the worlde	thys werdul
27	worthynesse	Rythwysnis
28	thy folke ayeyne	ayeyn thy folke

In some cases Thynne's edition has a reading differing from that in all the MSS., seeming to indicate that he attempted to revise passages which appeared to him corrupted in his originals.

The Hatton MS. proved the most puzzling problem of all and the one we have taken the most pleasure in solving. The tables of comparison below will reveal the difficulties and likewise, perhaps, reveal the solution.

(a)	Hat. H S	F C A Hh Tr B
1	this	the (B. this)
5	beon	ys (A. B. ar)
5	on	lyke (els Tr.)
10	nowe adayes	among vs nowe
11	collusyon	conclusyon (Tr B. collusion)
28	dryue thi peple	wedde thy folk
(b)	Hat. C F A Hh Tr. B	H S
2	—	hold
4	dede	werke
8	maketh	made
22	—	for
(c)	Hat. Tr. B.	H S F C A Hh
27	ryhtwisnesse	worthynesse

The agreements with the H S group in most of the instances where that has significant variations from the remainder of the MSS. would seem to indicate that Hat. is connected closely with that group, and this I am inclined to accept, placing it in fraternal relation with MSS. H and S. But a further examination of the tables above shows the manifest influence of the F C A Hh group and likewise the influence of the Tr. B MSS. in a most noteworthy case. Our solution is that Hat. MS. is founded on the progenitor of H and S, contaminated with the immediate ancestor of Tr. In this way I account for all the resemblances to the F C A Hh group as coming from the ancestor of Tr. which is on the same general branch, and likewise for the significant sign of Tr. (ryhtwisnesse) as being an error made in the immediate predecessor of Tr., the MS. with which Hat. is contaminated. A little thought over the following diagram will make my meaning clearer.



## II. THE TEXT.

Examining the stemma as we have it before us, we find four groups, the H S, the F C Hh A, the Tr, and the B. As Tr and B are merely MSS. further removed from X along the line of the F C Hh A group, they would obviously not be considered of as great value in the formation of a text as the latter, and yet might prove very important in checking the results and finding where the F C Hh A group has introduced peculiar changes. In the F C Hh A group F is, as the progenitor of C and Hh to be preferred before them, and likewise before A, which we know to be the work of a careless scribe from the same original. F, then, is the representative of the group descended from branch C. Of the remaining group, neither MS. H nor MS. S can represent the type, nor can Hat. MS., contaminated as it is with D, be the one, but we must depend upon the evidence given by the first two, supplemented by Hat. where uncontaminated, to form their common ancestor. Our text, then, must be formed from a careful collaboration of MSS. H, S, and F, with Hat., Tr, and B to check up the results and aid in doubtful cases. C, Hh, A, and Th may be disregarded entirely, the first two and the last on the ground that we possess the originals from which they were drawn, and the third, A, on the ground that F gives us all that is best of their common original.

## BALADE.

Sumetyme this world was so stedfast and stable  
 That mannes word was obligacion ;  
 And now hyt is so fals and disceyvable  
 That word and dede, as in conclusyon,  
 Beon nothing oon, for turned vp so don  
 Ys al this world throw mede and wilfulnesse,  
 That al is lost for lac of stedfastnesse.

What makith this world to be so variable  
 But lust that folk haue in discencion ?  
 For now adayes, a man is holde vnable  
 But yf he can, by sum collusyon,  
 Do his neghbour wronge or oppression.  
 What causeth this but wilful wrecchednesse,  
 That al is lost for lac of stedfastnesse !

Trouthe is put downe, Reson is holden fable,  
 Vertu hath now no domynacion,  
 Pitee exiled, no man is merciable.  
 Thurgh coueityse is blent discrecion.  
 The worlde hath made a permutacion  
 Fro Ryght to Wrong, fro Trouthe to Fikelnesse,  
 That al is lost for lac of stedfastnesse.

*Lenvoy.*

O prince, desire to be honourable,  
 Cheryshh thy folke and hate extorsion,  
 Suffre no thing that may be reprevable  
 To thin estate doon in thy region ;  
 Shew forth thy swerde of castigacion,  
 Drede god, do lawe, loue trouthe and worthynesse,  
 And dryve thy peple ayeyne to stedfastnesse.

Before passing to the detailed collation of our results with those reached by Professor Skeat and the editors of the Globe edition, it may be well to notice the title of the poem and the words prefixed to the final stanza. Skeat and the Globe editors term the poem, 'Balade.' This is to be found in MSS. F, Tr, H, S, and Hat. In the last three of these there is inserted also much matter of a descriptive nature which probably originated with Shirley. Before the last stanza, both Skeat and the Globe

editors place the words: 'Lenvoy to King Richard.' Their only authority for this insertion is to be found in MS. S, a Shirley MS., while every other MS. which we possess has simply 'Lenvoy' (or Envoy). While I do not doubt the truth of what has been printed, I think the words are not those of Chaucer and should not be incorporated into the text: their proper place is in a foot-note. At this point should be simply 'Lenvoy.'

In the more minute collation the first point of difference I noted was that the second, fourth, and fifth lines of each of the stanzas in my version rhyme in -on while the others use -oun. I am supported by MSS. H (in all stanzas but the last, and in the third, the fourth verse), F throughout, and Tr throughout. MS. S cannot be brought into the argument as it has rhymes -one throughout, a distinctive peculiarity of this MS. The only MSS, which use -oun are Hat. and B. The evidence of the best MSS. seems overwhelmingly in favor of -on.

A word concerning the spelling in these two editions may not be out of place at this point. Scientifically the object of editing Chaucer should be to present us with the poems as nearly in the form in which Chaucer wrote them as possible. The only means of ascertaining this form is through the MSS. which have come down to us. When therefore a word is spelled in modern fashion, as in line 4, deed, or line 18, through, or line 23, cherish, with an utter disregard for the spelling of the MSS., our faith in the correctness of the reproduction is somewhat shattered. Again and again we find that the editors of these editions scorn the spelling of the MSS. only to insert their own, which is utterly out of keeping with the surroundings. This cannot be termed scientific accuracy.

We must leave these comparatively insignificant differences, however, and proceed to a consideration of those of greater importance. The first is to be found in line 5. Skeat has: 'Ben no-thing lyk,' the Globe has 'Ben no-tyng oon,' while I have suggested 'Beon nothing oon.' The difference between the Globe edition and mine is trivial: I follow MSS. H and S, while

the Globe editors follow Hat. Professor Skeat, however, has 'lyk' where we agree in printing 'oon.' The important MSS. read as follows: H S Beon no thyng oon, Hat Ben no thyng on, F Ys noo thyng lyke, Tr Is no thing els, B Ar nothing lyk. Professor Skeat has, it may be seen, combined the readings of the two branches, taking the 'Ben' from the H S Hat branch and the 'lyk' from the F branch. I did not feel justified in doing this but believed that the whole expression should go together and should be accepted or discarded together. As the subject of the verb is plural (word and dede), I selected the first in its entirety rather than use the 'ar' of the exceedingly poor MS. B. Professor Skeat mentioned 'on' as a possible reading in his notes.

In line 6 Professor Skeat has adopted 'for' while I suggest 'throw.' The Globe has 'through,' a spelling not found in any MS. The important MSS. read: H thorowe, S by, F for, Tr throw B for. The H S group does not show 'for' (Skeat's reading) at all, while on the F branch, Tr. prints 'throw.' But one of the most important reasons of all is that Chaucer, with his fine ear, would hesitate, I believe to put the word 'for' at exactly the same point in three successive lines, as Professor Skeat's version gives it. I quote:

Ben no-thing lyk, *for* turned up so doun  
Is al this world *for* mede and wilfulnesse  
That al is lost *for* lak of stedfastnesse.

The next important difference is in line 10 where Skeat prints 'among us nowe,' only found in the exceedingly poor MS. B (and there probably by error). I have suggested the adoption of the reading in the H S Hat group, 'For nowe adayes,' and find myself again in accord with the Globe editors. My reasons are that all the important MSS. agree in giving the initial word 'For,' and that therefore the evidence is strong that it was written thus by Chaucer. The reading which is to be found in the majority of the F branch, 'For among us nowe,' may have crept in at the lost MS. C and continued from that, although it is not possible on account of the metre.



The next difference is in line 12 where Skeat and the Globe editors print 'don' and I have adopted the reading of practically all the MSS., 'do.' MS. A is the only one which gives us 'done,' MS. B has 'doing' (which makes no sense and may be disregarded), while all the rest have 'do.'

In line 17 the Globe editors print 'wight' where Skeat and I accept 'man.' The reading 'wight' is found only in MS. H, while all the other MSS. have 'man.' The evidence is certainly decisive on this point.

In line 22 the Globe editors print 'desire for to be' where Skeat's edition and my own agree in omitting the word 'for.' The principal MSS. render: H S B 'for'; F Tr Hat —.

The last important difference is to be found in the final line of the poem, where Skeat has 'wed thy folk' and I have adopted the reading of the H S Hat group, 'Dryve thy peple.' The Globe edition has: 'Dryve thy folk.' The obvious reason why I have adopted the H S Hat reading is that the verb 'Dryve' makes sense where the other does not seem to do so. I quote from line 26:

Shew forthe thy swerde of castigacion,  
Drede god, do lawe, loue trouthe and worthynesse,  
And dryve thy peple ageyne to stedfastnesse.

He is implored to draw his sword and drive the people to stedfastnesse; is not this more sensible than to draw his sword and wed his folk to stedfastnesse? On this point Professor Skeat has the following unsympathetic note: 'For wed, two MSS. (note that there are three H S Hat) had drive; a reading which one is glad to reject. It would be difficult to think of a more unfitting word.'

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HEINRICH VON KLEIST UND WILHELMINE  
VON ZENGE.

EINE der wichtigsten Episoden im Leben Heinrich von Kleists, über die verhältnismässig wenig bekannt ist, bildet unstreitig das Verhältniss des unglücklichen Dichters zu seiner ersten Braut, Wilhelmine von Zenge. Zwar sind verschiedene Ausgaben seiner Briefe an dieselbe vorhanden aber die Unauffindbarkeit der Briefe der Braut an ihn ist von je her als eine bedauerliche Lücke empfunden worden. Da es leider nur zu wahrscheinlich ist, dass die Schreiberin nach dem Tode des Dichters sich ihre Briefe von seinen Verwandten zurückerbeten und vernichtet hat, so dürfte das grösste Interesse aller Kleistforscher ein Fund beanspruchen, der vor kurzem von einer Verwandten der Braut unter alten Familienpapieren gemacht worden ist. Es ist nicht mehr und nicht weniger als ein Brief Wilhelmine von Zenges an ihren späteren Gatten, den Professor der Philosophie an der Universität Leipzig, Wilhelm Traugott Krug, in welchem sie diesem die Geschichte ihres Verhältnisses zu ihrem ersten Verlobten ausführlich berichtet. Die Darstellung trägt in jedem Satze so durchaus das Gepräge ungeschminkter Wahrheit und Aufrichtigkeit, dass dieses Schriftstück als ein ganz unschätzbarer Beitrag zur Geschichte dieses Abschnittes in Kleists Leben betrachtet werden muss. Der Wortlaut des Briefes ist folgender :—

*Mein bester Freund :*

Sie äusserten gestern Abend bei Ahlemanns den Wunsch, ich möchte weniger geheimnissvoll sein. Für Sie will, und werde ich nie etwas verheimlichen. Es hängt ganz von Ihnen ab, alles was meine Person betrifft von mir zu erfahren. Da ich so

sehr wünsche, dass Sie mir ganz Ihr Vertrauen schenken möchten. So will ich Ihnen den Teil meines Lebens beschreiben, welcher bis jetzt für mich der wichtigste und interessanteste war, und ich hoffe Sie werden mich Ihres Vertrauens werth finden. Dass ich von meinen Eltern sehr einfach und häusslich erzogen wurde, ist Ihnen bekannt. Von meinem 16ten Jahre an, führte mich meine Mutter in alle Gesellschaften, sie begleitete mich in grosse Assembleen, wo ich das Hofleben anstaunte, Opern, Redouten und Bälle besuchte ich, und genoss, da mir diese Freuden so ganz neu waren, dies alles eine Zeit lang mit grossem Interesse, doch blieb mein Herz bei dem allen sehr leer, und mit Freuden kehrte ich wieder in unsere stille Häusslichkeit zurück. Als ich 18 Jahr alt war bekam mein Vater das Regiment in Frankfurth. Damals trennte ich mich sehr ungern von Berlin, da ich einen sehr geliebten Bruder, und eine ebenso geliebte Freundin zurück lassen musste; doch war mein Herz noch von keinem Manne besonders gerührt worden. Mit einem tanzte, oder unterhielt ich mich vielleicht lieber als mit dem andern, doch hatte keiner besonders Theil an meiner Traurigkeit bei dem Abschiede von Berlin.

Die erste Zeit gefiel es mir gar nicht in Frankfurth, wir alle lebten noch ganz in Berlin, bis sich auch hier Menschen fanden, welche sich für uns interessierten, und uns durch mancherlei Vergnügungen zu zerstreuen suchten. Unter diesen zeichnete sich besonders die Kleistsche Familie aus.

Der Lieutenant Kleist stand damals noch bei des Vaters Regiment. Auch er kam mit seinen Schwestern beinahe täglich zu uns, und wurde von allen gern gesehen, weil er ein sehr fröhlicher junger Mann war, und uns durch seinen Scherz oft zu lachen machte. Sein älterer Bruder, welcher als Lieutenant bei der Garde stand, nahm damals den Abschied, um hier in Frankfurth zu studieren. Auch er wurde unser Nachbar, nahm aber keinen Theil an unserer Gesellschaft wenn wir zu seinen Schwestern kamen. Erst als sein Bruder nach Potsdam versetzt wurde, und seine Schwestern ihren Begleiter, und wir einen angenehmen Gesellschafter verlohren hatten, gesellte er sich zu

uns. Wir fanden aber alle, dass er die Stelle des Bruders nicht ersetze, denn er war sehr melancholisch und finster, und sprach sehr wenig. Bald aber begleitete er uns auf allen Spaziergängen, kam mit seinen Schwestern auch zu uns, spielte und sang mit mir, und schien sich in unsrer Gesellschaft zu gefallen. Damals hörte er Experimentalphysik bei Dr. Wünsch, wovon er uns gewöhnlich nach dem Collegia mit grossem Interesse unterhielt. Auch wir nahmen so lebhaft Antheil an allem was er uns darüber sagte, dass seine Schwestern wir, und noch einige Mädchen aus unserem Kreise zu dem Dr. Wünsch gingen und ihn baten auch uns Vorlesungen darüber zu halten. Dies geschahe, und wir waren sehr aufmerksame Zuhörerinnen, repetirten mit unserem Unterlehrer dem Herrn von Kleist, und machten auch Aufsätze über das, was wir hörten. Als Kleist einen Abend die Aufsätze von seinen Schwestern gelesen hatte, bat er mich ihm auch den meinigen zu zeigen; ich that es, und er fand ihn gut, nur sehr fehlerhaft geschrieben.

Er bat sich die Erlaubniss aus mir die Hauptregeln der deutschen Sprache nachgerade in kurzen Aufsätzen mittheilen zu dürfen, welches ich recht gern annahm, und recht fleissig studierte, um seine Mühe zu belohnen.

Einen Abend als ich bei Kleists war, gab er mir einen ähnlichen Aufsatz, wie gewöhnlich in ein weiss Papier geschlagen, doch wie erstaunte ich als ich es zu Haus öffnete und darin von ihm einen Brief fand, worin er mir sagte, dass er mich schon lange herzlich liebe, und ich ihn durch meine Hand sehr beglücken könne. Mir war es bis jetzt noch gar nicht eingefallen, dass ein Mann mich jemals lieben könne, denn ich fand mich immer sehr hässlich und unleidlich, und war nie mit mir zufrieden. Ich hatte ihn immer sehr unbefangen behandelt, und war ihm gut wie einem Bruder, doch liebte ich ihn nicht, und erstaunte über seine Erklärung, da ich vorher auch nicht das Geringste davon geahndet hatte, sondern immer glaubte er zöge meine Schwester Lotte mir sehr vor. Louisen machte ich zu meiner Vertrauten, und gestand ihr, dass ich ihm gut sei, doch wäre er gar nicht der Mann nach meinem Sinn. Den andern

Tag schrieb ich ihm dass ich ihn weder liebe, noch seine Frau zu werden wünsche, doch würde er mir als Freund immer recht werth sein.

Leider konnte ich es nicht verhindern ihn wieder zu sehen. Er war ausser sich über meine Antwort und wollte mir einen zweiten Brief geben, welches ich aber schlechterdings verbat. Acht Tage lang suchte er mich auf den Spaziergängen auf, da ich nicht mehr zu seinen Schwestern kam, und bat Louisen so sehr den Brief zu nehmen, und reichte ihn mir noch einmal mit thränenden Augen, so dass ich endlich bewegt wurde und ihn annahm.

In diesem Briefe fragte er was ich an ihm auszusetzen habe, und versicherte ich könne aus ihm machen was ich wolle, ich möchte ihm nur sagen wie er meine Liebe gewinnen könne. Ich schrieb ihm wieder, und schilderte den Mann wie er mich glücklich machen könnte. Er gab sich so viel Mühe diesem Bilde ähnlich zu werden, dass ich ihm endlich erlaubte an meine Eltern zu schreiben, und ihm meine Hand versprach, sobald sie einwilligten.

Er hatte etwas Vermögen, aber nicht so viel dass wir davon leben konnten, doch hatte er vom König das Versprechen in einem Amte angestellt zu werden sobald er ausstudiert habe. Meine Eltern gaben ihre Einwilligung, doch mit der Bedingung, so lange zu warten bis er ein Amt habe, welches ich auch sehr zufrieden war. Meine Ausbildung und Veredelung lag ihm sehr am Herzen. Wenn er aus dem Collegia kam so beschäftigte er sich eine Stunde mit mir. Er gab mir interessante Fragen, auf welche ich schriftlich beantworten musste, und er korrigierte sie. Er gab mir nützliche Bücher zu lesen, und ich musste ihm meine Urtheile darüber sagen, oder auch Auszüge daraus machen. Er las mir Gedichte vor, und ich musste sie nachlesen oder französisch übersetzen. Auch schärfte er meinen Witz und Scharfsinn durch Vergleiche, welche ich ihm schriftlich bringen musste. So lebte er ganz für mich, ich gewann ihn recht lieb und machte es mir zur Pflicht auch ganz für ihn zu leben. Wenn ich mir zuweilen gestand, dass er dem

Ideale von Mann, welches ich mir entworfen hatte, noch immer nicht entsprach, so dachte ich es giebt vielleicht keinen Besseren, denn ich kannte auch keinen der mir lieber war als er. Ich erfüllte mein Vorhaben redlich. Alles, was er an mir tadelte, suchte ich fortzuschaffen, und alles, was ich dachte und that, bezog ich auf ihn. So lebten wir ein halbes Jahr sehr glücklich, da hatte er sein Studium hier beendet, er ging nach Berlin, um sich dort noch mehr zu vervollkommen und zu einem Amte vorzubereiten.

Sein Umgang war mir nun so werth geworden, dass ich bei seiner Abreise sehr unglücklich war, und ihn nachher bei jeder Gelegenheit vermisste. Alle vierzehn Tage schrieb er an mich, und so oft er konnte, war er bei mir, und war noch immer der herzliche, gute Mensch. Er hatte viel Geist, seine schnelle Fassungskraft wurde von allen seinen Lehrern bewundert, seine Phantasie war sehr lebhaft, und verleitete ihn oft zu Schwärmerei. Er hatte einen erhabenen Begriff von Sittlichkeit, und mich wollte er zum Ideal umschaffen, welches mich oft bekümmerte. Ich fürchtete ihm nicht zu genügen, und strengte alle meine Kräfte an, meine Talente auszubilden, um ihn recht vielseitig zu interessieren.

Weihnachten vor zwei Jahren kam er ganz unerwartet hier an, und sagte mir, er könne jetzt gleich angestellt werden wenn er wolle, doch wäre es ihm unmöglich ein Amt zu nehmen, die Amtsgeschäfte würden ihn unglücklich machen, auch könne er seine Freiheit nicht so aufopfern. Er fragte ob ich sein kleines Vermögen mit ihm theilen wolle, ich erschrak über dies alles sehr, ich wollte und konnte ihm weder ab- noch zurathen, um meiner willen unglücklich zu sein, und versicherte, ich wolle alles thun, was zu seinem Glücke beitragen könne. Er reisete wieder nach Berlin, doch nicht lange nachher erhielt ich einen Brief, dessen Inhalt weit schrecklicher war als die erste Nachricht. In diesem Briefe sagte er mir, dass er jetzt die Kantsche Philosophie studiere, welche ihn so unglücklich gemacht habe, dass er es in Berlin in seinen engen vier Wänden nicht aushalten könne, er würde eine Reise machen, um sich zu zer-

streuen. Er schickte mir sein Bildnis und eine Tasse mit einer sehr hübschen Inschrift, versicherte bald wieder zu kommen, und mir recht oft zu schreiben. Auch ich schickte ihm mein Bildnis, und sagte ihm nur ein schriftliches Lebewohl. Er reisete mit seiner Schwester nach Paris, schrieb mir anfänglich oft, doch als ich seit drei Monaten keine Nachricht von ihm erhalten hatte, schrieb er mir — er werde sich in der Schweiz ankaufen, und hoffe, ich werde ihm dorthin folgen wenn er mich abholte. Ich bat ihn mit den rührendsten Ausdrücken in sein Vaterland zurückzukehren, und gestand dass ich ihm zwar folgen wolle wohin er ginge, doch würde es mir sehr schwer werden, meine Eltern zu verlassen, und besonders mich so weit von ihnen zu entfernen. Ehe dieser Brief beantwortet wurde, musste ich 5 Monat alle Posttage vergebens auf Antwort warten i Meine Hoffnung, und die Erwartung von einer frohen Zukunft, waren schon längst in mir gesunken, ich sagte mir es oft dass ich mit dem Mann nie glücklich sein würde, da ich nicht im Stande war ihn glücklich zu machen. Doch wollte ich mein Wort halten und mich ganz für ihn aufopfern. Ich war ihm so viel Dank schuldig, und nahm so innig Antheil an allem was ihn betraf, dass ich wenigstens hoffte ihn wo nicht beglücken, doch aufheitern zu können. Ich kannte seine Wünsche und wusste mich so gut in sein sonderbares Wesen zu schicken, dass ich überzeugt war, es könne ausser mir kein weibliches Wesen mit ihm fertig werden. Nach fünf Monaten erfuhr ich endlich durch seine Schwester wo er sich aufhielt, ich schrieb an ihn, und bekam zur Antwort — er habe nicht erwartet von mir noch einen Brief zu empfangen, sondern habe mein letztes Schreiben als eine Weigerung angesehen ihm nach der Schweiz zu folgen. Nach einem heftigen Kampfe habe er es endlich dahin gebracht mein Bild aus seiner Seele zu entfernen, er bäte mich deshalb nicht wieder an ihn zu schreiben. Da er durch Leichtsinn in Berlin sein Amt verscherzt habe, und durch seine Reise die Menschen zu grossen Erwartungen von ihm berechtigt habe, so könne er nicht ohne Ruhm wieder in sein Vaterland zurückkehren. Sein einziger

Versuch sei jetzt bald sein Leben zu enden.—Dieser Brief erschütterte mich tief, doch beweinte ich mehr sein trauriges Schicksal als das Meine. Ich sah es ein, dass ich nie seine Frau werden konnte, und hatte auch schon lange aufgehört es zu wünschen. Ich hatte die Kraft mich von seinem Gemälde zu trennen welches ihm sehr ähnlich war, schrieb noch einmal an ihn, tröstete ihn als Freundin, und sagte er möchte wenigstens seine Freundin nicht vergessen, sondern, mir zuweilen schreiben wie es ihm ginge, denn gewiss würde ich immer den lebhaftesten Antheil an seinem Schicksal nehmen. Hierauf hat er nicht geantwortet.

Zu gleicher Zeit verlor ich einen sehr geliebten Freund und Bruder,—mein Schmerz war unbeschreiblich. Ich wurde sehr krank, und mein einziger Wunsch war bald zu sterben, denn mein Leben hatte für mich alles Interesse verlohren. Der Schmerz meiner Eltern welche auch durch den Tod meines Bruders einen grossen Theil ihres Glückes verlohren hatten, erinnerte mich dass ich noch Pflichten zu beobachten habe. Ich verbarg meinen Schmerz, um sie zu trösten, und meine einzige Linderung waren jetzt bittere Thränen. Die Welt, und besonders die Männer waren mir sehr gleichgültig geworden, nur Ahlemann war mein Vertrauter, er weinte mit mir, und tröstete mich. Mit der Zeit sahe ich es ein, dass diese Trennung zu meinem Glücke sei und dankte dem grossen Führer der Menschen für meine ertragenen Leiden, denn ich fühlte dass sie mich zu einem besseren Menschen gemacht hatten.

Meine Leidensgeschichte ist zu Ende. Die Wolken haben sich zertheilt, und ich sehe eine freundliche Sonne an meinem Horizonte aufgehen. Ich lernte Sie kennen, und gleich nachdem ich Sie zum ersten mal bei Ahlemanns gesprochen hatte sagte ich zu meiner Schwester: der Mann gefällt mir. Und mit Ihrer näheren Bekanntschaft fühlte ich immer mehr dass ich für Sie, und Sie für mich geschaffen wären, ich war so glücklich Ihnen zu gefallen, und hoffe Ihrer nicht unwerth zu sein. Die offene Mitteilung meiner Jugendgeschichte wird Sie nicht beunruhigen, sie ist so war, wie ich immer gegen Sie



sein werde. Wenn Sie nicht der Einzige waren der mein Herz rühren konnte, so kann ich doch versichern dass ich noch nie so von ganzem Herzen liebte, als ich Sie liebe, und dass der Entfernte nur noch als ein erhabens Mittel, wodurch der gütige Schöpfer meine Veredelung bewirken wollte, in meinem Herzen tront.

Seien Sie ganz mein Freund, und wenn Sie in meinem Betragen auch nur das Geringste finden das nicht nach Ihrem Sinne ist, so bitte ich Sie.

Ihre

WILHELMINE.

FRANKFURTH,  
am 16. Juni 1803.

Der Brief rückt in vielen Punkten das Verhältniß des Dichters zu Wilhelmine in ein ganz neues Licht. Zunächst muss die von manchen Kleistbiographen aufgestellte Vermutung fallen gelassen werden, dass die Braut, die Tochter einer zwar adligen, aber doch von der ganzen Nüchternheit altpreussischen Offizierslebens durchdrungenen Familie, den Dichter nicht recht zu verstehen, dem kühnen Fluge seines Geistes nicht immer zu folgen vermocht habe, und ihm daher auf die Dauer nicht genügen konnte. Die ganze Art und Weise, wie Wilhelmine von Zenge hier von ihrem unglücklichen Verlobten spricht, zeigt vielmehr von so feinem Verständniß und so gerechter Würdigung desselben, dass ihr Glaube, sie werde mehr als eine andere Frau imstande sein, ihn glücklich zu machen, — soweit ein Glück bei dem unsteten Charakter des Mannes möglich war — sicher berechtigt gewesen ist.

Auch die von andern aufgestellte Behauptung, Kleist habe sich durch die pedantische, schulmeisternde Art, in der er an seiner Braut herumerzog und sie zu bilden bemüht war, das Herz derselben allmählich entfremdet, kann hiernach nicht Stand halten. Wir sehen, dass nicht nur er Wilheminen, sondern dass Wilhelmine in gleicher Weise ihn ihrem Ideal entsprechend zu erziehen und veredeln suchte, ganz entsprechend dem Ge-

schmacke eines Zeitalters, dessen Gesellschaft sich an schönen Reden über die Veredelung des Menschengeschlechts und über Selbstveredelung berauschte, und in dem Tugend und Moral die landläufigen Themen der eleganten Konversation in den Salons bildeten. In dieser Beziehung sind beide Verlobte Kinder ihrer Zeit, und weit entfernt, sie als lästig zu empfinden, erwähnt Wilhelmine ausdrücklich, wie sehr sie Kleist für diese Bemühungen zu Danke verpflichtet sei. Dieses Streben nach gegenseitiger Vervollkommenung scheint sogar ein besonders festes Band des Verhältnisses gewesen zu sein. Wilhelmine selbst erscheint in diesem Lichte recht eigentlich als der Typus der feingebildeten deutschen Frau zu Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, wie sie Weimar vor allem, aber im beschränkteren Masse auch andere grössere Städte mit einigem geistigen Leben hervorgebracht haben: der Typus der "edlen Frau," zu der Goethe den Mann in die Lehre schickt, um genau zu erfahren, was sich ziemt, und die andererseits "sich freut, wenn kluge Männer sprechen, dass sie verstehen kann, wie sie es meinen." Dies war das Ideal der weiblichen Bildung jener Zeit, zum Mitsprechen hat erst das neunzehnte Jahrhundert die Frau erzogen. Wenn später dieses Ideal seinen Wert für den Dichter verlor, so ist die Ursache offenbar in seiner eigenen Unrast zu suchen, in seinem unbestimmten und unbegrenzten Sehnen nach dem Ungewöhnlichen, Unbekannten,—"dort, wo du nicht bist, ist das Glück"—das in ihm schliesslich eine völlige Umwertung aller Werte erzeugte und ihm die Güter, die einst sein Teuerstes gewesen, jetzt als belanglos, wo nicht gar seinen höheren Interessen hinderlich, erscheinen liess. Er entwickelte sich je länger je mehr in der Richtung des Rousseau-Wertherschen Typus, der in Litteratur und Gesellschaft jener Zeit eine so häufige Erscheinung war. Wer weiss, ob er nicht, wie Goethe, die Kraft gefunden hätte, sich durch diese Phase der Entwicklung doch noch zur endlichen Klarheit durchzuringen, ob Wilhelmine ihm nicht eine Frau von Stein hätte werden können, hätte nicht die weite räumliche Trennung jene feinste persönliche Beeinflussung, die im Leben zweier Menschen eine so viel

grössere Bedeutung hat als das gesprochene oder geschriebene Wort, gerade in der entscheidendsten Zeit seiner Entwicklung unmöglich gemacht.

Denn selbst bis in seine excentrischsten Ideen vermochte Wilhelmine ihm zu folgen. Sie brach nicht mit ihm, wie so oft vermutet, weil er sie in die Fremde und in schwere, ihr ungewohnte Lebensbedingungen verpflanzen wollte. Sie ist bereit, ihn in die Schweiz zu begleiten; nur giebt sie ihm zu bedenken, ob sich nicht noch ein anderer *modus vivendi* finden liesse, in welchem ihr Glück nicht mit dem für sie wie für die Ihrigen gleich schweren Opfer einer Trennung, die unter damaligen Verhältnissen einem Abschied auf Lebenszeit gleichkam, erkaufte werden müsste. Wenn es sein muss, ist sie zu allem bereit; aber angesichts der Konsequenzen für andere als sie selbst muss die Notwendigkeit und Zweckdienlichkeit dieses Opfers erst zweifellos feststehen, ehe sie den geliebten Eltern einen solchen Schmerz zufügen kann. Welches natürlich empfindende Mädchen würde, wie innig sie immer ihren Verlobten liebe, in gleicher Lage anders fühlen? Wenn nach fünfmonatigem vergeblichen Harren auf Antwort auf einen solchen Brief ein Reif auf ihre Liebe gefallen ist, so kann das nicht wunder nehmen. Dessen ungeachtet ist sie auch jetzt noch bereit, zu dem Freunde zu stehen, denn sie glaubt, dass er ihrer bedarf: ganz im Sinne der zeitgenössischen Auffassung von der Bestimmung der Frau, nur für den Geliebten zu existieren und sich für ihn zu opfern, ohne an sich selbst zu denken. Noch einmal versucht sie, ihn schriftlich zu erreichen; aber nur, um zu erfahren, dass ihre Treue für nichts geachtet wird.

Angesichts dieser Kränkung zeigt sich ihre reine, selbstlose Zuneigung wohl im hellsten Lichte. Nichts von der Bitternis der Verschnittenen spricht aus ihren Worten. Wohl ist sie sich in der langen Zeit des Harrens darüber klar geworden, dass der Traum zu Ende geträumt ist, und auch, dass das Erwachen zu ihrem eigenen Besten war. Aber die Liebe, die nicht verurteilt und verdammt, sondern versteht und verzeiht, wandelt sich nicht in Hass oder Verachtung, sondern in tiefes Mitleid und

in Trauer um das Verlorene: nicht so sehr um das, was sie selbst verloren hat, als um den der Welt und sich selbst Verlorenen, den ihre ahnende Seele Wege einschlagen sieht, die ihn nimmer aufwärts und dem ersehnten Ziele zuführen können. Aus dieser verstehenden, verzeihenden, rettenwollenden Liebe heraus streckt sie ihm noch ein letztes Mal die Hand entgegen, ob sie nicht doch noch einmal imstande sein könnte, seinem Leben eine Wendung zum Besseren zu geben; aber sie kann ihn nicht mehr erreichen.

Andrerseits ist auch von dem Dichter selbst, von seiner Entwicklung seit dem Beginne der Frankfurter Studienzeit bis zum Anfang vom traurigen Ende, selten ein bei aller Knappheit so klares und ihn uns so menschlich nahe bringendes Bild entworfen worden wie in diesem schlichten Berichte. Wir lernen ihn kennen als einen wunderlichen, menschenscheuen Jüngling, dem der Schatz eines reichen Innenlebens zum Danaergeschenk zu werden droht, weil er sich als Schranke zwischen ihn und seine Mitmenschen stellt. Schon ist ihm dadurch die Betätigung in dem Berufe verleidet worden, in dem seine Familie sich seit Generationen einen ehrenvollem Namen in der vaterländischen Geschichte erworben hatte, denn sein einseitig nach innen gekehrter Geist vermochte nicht das Grosse der bedingungslosen Unterordnung des Einzelnen unter das Ganze zu erfassen, die die Seele des Militärberufes ist. Er sah nur die Beschränkung seiner individuellen Freiheit, die darin lag, und er zieht den Offiziersrock aus, um sich ungehemmt durch äussere Schranken der Beschäftigung mit den Problemen zu widmen, in denen ihm die Quintessenz des Lebens enthalten scheint. So kommt er als Student nach Frankfurt. Doch seine Studien beschränken sich zunächst noch einseitig auf den Hörsaal. Er ist noch nicht zu der Erkenntnis gereift, dass "inwendig lernt kein Mensch sein Innerstes erkennen" und dass "der Mensch erkennt sich nur im Menschen, nur das Leben lehret jeden, was er sei." Nur ungern nimmt er daher teil an der Geselligkeit seines Vaterhauses, bis unter den Gästen desselben Wilhelmine von Zenge seine Aufmerksamkeit erregt.

Ihr Interesse an den Dingen, die ihn selbst zur Zeit am meisten beschäftigen, zieht ihn an ; als Unterlehrer des kleinen Kreises lernbegieriger Mädchen, der sich um ihn sammelt, lernt er zum ersten Male das beglückende Gefühl kennen, andern von dem Reichtum seines Geistes mitzuteilen, und die Widerspiegelung desselben in einem andern Geiste zu beobachten. In dem ganz neuen Lichte, in dem ihm diese Erfahrung den Mitmenschen zeigt, keimt in ihm der Wunsch, sich dieses Glück dauernd zu sichern durch einen Lebensbund mit dem Mädchen, das von allem ihm das grösste Verständnis entgegenzubringen scheint. Aber angesichts des entscheidenden Schrittes kehrt die alte Menschen-scheu mit aller Macht zurück — er hat absolut nichts vom Soldaten in sich, der kühn zur Attacke vorgeht — und mit dem schwächlichen Notbehelf eines Briefes leitet er den wichtigsten Schritt seiner Jugend ein. Die anfängliche Enttäuschung lässt ihm das erwünschte Gut naturgemäss nur um so begehrenswerter erscheinen, und je länger Wilhelmine in ehrlichem Zweifel schwankt, desto mehr nimmt sein Gefühl eine leidenschaftlich erregte Färbung an, bis er schliesslich alles mögliche zu thun bereit ist, nur um sich ihr annehmbar zu machen. Die der Verlobung folgenden Monate sind dann wohl die einzige Zeit ungetrübten Glücks während des ganzen Brautstandes gewesen, vielleicht die einzige wirklich glückliche Zeit im Leben des Dichters. Noch in der Erinnerung daran leuchtet in Wilhelminens Beschreibung derselben ein Abglanz des Sonnenscheins, der sie erhellte, und noch lange nach Kleists Weggang von Frankfurt scheint er auch sein Leben durchleuchtet zu haben. Aber allmählich macht die Trennung ihre Wirkung geltend. Wilhelminens Einfluss tritt zurück vor dem seiner neuen Umgebung, und dieser ist nicht zum Guten für ihn. Wieder mehr oder weniger mit sich selbst allein, verfällt er aufs neue in seine introspectiven Gewohnheiten, und aus sich heraus kommt er zu keiner Klarheit. Es wiederholt sich derselbe Prozess, der ihn vor Jahren dem Offiziersberuf entfremdete : der blosse Gedanke an die Abhängigkeit und Unterordnung, die mit der Übernahme eines Amtes, worauf er doch

die ganze Zeit hingearbeitet hatte, verbunden sind, erfüllt ihn mit Abscheu; er kann sich nicht in solche Fesseln begeben. Auf einer Reise sucht er sich über sich selbst klar zu werden; aber die Schwester, die selbst ihre Sturm- und Drangperiode noch nicht überwunden hat, ist keine Gefährtin, deren Gesellschaft dafür günstige Vorbedingungen schafft, und so erhöht das unruhige Reiseleben seine eigene Unruhe und Haltlosigkeit, anstatt sie zu heilen. Als er schliesslich in der Schweiz landet und das harmonische und glückliche Leben der Landbevölkerung sieht, die nichts von der Friedlosigkeit des Sohnes der Überkultur weiss, fällt er einem Trugschluss zum Opfer. Ohne sich Rechenschaft zu geben, dass Friede oder Unfriede des inneren Menschen die äusseren Bedingungen des Lebens erst schafft, verlegt er die Ursache der verschiedenen Seelenverfassung in die Verschiedenheit der äusseren Verhältnisse und beschliesst, alles von sich zu thun, was ihn mit dem Kulturkreise in dem er aufgewachsen ist, verbindet. Wilhelmine muss das Gleiche thun, oder sie können nicht mit einander glücklich werden, in seiner Verblendung gegen alles, was der höheren Kultur ausserhalb seines Alpenidylls angehört, ist es, sowie Wilhelmine nicht mit einer der seinen entsprechenden Begeisterung auf seine Ideen eingeht, für ihn ausgemacht, dass sie denselben verständnislos gegenüber steht. Er hört nicht den Ton der Liebe, der ihren Brief durchdringt; er versucht gar nicht, sich in ihre Lage zu versetzen und die Verhältnisse auch von ihrem Standpunkte zu beurteilen; er sieht nicht, wie viel grösser die Liebe sein muss, die bereit ist ihm zu folgen, obwohl es ihr schwer wird, als jene, die ihm folgen würde, weil sie gleich begeistert wäre wie er; er sieht nur, dass es ihr schwer wird, und damit ist sein Urtheil über sie fertig. Sie ist ein Kind der Welt, der er entfliehen will, und in seine verbitterte Auffassung von dieser Welt passt es nur zu gut, dass sie ihm auch die Geliebte entreisst. So konstruiert er sich in blindem Fanatismus ihren Brief als einen Absagebrief und zerschneidet damit selbst das letzte

Band, an dem er sich vielleicht noch hätte zum Leben und Glück zurückfinden können; die Wege der beiden, die in Frankfurt so nahe dem Ziele schienen, scheiden sich fürs Leben. Wilhelmine findet in der Sorge für andere den Leitstern, der sie durch Herzeleid und Todesschatten endlich doch wieder dem Lichte entgegenführt; der Weg des unglücklichen Dichters wird einsamer und einsamer, dunkler und dunkler, bis er in den schweigenden Wassern des Wannsees sich verliert.

DR. PH. MARTHA KRUG GENTHE.

## REVIEWS.

*Did Shakspeare write Titus Andronicus?* J. M. Robertson.  
London, 1905.

Mr. Robertson's book cannot be said to reach a final solution of the puzzling question presented by its title. Its discussions, while displaying much industry and acumen and of great interest to all students of the Marlowean period of the drama, will hardly win increased support for its main conclusion, that, whoever else wrote the play, Shakspeare did not. The external evidence of Shakspeare's connection with the play is too strong for a ready acceptance of this conclusion, and Mr. Robertson's attempt to belittle the authority of Meres and the Folio only reveals the difficulties of his position. He is even less convincing in setting up Shakspeare's prefatory reference in 1592 to *Venus and Adonis* as the 'first heir of my invention' for proof that Shakspeare had up to that time written no plays, except with collaborators. Whether the reference implies that the poem was composed or conceived before the dramas, or whether it was loosely used in regard to his first publication without reference to the plays, its interpretation is too indefinite to afford a sound basis for important deductions concerning his dramatic career. Of still less importance as evidence against Shakspeare's authorship is the fact that three editions of *Titus* were published during his lifetime without his name; the same is true of *Romeo and Juliet*. Mr. Robertson makes a better case from his use of the known facts of the stage history of the period; and, adopting Mr. Harold Fuller's plausible theory that *Titus Andronicus* was the revision of two old plays made about 1594, he makes clear the difficulties both historical and esthetic in supposing the present text to have been written by Shakspeare at that date.

It is the internal evidence, however, that mainly occupies the book. Altho over scornful of those who feel Shakspeare's touch



here and there in the style, Mr. Robertson very properly relies on scientific methods rather than personal impressions. Tests of plot, structure, and substance, of meter, versification and diction, and, most notably, of vocabulary are made in connection with Shakspeare's other plays and with those of his leading contemporaries in his early period. The conclusions reached may be sufficiently indicated by one of the thirteen counts of the very positive summary.

'The probability is that between 1590 and 1592 Greene revised or expanded an older play, in which Peele had already a large share ; but there is the alternative possibility that Peele revised an old play by Greene and Kyd. The fresh matter, or revision, which in 1594 caused the play to figure as new, may again have been by Peele, or by Kyd, or by Lodge ; but the amount contributed by either of the two last named to the present play is small, though it is somewhat likely that Kyd had a hand earlier in shaping the plot.'

Mr. Robertson's achievement in untangling the work of various contributors is not confined to *Titus Andronicus*. He seems indeed to have rediscovered the evidence upon which Mr. Fleay based his numerous attributions of authorship ; and there is hardly an anonymous play of the period that he does not conjecturally assign to two or more of his group of authors. It is this aspect of the book, the assignment of plays or shares in plays on the basis of internal evidence, that demands further discussion.

The wholesale and not very critical adoption of Mr. Fleay's methods is accompanied by some merited praise of that scholar's work and some emphasis on the need of painstaking investigation of both the theatrical conditions and the stylistic peculiarities of the drama of the period. Mr. Robertson's scorn for the traditional impressionistic criticism of Shakspeare also leads to lively and rather journalistic attacks on some recent writers on his subject. These are perhaps most interesting to those mainly concerned, Mr. H. B. Baildon and Professor Churton Collins ; but one article of the varied indictment will win a wider appreciation, the attack on the tendency of English scholars to neglect investigations carried on by Germans and Americans. Mr. Robertson himself belongs to the large and growing class of English critics who spare no pains to examine carefully all that has been published bearing on their subjects. It is therefore especially unfortunate that two articles appeared just too late for his consideration : 'The Authorship of *Lochrine*,' W. S.

Gaud, *Modern Philology*, Jan., 1904 ; and 'Repetition and Parallelism in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama,' F. G. Hubbard, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, June, 1905.

Professor Hubbard's valuable paper is of special interest in connection with Mr. Robertson's book and the problems it suggests in regard to the attribution of authorship in the early drama. Professor Hubbard analyzes the cases of rhetorical repetition and parallelism so numerous in the dramatists ; divides these into clearly defined classes ; and enumerates their occurrence in the different plays. His results, thus tabulated, he offers to scholars as a tool for the investigation of questions of authorship. Mr. Robertson's far less scientific method is best illustrated in his tests of vocabulary, which occupy over half of the book. He begins with the words occurring in *Titus* and in no other of Shakspeare's plays ; then examines the plays of other dramatists for these words ; then examines various anonymous plays for words or phrases which he has found in the group of dramatists. The method is consequently a biased one from the start. It seeks to discover not, who wrote *Titus Andronicus*, but who else than Shakspeare might have written the play. It attempts no thoro study of the dramatic vocabulary of the day, but examines the vocabulary of various dramatists only in reference to *Titus*, and examines certain anonymous plays only with reference to certain observations on the vocabulary of a few dramatists. It would be possible to show by many examples how unreliable is much of the evidence, as is usually the case in determinations of authorship on the basis of the use of certain words and phrases ; but this is unnecessary, for the inconclusiveness of the evidence is revealed by the conclusions reached. Mr. Robertson, to be sure, qualifies the results of his studies by means of other tests in meter, structure and the like ; but he concludes (p. 185) that so far as vocabulary alone is concerned, the presumption is that Peele, Greene, Marlowe, Lodge, and Kyd (all the authors whom he examined except Shakspeare) had a hand in *Titus Andronicus*. Or—put the results in another way—the vocabulary of *Titus Andronicus* has much in common with the vocabularies of the leading contemporary dramatists. This will be readily granted, and this is about all that can be established by Mr. Robertson's methods.

Such investigations and such results are not novel or peculiar

to any one field of research. In connection with the early drama they have in recent years been noticeably numerous. Critical ingenuity has been busy seeking by means of internal evidence to find authors for anonymous plays, or to divide plays among several authors, or to find traces of an unsuspected author in a play attributed by external evidence to another. Mr. Robertson's book, as a more extensive and venturesome example than most, emphasizes the need of the careful consideration of the problems and difficulties confronting students engaged in this branch of criticism.

In any given cases there are certain peculiar conditions which must govern the application of internal texts. In the case of *Titus Andronicus* these are clear altho not always remembered. It belongs to a particular type of tragedies and to a brief and definite period of the drama; and it is to be studied mainly with reference to this type and period. After the half dozen tragedies of the sixties, there are no extant tragedies until the time of Marlowe and Kyd. From 1570 to 1586-7 the development of either tragedy or history can be studied only in the titles of non-extant plays or in the critical comments of Gosson, Sydney, and others. About 1587 *Tamburlaine* and the *Spanish Tragedy* (possibly preceded by one or two histories as the *Famous Victories*) open a period remarkable for its tragedies and its tragic histories. The breaking up of the companies and the consequent publication or registration of a number of plays in 1594-5 mark a convenient limit for this period, one almost coincident with the death of Marlowe.

The period includes all of Greene's dramatic career as well as Marlowe's, and apparently all of Kyd's and of Peele's. It also includes plays by Lodge, Nash, Wilson, Lyly, and Shakspeare; and possibly early work of Chettle and Dekker. Furthermore other dramatists now unknown were doubtless writing for the stage; and their work may survive in the numerous anonymous plays. If we leave comedy to one side for the sake of simplification, we have a list of some thirty histories and tragedies acted by 1594 and not earlier than 1586-7. This number may be increased by a few plays not published until later, as *Dr. Faustus*, *Sir Thomas More*, Part I of *Henry VI*, and *Woodstock* (Richard II); and, if the period be extended a little, by the three plays of Shakspeare published in 1597 (*Richard III*, *Richard II*, and

*Romeo and Juliet*) and his *King John*. If we end the period with 1594 and include only the Henry VI plays and *Titus* of the Shakspeare Folio, the period is a brief one, and the body of plays marked by definite characteristics. Of these plays very few were published with their authors' names, not even *Tamburlaine* or the *Spanish Tragedy*; and our ascription of authorship in several cases rests on comparatively slight external evidence. In many cases, as in the three parts of *Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus*, this external evidence has been questioned by modern critics, and the plays variously assigned according to internal tests. For the following plays there is no external evidence of authorship, and for only one of them is there any agreement among critics as to the conclusions for internal evidence:—*Arden of Feversham*; *Battle of Alcazar* (generally assigned to Peele); *Edward III*; *Famous Victories of Henry V*; *Jack Straw*; *King Leir*; *Lochrine*; *Woodstock*; *Selimus*; *Soliman and Perseda*; *Troublesome Reign of King John*; *True Tragedy of Richard III*; *Wars of Cyrus*. If we omit one or two of the histories, comic rather than tragic in intent, we have a group of plays not only closely contemporaneous, but offering striking resemblances to one another.

These resemblances correspond to the salient characteristics of tragedy of the period. These may be briefly summarized as the results of three important forces: the English chronicle plays; the adaptation of Seneca to the popular drama, best represented by Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*; and the innovations of Marlowe. Plays dealing with English history and based on the chronicles are numerous; and their characteristic traits extend over dramas of every sort. Perhaps the most noticeable of these are the scenic presentation of history; the stage accompaniments of such presentation, such as armies, battles, court ceremonies, embassies, orations; and a chronicle or epic rather than a dramatic structure. The Kydian or Senecan influence appears in the revenge plot, ghosts, soliloquies, philosophizing, vestiges of Senecan structure, such as a chorus or a marked division into acts, and in stylistic elements, such as stichomythia, parallelism and the like. Most important of all is the influence of Marlowe, dominant thruout the period and resulting in the recreation of tragedy. His plays moreover make a fairly distinct type, exhibiting almost none of the Senecan traits of structure or style, distinguished by protagonists of overwhelm-

ing passions, about whom the action mainly centers, by much stage activity and spectacle, and by sonorous rant and splendid declaration. These three influences are not, of course, distinctly separable. *Tamburlaine* in structure and material is a chronicle history rather than a tragedy; and *Edward II* represents Marlowe's development of the chronicle play into historical tragedy. The Machiavellian villain Barabbas resembles Kyd's villain *Lorenzo*; and the depiction of the inner struggle of the protagonist is found in both the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Faustus*. But the manifestations of these influences will be found unmistakable and widely diffused. Stylistic influences on the drama of the period, it may be added, are naturally complex and should be sought in part outside of the drama and in the works of Greene and Peele as well as those of Kyd and Marlowe. The contribution of Peele to the development of the drama still awaits thoro critical analysis, but he seems to have been influential chiefly as a stylist, and in this respect perhaps second only to Marlowe. His style, best exemplified in *David and Bethsabe*, exhibits most of the absurdities of the artificial verbalism of the day, but is distinctive in its figures, melody, and excess of fancy.

The experiments and innovations of the period naturally produced abundant imitations. With little notion of plagiarizing, dramatists borrowed from one another plot, situation, character, stage effect, quibble, or phrase. The success of *Tamburlaine* and the *Spanish Tragedy* at the beginning of the period led to a host of imitations and rivals. Asiatic conquerors and revengeful ghosts fairly monopolized the tragic stage. There is scarcely a play that does not show manifest resemblances to Marlowe or Kyd or to both. In *Alphonsus of Arragon* Greene introduced a Marlowean protagonist into comedy. *Arden of Feversham*, perhaps the most original of the anonymous plays, a domestic tragedy written in evident reaction against the prevailing conventions in tragedy, without kings, ghosts, or illustrious actions, nevertheless imitates Kyd. The *True Tragedy of Richard III* supplies the material from the chronicles with a Marlowean protagonist and a Kydian apparatus of revenge. *Loocrine* presents a combination of the 'conquering barbarian' and the 'revenge' stories, of Senecan structure and popular farce, and of stylistic elements clearly imitative of Kyd, Marlowe, and Peele. *Selimus*, *Loocrine*, *Alcazar*, *Soliman* and *Perseda*,

*Wounds of Civil War*, and *Titus Andronicus*, differing markedly in many ways, have many minor similarities to one another and present a common resemblance in this union of Marlowean and Kydian characteristics.

In stylistic matters, the evidences of borrowing and imitation are as clear as in plot and situation. There is hardly a trick of Marlowe's versification that is not paralleled in the Marlowesque plays of his imitators. His large proportions of polysyllabic words at the end of the lines is, for example, found in their plays, and scarcely elsewhere in the drama. His favorite rhythms are frequently copied. Again, as Professor Hubbard's tables show, there is no form of repetition or parallelism in the *Spanish Tragedy* which is not duplicated in many other plays ; and only one form, that of repetition with an added epithet, which is not found in that play. This peculiar rhetorical form is found in Peele and in *Loocrine*, yet in other respects the parallelisms and repetitions of *Loocrine* are in striking contrast to those of Peele and resemble those of the *Spanish Tragedy*. Identical passages are found in *Selimus* and *Loocrine* ; and the latter play borrows lines and phrases from Spenser. As Mr. Robertson's tests indicate, the anonymous plays abound in the favorite words and phrases of the known dramatists. All the revenge plays glory in a Stygian vocabulary.

It would be difficult to find conditions in literature and the drama more favorable to this borrowing and imitation than were these half-dozen years of Marlowe's career. The dramatists were closely connected by association, friendship, or rivalry. A few men were writing for a few theaters in a small city ; and they were writing plays for the day. Whether as playwrights or as poets, they were engaged in a new adventure. Some were boldly making new pathways ; others were closely following at their heels. Tragedy was a new thing ; blank verse in the drama was new ; the opportunity for poetry and imagination on the popular stage was newly realized ; the very language that they used was in many respects new. In such a formative and experimental period there is no need to suppose much deliberate borrowing ; imitation and reminiscence were natural, inevitable, and often unconscious. Any young actor in the early nineties with poetic aspirations had doubtless read *Tamburlaine*, and seen acted the *Spanish Tragedy* and the *Jew of Malta* and any other famous plays in whose performance he had

not shared. He had jested with George Peele, or listened to that poet recite the most sugary passages from his plays. His conversation was adorned with the new words, the strange figure, the verbal affectations of the men with whom he associated or whose plays he had acted. His knowledge of ghosts, murders, villains, and atrocities was naturally confined to the scenes and situations of the plays that thrilled the theaters. His knowledge of poetry, bounded perhaps by Seneca and Ovid, received its chief inspiration from Spenser and Marlowe. If he tried to make a tragedy, it would certainly follow the Kydian and Marlowean conventions; and its verse would be a gallimaufry of the artifices, absurdities and beauties with which the verse of his contemporaries was gambolling.

Under these circumstances, what is the value of internal tests of vocabulary, meter, or rhetorical device as indications of authorship? Evidently only the most carefully considered and thoroly applied test is worthy of serious attention; and the assignment of authorship even by such a test is likely to be discounted by the alternative probability of imitation or borrowing. It may be doubted whether even the checking of results by a multiplication and extension of tests will often lead to a discovery of authorship. Yet the accumulation of the facts of stylistic peculiarities has had valuable critical results, at least in a negative way. The investigations of Professor Hubbard and Mr. Robertson both make plain the virtual impossibility of assigning any one of these early plays to a single author. The hasty attribution of a play on the basis of resemblances to the work of a known author—a kind of criticism that has been common—seems no longer likely to occur.

There remains the possibility of discovering the work of revisers and collaborators as an explanation of the diverse resemblances noted in a given play. The conditions of the theater in the period make such discoveries plausible; tho there is no reason for supposing, as some critics seem to think, that every play in the course of this half-dozen years was several times revised by several authors. But revisions and collaborations, while very easy to assume and difficult to disprove, can rarely be established with any high degree of probability. If there is definite external evidence of revision or collaboration, the task of assignment is, of course, imposed upon the critic, but it may well be a last resort when there is nothing but stylistic data for its warrant. Few of the anonymous plays

mentioned display any obvious marks of either revision or collaboration. Moreover, there are only a few known authors to whom a play can be assigned, and by still fewer of these have we enough plays to determine with any definiteness their dramatic methods and style. In the case of a given play, *Locrine* for example, there are practically only Marlowe, Peele, and Greene whose works are numerous enough to supply data for assignment, unless we add Kyd with his single play. It will not do to assign all the tragedies to this syndicate. The slightly known dramatists and the others to us unknown should have a chance. Again, even if there is evidence apart from tests of style that the play was subject to revision, the course and character of that revision must be indicated before evidence for authorship can have any finality. In this connection it is well to note Shakspeare's method of remaking a play in the one instance where we have satisfactory texts of both the old and the new. From the *Troublesome Reign* he retained the dramatis personæ and the plot, keeping the scenes, exits, and entrances with only such changes as were necessary for the condensation of the action of two plays into one ; but he rewrote the whole with scarcely a reminiscence of the old phrasing. Apparently he made out a scenario of the old play, and took pains to forget the rest of it. Doubtless this was not always his method, or the usual one with his contemporaries, but it may indicate the need of defining the nature of a revision before proceeding to explain authorship.

Finally, the assignment of a play to revisers and collaborators must face the alternative probability of borrowing or imitation. It is only a grain less absurd to find Greene or Peele in various of these anonymous plays than to find Marlowe. His characteristics can be traced everywhere, and shares in numerous plays might consequently be assigned to him—indeed this has been done in many instances. Such assignments have been generally rejected by scholars because none of the anonymous work seems worthy of him. This is not a sufficient reason since his known work is very uneven ; a better reason is that all the dramatists were imitating him. They were also, it may again be repeated, imitating Kyd or Peele or any one who achieved success.

The interest in the anonymous plays of the period is largely due to their relations to the early career of Shakspeare. Many of them



have been by one critic or another rashly ascribed to him, and the problems that they present to critics are practically the same as those offered by the three parts of *Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus*. For *Henry VI* there are definite external evidences of revision and collaboration, and Miss Lee's careful examination of the internal evidence has left little encouragement for fresh examination, tho it has perhaps contributed to the present fashion of dividing every play among the same coterie of dramatists. Yet Miss Lee's results, as Professor Churton Collins has noted in his recent edition of Greene, can hardly continue to carry conviction. In the case of *Titus Andronicus*, the external evidence for Shakspeare's authorship is stronger than that which passes unquestioned for the authorship of many of the plays of the period. The general feeling that the play is unworthy of Shakspeare is still the main reason for the opposition to the acceptance of the authority of Meres and the Folio. The question has, however, been further narrowed by Mr. Harold Fuller's investigation which makes it probable that the present text was based on two old and non-extant plays. If Shakspeare in working over these plays, took the same course as in *King John*. then the plot, situations, persons, and horrors trace back to the old plays; the verse is substantially his. But the reuniting must apparently be dated as late as 1594, and it is difficult to believe that at so late a date Shakspeare could have written with so little of his characteristic manner. This difficulty, Mr. Robertson has fully emphasized. There seems to be opportunity, therefore, for still further investigations of stylistic peculiarities. It may be hoped that they will be as definite and thoro and unbiased as those by Professor Hubbard. If, however, they are to be made with humor and violence and partisan attachment for one side or the other of the controversy, there will be an excellent exercise and discipline for some student in collecting, recording, and harmonizing the facts, and eliminating the personalities after the method so interestingly set forth in Mr. Robertson's own *Essays toward a Critical Method*.

ASHLEY H. THORNDIKE.

*Studier i 1600-Talets Svenska.* Anteckningar af Elof Hellquist. Skrifter utgifna af K. humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, VII, 6. Pp. iv, 232.

In many respects the seventeenth century forms a transition period in the development of the Swedish language, particularly on the side of grammatical forms. Earlier characteristics yield more and more to new forms so that at the close of the century the language presents a much more modern aspect. While, however, many features that are characteristic of present Swedish become fully developed during this period their beginnings may be traced much farther back, so that we cannot here any more than elsewhere draw any hard and fast line between the old and the new. The author regards 1680 an important landmark in the spoken language "for in the writers that appear at this time, who represent closely the spoken language, we observe that many new forms are found to have become fully established." However the irregularities that strike one in a superficial acquaintance with seventeenth century Swedish are often more apparent than real. Thus the gradation series of the strong verbs remain much the same throughout the whole century. The general style of a writer has an important bearing upon the question. What Hellquist calls "historical normal prose" of the middle of the century exhibits a regularity of form that is not much inferior to the language of the modern historians. Frequently normal prose shows such inflexional endings as verb-forms in *-om* and definite nouns in *-sens*. These are however actually archaistic at the time, for their use rests on a clear effort to give the style a more solemn tone. Further such antiquated endings belong sometimes to certain words, showing that here real archaisms are present, expressions inherited from a bygone form of speech; they are not living paradigmatic forms. Individual choice is also to be reckoned with. Stjernhjelm's efforts to revive older words and endings<sup>1</sup> are well-known. We also know that writers such as Columbus did not hesitate to draw freely from the lower strata of the language and from local dialects.<sup>2</sup> On the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aasen's form of the Norwegian *Landsmaal*.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly, though to a less extent, Henrik Wergeland in Norway in the thirties of the last century.

other hand Girs, for example, wrote in the most correct and uniform High Swedish. Between these two classes stand a number of dramatic writers, whose works in general picture the more dignified spoken language of the time, as Messenius, Brasch and Chronander. A grammar of seventeenth century Swedish must take account of all these factors. As an attempt in this direction the author has set apart for treatment in a separate chapter those phenomena, which belong exclusively or chiefly to the spoken language.

The present survey of the language is based upon notes gathered in the author's extensive reading in especially the dramatic literature of the seventeenth century. Mr. Hellquist has for a number of years been engaged in a study of the dramas of Messenius with a view to preparing a monograph on their language. The completion of that monograph having been interrupted the collections made for that have in part been embodied in part III of the present work, pages 99-232. Part I "Strödda språkliga anteckningar till 1600-talets kulturhistora," pp. 10-69, and part II, "Anteckningar om 1600-talets talspråk och därmed sammanhängande frågor," pp. 69-99, are presented in a more popular form, the material being of a nature here to appeal to a larger circle of readers. In the first part are discussed such subjects as formulas of greeting and address, 10-17; names of foods, drinks, festivities, etc., 17-22; gallantry, etc., 22-26; courting, 26-29; propriety, morality, 29-31; nicknames, terms of abuse (in *-hund*, *-hane*, *-bak*, *-mun*, *-are*, *-er*, &c.), 31-41; forms of oaths, etc., 41-55; fights, the various terms and expressions designating hostile encounters,<sup>1</sup> etc., 55-60 and finally miscellaneous formal phrases, turns of expression, etc., 61-69 (e. g. *alla ystas i ett kar*, all are cast in the same form; *blifva bussar*, to become fast friends; *blöta sitt skägg*, to drink; *byta ko i värre nöt*, *bära lyckan i söcken*, *dansa på rasor*, *det är ej strax guld*, *fast det glimmar*, *det är elak hund som en skall till skogen köra*, *efter löje plägar ofta komma ve*, *från fot til topp* [modn. Swed. *från topp till tå*], *få en annan nöt att bita på* [modn. Swed. *knäcka*], *få en lang näsa*, *gå April*, go a fool's errand, *lofva rundt och hålla tunnt*, *utföra hebreiska*, perform marvels).

<sup>1</sup> Very often figurative in nature, as *skära någon en röd kappa*, to give physical punishment to some one.

The following are here noted :

The usual greeting when persons meet is *häll säll*<sup>1</sup> during the first half of the century corresponding to Danish *hilsæl* of the period. Variants are *heel*, *var sund*, *var säll*. These forms are also used when persons part (p. 10). *Goddag* also occurs sometimes most often reduplicated, but never as a farewell greeting, corresponding therefore to the present usage.<sup>2</sup> *Farväl* is in common use and is not dialectal, as generally to-day. The word does not yet form a compound, the verb preserving its verbal character (as *så farer nu väll och blifver i fridh*). The French *adieu* has already become established (p. 12).

As pronoun of address *ni* is not found before 1600 ; it gains a foot-hold in the colloquial language about 1680, but nowhere occurs in normal prose during the whole of the century<sup>3</sup> (p. 14.)

In address the possessive *min* was much more common than now in the language of daily life, as *junker min*, *min Torsten*, etc. The author regards this popular use of *min* as not unlikely due to German influence (p. 14). In view of the rather extensive similar use of *my* in English (dialects and standard speech) it would seem to be perhaps also in Sweden an independent development.

A very characteristic drinking formula corresponding to modn. Swed. *skål*<sup>4</sup> is *gått åår*, through false etymology arises the form *god tåår* among the peasantry, Bellman's *gutår*.<sup>5</sup> The latest occurrence of *gått åhr* is in a soldier's ballad of the year 1705 (p. 20).

Nicknames and terms of abuse are numerous, most frequent naturally in the speeches of the persons representing the lower classes of society in the comedies but they are by no means limited to these. Especially numerous are compounds in *-hund* (as *blodhund*, *fyllehund*, *fåhund*, *lathund*, *snålhund*, etc.). Other expressions that seem to be common are : *plössmun*, *stormun*, a considerable number of nomina agentis in *-are*, as *grottspråkare* (boaster), *hutlare*, 'deceiver,' *matljugare*, *prackare*,<sup>6</sup> 'ragamuffin,' *skvallrare*,

<sup>1</sup> Which is also general Old Scandinavian.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. English good-day !

<sup>3</sup> Ljunstedt is therefore mistaken in dating it from the middle of the 16th century, *Grunddragen af modersmålets historia* (1898), p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> And general Scandinavian.

<sup>5</sup> On which see discussion by Kock in *Arkiv f. n. F.* 4, 178.

<sup>6</sup> Norwegian, dial. *prakkar*, bungler, awkward fellow.

and in the old strong masculine ending *-er*, *danker*, one who loafs, *siker*, *smeker*, *slunker*, etc., etc. (pp. 32-35). Names of animals are frequent as derogatory designations; besides the compounds in *-hund*, *-hane* and *-hök* occur *räfver*, fox, *apa*, ape, *as*, ass, *best*, beast, *bock*, buck, *märr*, mare, *padda*, *stut*, *stur*, *svin*, *ök*. *Kona* is used in pejorative signification in Brasck. The frequent occurrence of the possessive *tin* in such expressions has been discussed by Kock in *Arkiv f. n. F*, 16, 241, where Kock sets forth his theory of their origin from the accusative case. An instance in support of that theory is cited from Rondelitus: *Jagh skall pressa tin förbannadhe narr* (p. 40).<sup>1</sup>

The abbreviated verb forms *plä* (*pläga*), *ta*, *dra*, *ge* (*gijva*) *ha* (*hafva*), *ble*, *bli*, infin. and pres. *be* < *bedja*, *bin* < *binda*, *la*, *sa* (*sade*) and *ä* for *är*. Of these *ha* and *sa* occur as early as 1619. Other contractions are: *nå* < *något*, *bå* < *både*, *go* < *goda*, *sku* = *skola* (cf. *skun I*), and preterites in *-a* from *-ade* (p. 73). All these abbreviations are very general and have higher sanction than now, except perhaps the loss of intervocalic *d* which seems to belong exclusively to dialectal speech (p. 77).

The early Swedish tendency to drop one consonant in combinations of several consonants is evidenced in: *förornat* (*ord*), *fölt* (*ljt*), *first* (*skt*) and in *Franst*, *Tysst*, *Danst*, *beest*, (*beeskt*), *skart* (*skarpt*), *Ösgöthan* = *östgötarna*, etc. (p. 81).<sup>2</sup>

Inorganic *g* due to analogy appears in *stogo*, stood, pret. pl. The language of the time is characterized by certain assimilations not permissible in the best speech of to-day. Such are *ll* < *ld*, *nn* < *nd*, and *ss* < *ds*, *ts*, e. g., *ell*, *gull*, *mill*, *skull*, *will*, *blan*, *brann*, *hann* (*hand*), *lann*, *strann*, *båssman*, *masseck* (*matsäck*), *tross*, *plassen*, *Wastena* (*Vadstena*).<sup>3</sup> In later Swedish there has been a reaction against this tendency, i. e. the forms with *ld*, *nd*,

<sup>1</sup> Which might illustrate the transition from such an expression as *Jag skall basa tin tinfra* to *Jag skall basa dig, din tjuf*. The development of this use of the possessive does not yet seem entirely settled.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the same loss of consonants in Old Norse as in *sysken* < *systken* (Kahle, *Altisl. Elementarb.* § 233), or *fosyster* < *fostsyster*, *brizle* < *brigšli* (Noreen, *Altisl. Altn. Gr.* 3d ed. § 281, 10).

<sup>3</sup> This last case would, I suppose, be explainable also as simplification of consonant combinations, the more so as the first vowel was short.

etc., in higher speech are to a certain extent spelling-pronunciations due to conservative written forms.

There is evidenced in the modern Scandinavian languages a tendency to form genitives of pronominal datives, especially in the plural. Such a form is *hvems* (Norw. and Swed. literary and diall.), which goes back to the 18th century in Swedish. In the 17th century appear also the forms *doms*, *domseses*,<sup>1</sup> *hwiłkoms* and *mångoms* (p. 91).

The pronominal forms *du* and *dig* prevail over *tu* and *tin* after 1680 (p. 75).

In the colloquial language the postfixed definite article occurs extensively with family names usually designating familiarity or that the person so designated is well-known, as *Borgen* for *Borg*, *Tammen*, *Malmen*, *Wulffen*, *Holmen*. The practice is found more particularly in monosyllabic names. In compounds the suffix is found especially with names ending in *-blom*, *-böck*, *-dal*, *-fors*, *-kvist*, *-ros*, *-skog*, *-stedt*, and *-ström* rarely those in *-berg*, *-gren*, *-man* and *-el*, *-er*, *-or*, etc., for ex. This practice was more general than to-day and not as to-day limited to dialectal speech. It may be noted that this practice is characteristic of all Scandinavian dialects to-day with the same semasiological function that we observe in 17th century Swedish. The author discusses more in detail phonological questions, pp. 99-126, inflexions, pp. 126-168, syntax, pp. 169-218, word-formation, pp. 219-222, lexicography, pp. 222-232.

Altogether the work forms a most valuable contribution to this very interesting period in the history of Swedish speech.

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<sup>1</sup>These are also East Norwegian to-day; they are not found in West Norwegian. Norwegian dialects employ these forms more in the singular than Swedish.

*The Gospel of Saint Matthew in West Saxon.* By James Wilson Bright, Professor of English Philology in the Johns Hopkins University.

*The Gospel of Saint John in West Saxon.* By J. W. Bright. With a Glossary by L. M. Harris. D. C. Heath & Company, Publishers.

These two volumes of the Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, edited by Professor Bright of the Johns Hopkins University, are offered to the public among the first-fruits of the Belles Lettres series projected by the publishers, under the general direction of Professor E. M. Brown, of the University of Cincinnati. This series is designed to embrace the entire history of English literature and to include the best work of representative authors. The initial volumes before us, which belong to the earliest period, furnish additional evidence of the growing interest in the early history of our vernacular; and they will doubtless meet with a warm reception by all students of Old English. They fully sustain Professor Bright's reputation for thorough, scholarly work which he won for himself through his excellent *Anglo-Saxon Reader* and his *Gospel of Saint Luke in Anglo-Saxon*, published now more than a half score of years ago.

Of the two volumes under review the edition of John is much fuller than that of Matthew and has evidently received far more attention from the editor. Indeed, the edition of Matthew is without notes, glossary, or any other help to interpretation, containing only the bare text, with the variant readings in foot-notes. However, the edition of John supplies all the desirable features which the edition of Luke lacks. Still it can but be a matter of regret that both volumes are not equally complete and well equipped, in order to facilitate the interpretation of the text.

The edition of John leaves little to be desired by the average student of Old English, whose object is simply to have the text in a convenient form. It is provided with an introduction in which various pertinent questions are discussed, a glossary, a bibliography and an appendix. The text is based upon the original Corpus manuscript and has been collated with the several other extant manuscripts, such as the Bodleian, the Cottonian, etc. These supply the variant readings all of which are duly noted in the foot-notes. The accuracy of Skeat's edition, Professor Bright concedes,

obviated for him the necessity of copying the entire text, thus facilitating the labor of collation. We may therefore now rest assured that at last we have a trustworthy edition of the West Saxon Gospels, together with variant readings, some minor additions and corrections, all duly indicated.

In the introduction Professor Bright gives a full description of each of the extant manuscripts, discussing its date, provenance and similar points of interest. He draws attention to Bede's lost translation of the Fourth Gospel and then very properly points out the importance of the Corpus manuscript copy of the Version as the primary authority for the text, its close proximity in time and in linguistic features to the lost original. After a detailed account of the Bodleian he shows from what sources its *lacunae* were supplied and comments briefly on the fragmentary Cotton manuscript.

In the discussion of the relation of the several manuscripts to the lost original Bright accepts the view, now generally accredited, that the manuscripts transmit copies of one and the same Version and that not one of the surviving copies has been directly copied from another. This does not, of course, apply to the late copies, Royal and Hatton, which are of little or no authority in determining the correct text. As to the question of the authorship of the Version, Bright is disposed to reject the theory of dual or triple authorship advanced a decade of years ago by Drake, viz., that the Matthew is by one translator, the Mark and Luke by another, and the John by a third (if it is not by the translator of Matthew). It is, no doubt, true that the evidence adduced in support of the unity of authorship of the Mark and Luke does not carry conviction. While not claiming to solve this perplexing problem for us, Bright, however, suggests a line of investigation which may ultimately lead to the solution. He advises that in the further study of this question due regard be had to the differences in style of the Gospels in the original, and to the translator's gradual variations in manner, such as the increasing use in John, of *that* as an introductory particle for indirect discourse, and the growing tendency to inversion of words and clauses, so noticeable in the latter part of Luke and in John.

Professor Bright apparently accepts the view that the Latin original of the Version, while following, in the main, the Vulgate, yet contained fragments from various old versions that were current in Western Europe with the pure Vulgate text revised by Jerome.



It is an established fact that the current Vulgate text in the different countries of Western Europe was not kept scrupulously pure, but was contaminated by the persistent retention, in some localities, of various Old Latin readings. This explains the marked diversity in the readings of the mediæval manuscripts of the Vulgate. Besides, there were distinct national types, such as the Irish and the Roman. Both of these found their way into England, with the result that the Anglo-Saxon type became mixed, being primarily Roman with a considerable sprinkling of Irish readings. This fact seems sufficient, as Professor Bright intimates, to have given rise to the theory of divided authorship.

In the appendix Professor Bright gives a reproduction of Napier's edition of the Lakelands Fragment of the Gospel of St. John. Bright avers that his own independent examination confirms the conclusion of the Oxford scholar, that this fragment and the Cambridge University manuscript of the Version are united in being separately derived from a copy that is not directly represented by any other of the extant manuscripts.

The notes are sufficiently copious, offering explanations of all the more difficult points in the text. There are numerous cross references, and the student is frequently referred to Wordsworth and White's critical edition of the Vulgate, both for the accepted and for the variant readings of the original. The independent translations of portions of the Gospel by the prose writers of the Anglo-Saxon period have also been incorporated in the notes,—a task which has been greatly facilitated by Cook's *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*. The Rubrics call for some comment, which Professor Bright has not overlooked, and in each instance he cites the proper reference in Guéranger's *L'Année Liturgique*, for verification. The glossary, which is at once succinct and complete, is the work of Professor L. M. Harris.

We shall await with interest the publication of the second and third Gospels, which Professor Bright promises in his Prefatory Note to his Matthew. Meanwhile, we trust that the editor will appreciate the student's desire for helps and apparatus and that he will supply the Mark and Luke with such aids as will contribute to a lucid interpretation of the text, as he has done in his admirable edition of John.

EDWIN W. BOWEN.

*Deutsches Liederbuch für amerikanische Studenten.* Texte und Melodien nebst erklärenden und biographischen Anmerkungen. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Germanistischen Gesellschaft der Staats-Universität von Wisconsin. Boston, 1906. D. C. Heath & Co. Pp. 157.

This collection is the product of a happy combination of piety and independence on the part of the committee which prepared it, and it is sure to be hailed as a real boon by all friends of German song and of the German spirit. Wisely keeping in view the special needs of American students, the editors have expended an enormous amount of labor upon what might seem a comparatively simple task ; the work contains less than 100 songs. It was called forth by actual needs, and meets a real want. The labor was purely one of love, and its successful completion is a gratifying example of what can be accomplished by intelligent academic coöperation. Under the general editorship of Mr. Hohlfeld, a tentative list of songs was sent to professors of German and others interested in the subject, and this investigation served to make the collection a truly typical one, although the divergent answers were not weighed against one another by a merely mechanical process. The songs show unusual variety, including not only *Volks-* and *Studentenlieder*, but patriotic songs and even a few church hymns—as well as a considerable number of more elaborate and conscious compositions of the better sort musically. The arrangement of most of these as four-part songs makes the book more attractive, and gives better opportunity for æsthetic effect than can be obtained from the unvaried unison with which many German students content themselves. The new arrangements have been made in a thoroughly musical way by Mr. Elias F. Bredin. The settings are satisfactory, being neither unduly elaborate nor trivial ; a few songs are pitched somewhat too high. Brief notes are in no sense an intrusion, but serve in every case to shed helpful light where it is needed.

The matter of textual criticism, which forces itself upon any editor of songs, has been faced with fair adequacy. In choosing between variant readings, the adaptation of words to their melody or their general use are held to be more important, for this publica-

tion, than severe fidelity to a literary original. Perhaps it is here that the book is least satisfactory. If academic standards of scholarship mean anything, they stand for the conservation of purity as opposed to vulgarizing tendencies, which are a constant disintegrating force. We go back to the fountain head, and draw pure water. The rule of choosing between the myriads of debased readings on the subjective canon of greatest currency is bound to fail, for the tendency of such a principle is always to dispersion, and is as shifting as the sands. Admitting that the scrutiny of the text for a popular song-book is always a thankless task, it is nevertheless one which an academic body cannot waive, and one which a great American university is especially fitted to accept, first, because American scholarship has already contributed so much admirable and solid work in establishing sound texts of German authors, and secondly, because the very remoteness of the American institution from local or dialectic prejudices fits it eminently for exercising a judicial function. The editors have sought only 'trustworthy texts,' without wishing to enter the field of scientific text-criticism, but they have shown themselves better than their principles, for, in fact, they have bestowed much care on the text, and offer a number of strictly scientific notes in regard to variants. While vested rights may be conceded in the case of a song which has long been associated with the work of a great composer, we should protest heartily against the contamination of literature by unanointed tune-writers, singers, proof-readers, and type-setters. Minor musicians are far too prone to lay violent hands on such texts, apparently without any sense of the sacredness of the work of a master. *Omnibus est hoc vitium cantoribus.* We are sometimes told that this is done for reasons of phonetic euphony, but far more often it is due to an unauthorized intrusion into the field of literary criticism. The result is nearly always a reduction to tame stupidity, or a thoroughly cheap attempt at heightened rhetorical effect. Let such corruptions be never so current, they are unworthy of perpetuation. In his 'Select Hymns' John Wesley relates that he had tried for twenty years to get a small cheap collection of the tunes actually in use among Methodists, but masters of music were above following any direction but their own, 'and I was determined whoever compiled this should follow my direction, not mending our tunes, but setting them down, neither better nor worse

than they were,' and we may concede that he had a right to be judge in the matter.

Such unauthorized liberties are too frequent in the Madison book; for instance, in Luther's 'Ein' feste Burg' there is an unpleasant capricious alteration in the musical phrase 'Der alt' böse Feind,' the origin of which Heaven alone knows. It is certainly not derived from the best current collections of German chorals, nor yet from Sebastian Bach's masterly settings, nor from the normal 'heutige Choralform' given by Erk-Böhme. These all agree, and any 'amendment' against their combined authority is vicious.

The texts adopted by Felix Mendelssohn for his admirable settings were generally not quite standard, but one is less inclined to quarrel with their perpetuation, as they are wedded to the work of a master. In a few cases, however, an author has vested rights which even a great musician is bound to respect; for instance, in the final stanza of Eichendorff's 'Abschied' the reading 'in die Fremde' (for 'in der Fremde') is a *lectio facillior* of the most impertinent sort, and has not a leg to stand on. But why do the editors follow (in their second stanza of the same song) the variant 'der Menschen' (for 'des Menschen'), which is not according to Mendelssohn? A similar case occurs with Mendelssohn's composition of Feuchtersleben's 'Nach altdentscher Weise' (here given the title 'Scheiden,' which does not belong to Mendelssohn's setting). One does not seriously object to the free treatment of the text by the composer, but one does deplore the gratuitous change from the original (in the third stanza) 'Und hältst du sie recht innig wert' into the trivial 'recht lieb und wert' (!) which impugns the poetic judgment both of Feuchtersleben and Mendelssohn. In stanza 2 on page 11 the correct reading 'im Dunkel' is simpler than 'im Dunkeln' and to be preferred, as also the good original title 'Brüderschaft' for the song on page 116. The arbitrary change of the title 'Soldatenliebe' to the less significant 'Treue Liebe' (p. 120) does not commend itself. On page 123 the original 'fiel' is better than 'fällt' in the first stanza. From Eichendorff's 'Der Jäger Abschied' the third stanza has been omitted without comment.

But it would be captious to dwell on such matters of detail in view of the fact that the editors have, in the main, shown far more

sense of responsibility than the great majority of German editors of songs. The volume they have given us is not merely a most attractive and serviceable one, but, in my opinion, the best for its purpose which exists anywhere. It will prove useful in many ways (even as a reader in the class-room), and I cordially echo, in closing, the expressed wish of the editors that it may help toward the much-desired goal of the development of a body of worthy songs in American colleges. There is nothing so transcendently final in the German student-songs as to make it impossible to equal or surpass them on American soil.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

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*Methodik des neusprachlichen Unterrichts*, von Dr. Oskar Thiergen, Professor am Königlichen Kadettenkorps zu Dresden. Mit 5 Abbildungen im Texte. Verlag von B. G. Teubner. 1903.

After the extreme statements made by the conservatives and reformers, it is refreshing to read a book which deals so sanely with the matter of language instruction, and yet betrays the spirit of true progress on every page.

Although the program which it outlines for the teachers of Saxony cannot be put into practice in America for the present at least, it contains hardly a paragraph which our teachers might not read with profit. This is true also of the more general questions of discipline, home study, and the aims of language instruction in classical, scientific and technical courses.

An unbiased discussion of the merits of the grammar, natural, and reform method precede the discussion of T.'s method, which appropriates the best and soundest features of its predecessors. In accordance with the most advanced thought on this question,<sup>1</sup> T. makes the living language the basis of class work although he explicitly states that the student cannot be expected to attain abso-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Henry Sweet: *The Practical Study of Languages*. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1900. T. Dawes: *Bilingual Teaching in Belgian Schools*. Cambridge. 1902.

lute fluency in the foreign tongue. The instruction, however, is planned in such a manner that linguistic and cultural training are not neglected.

It is but natural, that in accordance with such aims, special attention should be devoted to pronunciation. T. properly demands that the teacher should have some training in Phonetics, and advises that the student be informed in regard to the rudiments of this subject sufficiently to enable him to understand important divergences in articulation. For phonetic transcriptions he substitutes simple diacritical marks, and thus avoids the confusion which invariably arises when the student is forced to learn two alphabets. Special stress is laid upon singing as a means of acquiring a good pronunciation.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of sentence stress and interpretive reading has been recognized quite generally, yet the accepted theory has not been applied. T. points out this fact and suggests chorus reading as a means of attaining the desired end. While the disadvantages of this method are admitted [p. 42], it should be remembered that the teacher who employs this method will often find himself quoting Goethe :

‘Die ich rief, die Geister,  
Werd’ ich nun nicht los.’

T. warns especially against haphazard conversational work, and insists that each exercise of this kind have a distinct grammatical basis, and that any series of such exercises should yield the student systematic training.

A careful reading of H. Paul : “Die Aufgaben der wissenschaftlichen Lexicographie,”<sup>2</sup> would have resulted in a more comprehensive treatment of the question of word study. In this connection the author might also have profited greatly by considering a number of the excellent suggestions made by R. Hildebrand.<sup>3</sup> T. limits himself to a presentation of derivatives. This is done with much

<sup>1</sup> Tengers’ *Taschen-Album*, 1, (Köln—Mark 1) contains 100 German songs, admirably adapted to the needs of the class-room.

<sup>2</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der kon. bair. Akademie der W. zu München*, 1894.

<sup>3</sup> R. Hildebrand. “Vom deutschen Sprachunterricht u. s. w.” 7te Auflage. Leipzig : Julius Klinkhardt. 1901.

greater pedagogical tact than is generally shown by authors of text books. Word groups are presented which can be studied without the introduction of technical difficulties. Obscure cognates can only be studied profitably after abundant preliminary work of this kind.

In regard to the memorizing of poems T. differs radically with the conclusions reached by the Committee of Twelve, and suggests that this work should not be limited to the lower grades, but that more and more of the artistic element enter into the reciting of memorized poems, as the student advances.

Strictly inductive instruction in grammar is condemned as unscientific and fragmentary, a conclusion which is hardly open to discussion any longer.

The care with which reading matter is selected, deserves attention. Our extreme individualism, aided by the zeal of the publishers, has lead to a deplorable condition in this respect. T. carefully considers the difficulty of the text, its literary merit and its importance in the development of the literature of which it is a part. Contrary to the demand that foreign texts should be analogous to the native literature of the student,<sup>1</sup> T. properly insists that every text should reveal the foreign life and thought.

The original composition is recommended as one of the best means of training, but the teacher is warned against having this work undertaken by students who have not had abundant practice in idiomatic German and could only construct a patchwork of awkward translations.

The report of Dr. Cossack on the merits of T.'s school book hardly deserves a place in this volume, since it repeats largely what has already been said and is, in the very nature of the case, somewhat biased.

Some details call for brief attention. [p. 38, B 2] Eng. *g*, *j*, and *ch* are hardly to be defined as 'reibelaute.' [p. 35] Insufficient attention is given to the real function of the velum in defining French nasals. [p. 37] Eng. *th* is defined, 'ein durch die Zunge gebrochener oder gehemmter *s* Laut.' [p. 172] Cossack correctly objects to T.'s statement that this sound is interdental, but does not object to the comparison of *s* and *th*. Both men give the common

<sup>1</sup> John F. Coar: Study of Modern Languages and Literatures, *Educational Review*, vol. 25, p. 39.

German mispronunciation of *th*, by giving it the coronal articulation of *s*, instead of lowering the tip of the tongue slightly.

[p. 39] Reduced or so-called silent Eng. *r* is defined as similar to Ger. *ö*. The introduction of this *r* into the class-room is somewhat doubtful. The *r* in question is glottal, defined by Sievers, [*Phonetik* 309] and observed by him only in the London dialect. It is not confined to this region but is quite common in the New England states.

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Björnsterne Björnson's *Synnöve Solbakken*, edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by George T. Flom, Ph. D. John Anderson Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill. Pp. xxxii, 206.

When we note the rather singular circumstance that this book is the first annotated edition of a Norwegian author published for school use in this country we scarcely need to add, that it meets an actual want that is very keenly felt. During the last decade or two the Scandinavian languages and literatures have not only attracted general attention, but have won the deep and genuine interest of a large portion of the American public. Both in literary circles and in higher institutions of learning the study of this hitherto new field is rapidly growing both in extent and thoroughness, stimulated by the recognition of the great importance of these languages in philological research, the real greatness of the Scandinavian poets, and their influence on all contemporary European literature. But the lack of the necessary helps has hitherto placed hindrances in the student's path. Though suitable grammars have appeared, annotated texts have been wanting, and the work in these languages has been very much handicapped. Dr. Flom has, therefore, done all students of Scandinavian a valuable service through his edition of Björnson's great masterpiece. The selection of *Synnöve Solbakken* for a first edition of this kind must be considered a most happy one. Whatever may come and go in literature, this story will always remain the great prose idyl of Norwegian peasant life marking the beginning of a new epoch in Norwegian literature.



No one production gives a better picture of the life and character of the Norwegian people, or affords a better opportunity to become acquainted with the most typical and idiomatic form of the Norwegian language as it is used by a cultured and not too pretentious middle class.

The editor has done his work with scholarly thoroughness and the book is in all respects everything that could be desired. In the introduction he gives a very well written biography of Björnson during the earlier periods of his career. He traces very vividly the poet's own development as an author and gives a thorough and lucid exposition of the great influence which Björnson exerted on all literary activity in Norway at that time. The vocabulary is very complete, containing the words in the text with the meaning in which they are there used.<sup>1</sup> The copious and scholarly explanatory notes, which deal more especially with the linguistic difficulties of the text, constitute a feature worthy of special commendation. These notes are written not simply with a view to help the student over difficult passages, but to give him a clear insight into the syntactic peculiarities of the Norwegian language through careful comparisons with English, German and French.

The halftone cuts of the poet himself as well as those of Aulestad, his present home, his birthplace Björgan, and the Næssel parsonage in Romsdal, will be of interest and real value to the reader. They illustrate and enforce in a marked way the life sketch of Björnson given in the introduction and will do much to aid the reader in becoming better acquainted with the poet's life and personality. It is to be hoped that more editions of a similar kind

<sup>1</sup>The following missprints in the text and omissions from the vocabulary have been noted: Page 10, line 20, *ved Bækken* should be *paa Bænken*; page 15, line 21, should be comma in place of period after *Gulddronning*; page 36, line 7, *her* should be *har*; page 77, line 4, note index 2 after *samme* should be omitted; page 94, line 3, *sagde* should be *sagte*; page 111, line 22, *the* should be *thi*; page 117, line 19, *over* should be omitted; page 187 *Prækenstol* should be *Prækestol*.

The following words are to be added to the vocabulary; *Forhove, ordknap, Spark, pille, puple, skvatre, Myg, skjörte op, Niste, Prestelære, uforvarende and stange*. There is an oversight on page 181 in that the definition of *knægaa* has been omitted. These things are of course a minor matter but should be rectified in a second edition.

will soon follow, so that the students of Scandinavian may be enabled to pursue their study with all the profit that the best facilities can bring.

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GALLÉE, J. H., *Vorstudien zu einem Altniederdeutschen Wörterbuche* (Für meine Freunde gedruckt). Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1903. 8vo., xxiv and 645 pp.

This comprehensive work with its modest title of 'Preliminary Studies towards an Old Low German Dictionary' may briefly be styled a vocabulary to the minor or scattered sources of the Old Low German language. In excluding not only the Heliand and the poetical works in Old Low German generally, but also the so-called Low Franconian Psalms and J. Lipsius' 'Glosses' selected from these psalms, the author has been able to concentrate his attention mainly on such texts and glosses as were previously published by Prof. Gallée himself in his 'Altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler' (Leiden, 1894) and later on by E. Wadstein in his book entitled 'Kleinere altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler' (Norden and Leipzig, 1899). At the same time the present volume incorporates a great deal of material not found either in Gallée's or in Wadstein's 'Sprachdenkmäler.' A glance at the list (p. xvii seq.) of the glossaries—partly or wholly Low German—contained in the four volumes of the 'Althochdeutsche Glossen' and perused by Prof. Gallée, suffices to show that Steinmeyer-Sievers' fundamental work has contributed to the present dictionary a much larger share of glosses than to the former collections of Low German texts. Additional material has also been derived from various other—printed and manuscript—sources. Altogether Prof. Gallée's work is within its scope (*i. e.*, excluding the Heliand, the Genesis, etc.) the most complete Old Saxon dictionary, and for this achievement the author is entitled to our acknowledgment the more so, as the material is so widely scattered that absolute completeness would seem almost a thing impossible.

The value of Prof. Gallée's work is enhanced by the fact that he

has not been satisfied with simply registering the Old Low German vocabulary and indicating the source from which each word is derived, but has added their etymological equivalents in Old Dutch and Middle Low German and given their meanings in Modern German and English. The advantage which in this respect Prof. Gallée's vocabulary has over its predecessors, should not be undervalued. Etymology in many cases is our only means for deciding whether a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* may be considered a genuine Old Saxon word. Moreover, the establishment of an etymological connection between Old Saxon and the later phases of Low German is likely to throw as much light on Middle and Modern Low German as on Old Saxon.

We should not have minded, if in his etymological references he had drawn more extensively on the Germanic languages outside of Low German. The peculiar spelling with *a* of words like *gást*, *hálag* (in *halogan gast* in the Old Sax. Confession), *brád*, *káp* (Freckenhorst Tax Register) instead of regular O. S. *gêst*, *hêlag*, *brôd*, *kóp* might have been illustrated by quoting Ags. *gást*, *hálīg* and O. Frisian *brád káp*. The word *kam-mindil* 'horse's bit' is apparently not found in Middle Low German; its second part however, finds a parallel in O. H. G. *mindil*, Ags. *míþl*, *mídl*, O. N. *mêl* (for *\*minþl*). Etymological references from other Germanic languages would be especially useful in the case of glosses which cannot with certainty be claimed as Low German.

A laborious work like the present one is not accomplished within a few months, and we are not surprised to read in the preface of Gallée's 'Altsächs. Sprachdenkmäler' that he conceived the plan of an Old Saxon Dictionary previous to the year 1878 and that his collection of the minor Old Saxon 'Sprachdenkmäler' was only a means toward this end. The first part of the present work appears to have been partly printed before 1898, judging from the fact that the 4th Vol. of the *Ahd. Glossen* (published in 1898) is not quoted on the first 200 pages and that variant readings found in Wadstein's collection (which appeared in 1899) are referred to in an Appendix. These circumstances probably are responsible for a certain incongruency in the make up of the 'Vorstudien.' Prof. Gallée states in the preface that, when he began his work, his intention was to divide the material into two parts; first: a Low German vocabulary proper, which was to contain—in addition to words undoubtedly

Low German—also glosses apparently High German which, however, in Gallée's opinion, must be considered as mere transliterations of Low German words ; secondly : a supplement, consisting chiefly of glosses, apparently Low German, yet in the author's opinion, rather to be regarded as Low German transliterations of High German words. When printing the Supplement, he naturally could not resist the temptation of adding genuine Low German words which had been overlooked formerly or had come to light after the completion of the first part. After the Supplement had been printed an Appendix ('Nachtrag') seemed necessary in order to refer to variant readings in Wadstein's 'Kl. Altsächs. Sprachd.' and again it seemed worth while to include additions to both of the former portions of the volume. After this it was found necessary to add as a fourth part of the work an alphabetical index to the three former parts. This index at present is an indispensable part of the volume, not only as a help toward using the three former parts but also because it indicates briefly which words of the present collection occur also in the Heliand, the Genesis, and the Old Low German translation of the Psalms. Yet it is necessary now to consult for each given word the 'Vorstudien' at least twice : first in the Index and afterwards in one or two or three of the three preceding parts. In our opinion, it would have been much preferable to arrange the whole material in one alphabet, so as to dispense with an alphabetical index to a dictionary arranged by the alphabet. The words which now constitute (or rather : were to constitute) the 'Supplement' might have been distinguished from genuine Low German words by giving the catchword in brackets.

There is another side of the 'Vorstudien' which calls for our criticism. The English and German translations given after the catchword would seem to need a thorough revision, since often dialectical or misspelled forms or unusual words are given instead of the regular translation. Within the letter *F*, e. g., I would suggest the following corrections

*facla* 'Tortse,' should be 'Fackel.'

*fału-far* 'fahlfärbig,' read 'fahlfarben.'

*faneri* 'Fahnträger,' should be 'Fahnenträger' (as is correctly printed on p. 86 s. v. *furi-fenari*).

*far-ferian* 'misbrauchen,' to be spelled 'missbrauchen.'

*far-sókian* 'to try,' read 'to ask, inquire.'

*far-stud* 'Balke,' more usually 'Balken.'

*far-suuerian* 'verschwören,' read 'falsch schwören, eidbrüchig werden.'

*faðom* 'Mass von sechs Fuss,' read 'Faden' (als Tiefen- oder Raummass).

*feh(u-h)ūs* 'Viehof,' spell 'Viehhof.'

*fīrst* 'roof-timber, top,' read 'ridge, pole.'

*fīrst-scindela* 'rooftimber,' read 'shingle.'

*fizza* 'Fitze; fold,' read 'Docke; skein.'

*flēsc-scranna* 'stramble,' read 'shramble.'

*fóra* 'Traggerüst,' read 'Trage, Sänfte.'

*fora-sprekan* 'vorkommen im Sprechen,' read 'im Sprechen zuvorkommen.'

*for-méda* 'eigentlich die Voraussage, welche,' etc., read 'eigentlich das Handgeld, welches,' etc.

*fóstitir-móðar* 'Ernährerin,' read 'Amme.'

*fót-stric* 'Sprenkel,' read 'Fessel.'

*fraðil-líco* 'obstinat,' read 'trotzig, übermütig.'

*fráno, vráno* 'des Herren; belonging to the master,' read 'herrschaftlich; lordly, manorial.'

*fugilári* 'Vögler,' read 'Vogler, Vogelsteller.'

A careful revision would also seem desirable in regard to other details. Many misprints found in the first part have been corrected in the Supplement and others in the Index. Yet there remain not a few which have escaped the author's attention. I will not detain the reader and myself by making out a list of all of those which I have noticed, but shall be glad to assist the author—if he wishes to avail himself of my aid—in removing them in a new edition of the present work or in the complete Low German Dictionary which he has promised. Let it be said, however, that most of these inaccuracies are such as the reader will be able to correct for himself, since most of them occur not in the Old Low German text, but in the author's translations and explanations.

As regards the catchword found at the beginning of each entry, there naturally remains some doubt in many cases as to the genuine form (the correct spelling, as it were) of the Old Saxon words; and

Prof. Gallée has in many instances corrected in his Supplement and his Appendix the forms given in the main body of his work. There is room perhaps for further improvements, *e. g.*, in the following cases.

The regular Old Saxon equivalent of the Old High German prefix *ur-*, *ar-*, *ir-* is *á*, *e. g.*, *á-bolganhêd*, *á-látan*, *á-lôsian*, *á-slahan*, *á-witzon*. To be sure, this is generally regarded (*e. g.*, by the editors of the Heliand) as a short *a* and is therefore marked as a short vowel by Prof. Gallée. Yet there is little doubt that the vowel was long, and this for two reasons. First: The Old Saxon prefix *á-* is identical with O. H. G. *á-* in words like *á-bulgi* 'Zorn,' *á-wiggi* 'weglos,' *á-mah̄tig* 'ohnmächtig' (Notk.), *dero áwúizzóntôn* 'inclusarum mentium' (Notk.),<sup>1</sup> and with the Anglo-Saxon prefix *á-*,<sup>2</sup> *e. g.*, *á-byliġd* 'indignatio,' *á-lætan* 'condonare,' *á-lêsan* 'liberare.' Secondly: the prefix in question is found with a long vowel in Modern Low German dialects in compounds like *â-mah̄t* 'Ohnmacht,' *â-lêwêh* (Wald.-Westf.) 'schmachtend, hungrig,' *âwêisich* (Wald.-Westf.) = Middle Low German *âwisich* 'unsinnig, tōricht.' Special stress is to be laid on the *â* of the Waldeck and Westfalian dialects, because this vowel is regularly the equivalent of an Old Saxon long vowel.<sup>3</sup>

On p. 52 one and the same gloss (St. Petri ms. 75<sup>b2</sup> = *Ahd. Gl.* I, 540, 31) has been interpreted in two different ways, so as to furnish two different Old Saxon words, viz. 1) *egil* st. m., nom. pl. *egela* sanguisugae 2) *egula* st. ? f., nom. sg. *egela* sanguisuga. The fact is that the gloss reads 'sanguissuga *egela*,' while the Vulgate has sanguisugae instead of sanguissuga. The word *egela* of course cannot be at the same time nominative singular and nominative plural, and Prof. Gallée ought to have decided in favor of one of the two interpretations.

Under the letter *g* we find the words *geda* 'Jätmesser; a weeding knife'; *gedan* 'jäten; to weed'; *ged-isan* 'Jäteisen; hoe'; *geder* 'Euter; udder'; *gehan*, *iehan* 'gestehen; to confess'; *gêr* 'Jahr; year.' Cross references are given under *j* for *geda*, *gedan*, *gêr* (not for *geder*, *gehan*). In our opinion it would have been better to

<sup>1</sup> Many other examples in Grimm's 'Dt. Gramm.' II, p. 704, seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. as regards the quantity, Sievers' Angelsächs. Gramm.<sup>3</sup>, § 121.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. my Introduction to Bauer's Dictionary of the Waldeck Dialect, p. 50.

arrange all of these words alphabetically under *j* and to give cross references under the letter *g*. We find these words spelled with *j* in Middle Low German and pronounced with *j* in Modern Low German (e. g. *jidder* 'Euter,' *jār* 'Jahr'). The *j*, furthermore, must be ascribed, on the testimony of the various Germanic languages, to Primitive Teutonic. The spelling with *g* may be regarded as properly Frisian, due to the fact that in Frisian Germanic *g* before *i* and *e* had assumed the sound of *j* (e. g., Fris. *geva* and *ieva* 'to give'; with the same spelling as *ger* or *ier* 'year' and *gef* or *ief* 'if' = Goth. *jabai*). The Old Saxon word for 'milk' should have been given as *miluk*, not as *milk*. The vowel *u*, as found in the gloss quoted by Prof. Gallée: *mér milákas* 'plus lactis,' agrees with that of Goth. *miluks*, O. H. G. *miluh*, O. Fris. *melok*, Ags. *meoluc*, and is therefore, undoubtedly, not of Old Saxon, but of Teutonic origin. Moreover, the corresponding words of the modern Low German dialects point to a form with intermediate vowel. Waldeckian *milk*, e. g., contains a vowel which is only found in former open syllables, and consequently points to earlier *\*mílek* (see Bauer's *Wald. Wtb.*, Einleitung, p. 45\*). Nor can Northern Low German *melk* be explained from an O. Sax. form *milk* (which would have remained *milk*); it reflects O. Sax. *miluk* through the intermediate forms *\*míl<sup>h</sup>k*, *\*mél<sup>h</sup>k*. In Middle Low German *melk* the vowel *e* may have been pronounced long, just as in *belt*, *belde* 'Bild' (Wald. *bílt*) = O. Sax. *biliði*, ags. *bileðe* or in M. L. G. *Wendisch* 'Slavic,' as compared with M. L. G. *de Wenede* (pl., see Schiller-Lübben s. v. *Went*) = O. H. G. *Winida*.

The fact that the 'Vorstudien' are open to criticism in these and similar details, cannot detract from the value of the book as a whole. Prof. Gallée has done his full share in attempting to remove the many difficulties with which his path was beset, and he is entitled, on the part of every student of Old Low German, to sincere thanks for what he has accomplished.

HERMANN COLLITZ.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

*A Bibliography of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* By John Louis Haney, Ph. D., Instructor in English and History, Central High School, Philadelphia, Honorary Fellow in English, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Printed for private circulation, 1903. Pp. xiv, 144.

We are safe in calling Dr. Haney's *Bibliography* the most important work on Coleridge that has appeared since the publication of the *Letters* in 1895. It takes its place immediately among a scant half dozen books that are simply indispensable to the student of Coleridge, while it differs from the rest of this critical apparatus in a noteworthy particular. Whereas the *Letters*, for example, underwent purposed editorial curtailment, and the *Poetical Works*, 1893, were rigorously denied all adventitious aid to literary appreciation, the present *Bibliography* cannot be convicted of any conscious sin of omission in its aim to be serviceable according to its kind. If it is rich in the mere number of its entries, it is almost unique in the comprehensiveness of its divisions.

The *Bibliography* offers no less than 1272 separate titles of books and periodicals more or less intimately connected with Coleridge; not to speak of lists of subordinate references, to book reviews and similar literature, which I have made no attempt to count. Opening casually to page 30, I notice that sixteen review articles are cited under the *Anima Poetae*,—a rough illustration of the extent of Dr. Haney's researches. The thousand and more main titles are distributed under twelve headings, of which I shall speak in their order, mentioning first, however, an interesting Preface and a Chronology, and noting afterward two divisions at the end, one the Portraits of Coleridge, the other a Table of Editions. Schematically, Dr. Haney's work consists of a Preface and fifteen divisions.

The Preface contains an attractive historical sketch of Coleridgean bibliography with its ideals and needs, laying emphasis upon the necessity of earnest collaboration in its making. Despite the considerable array of booklovers at home and abroad who have been of service to Dr. Haney, his bold and singularly successful effort to produce his work at a distance from the English libraries has not been seconded according to its deserts. Bibliography is eminently a communal want and product among scholars. Let us hope that



Dr. Haney's limited edition will be followed by a more numerous one which will have reaped the benefit of help and useful criticism from every quarter, above all from professed bibliographers. To their ranks the present writer makes no pretence of entrance ; he gives from his inexperience such suggestions and additions as he can.

### I. CHRONOLOGY.

Dr. Haney's 28 dates, ending with the death of Coleridge, look somewhat meager in comparison with the fulness of other divisions, and they seem too largely biographical. His death is not a final point in Coleridge's bibliography. Would not the compiler better satisfy the demands of such a work, if, without stopping at 1834, he were to insert more dates of publication, even at the risk of repetition in the Table of Editions? Likewise, although dates of composition are not strictly bibliographical, they also might profitably be multiplied here ; the reasoning, however, that led Dr. Haney to omit from his book a catalogue of extant Coleridge MSS. would exclude such dates entirely.

### II. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Fifteen works are noted under this head dealing wholly or in part with the bibliography of Coleridge. They are of interest to the bibliophile rather than the general student, since Dr. Haney's volume more than performs their united function as a guide to Coleridge literature. The propriety may be doubted of entering 'No. 12. . . . A type-written reference-list' belonging to Pratt Institute, Brooklyn.

### III. EDITIONS.

Divisions III, IV, V and VI are a bibliography of Coleridge in a narrower sense : they catalogue Coleridge's own literary product in its various printed forms. The four sections, each with its material ordered chronologically, contain, in all, 392 entries. Of these the first 191 are classed as 'Editions' ; that is, entire works in book form. The titles are accompanied by references to review literature, and in many instances by judicious descriptions from the bibliographer. Without extended means of comparison, I can state only my

belief that Dr. Haney's list of editions is most full and, like his work in other sections, remarkably free from error. The following unimportant additions may be noted :

P. 29, No. 155.

See *Athenæum*, 1902, I, p. 563 (Thomas Hutchinson).

1895.

*The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. [Eclectic English Classics]  
12 mo., pp. 41. New York (American Book Company),  
[1895].

P. 26, No. 134.

See *Academy*, 1879, I, p. 523 (Edward Dowden).—We may notice a slight want of uniformity in Dr. Haney's citation of periodicals. Compare the reference under this number to '*The Athenæum*,' etc., with the simpler '*Athenæum*,' under 138 and 143, on p. 27.

1900.

*The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. Edited by A. J. George.  
12 mo., pp. 96. Boston (Heath), 1900.

I have taken this title from the publishers' announcement. The editorial matter is identical with portions of George's *Select Poems of Coleridge* (No. 119).

P. 34, No. 191.

See *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 5, 194-197 (L. Cooper).<sup>1</sup>  
See also *Nation*, 76, p. 171.\*

The American Book Company announces a school edition of *The Ancient Mariner*, by Professor G. E. Woodberry.

#### IV. WORKS INCLUDING CONTRIBUTIONS BY COLERIDGE.

Dr. Haney has attempted the difficult task of locating portions of Coleridge's text not merely in such obvious places as the *Lyrical Ballads* and the *Annual Anthology*, but in out of the way corners like De Bernard's *Famous Weird Tales*. Just how many lines, say from a poem by Coleridge, begin to constitute a 'contribution' to another man's book must have been a puzzling question to the compiler. His success in indicating passages of sufficient magnitude, both poetry and prose, is considerable ; yet I feel certain that his

<sup>1</sup> Books and articles that have appeared since Dr. Haney's work are marked with the asterisk.

list of 53 works containing voluntary or involuntary loans might be swelled decidedly. The absence of entries between 1858 and 1881 is little short of remarkable. One or two insertions to help fill this gap are included in the following additions to the section as a whole :

P. 35, No. 2.

See *Academy*, 1879, I, 523 (Edward Dowden).

1805.

*A Selection of Poems, designed chiefly for Schools and Young Persons.*

By Joseph Cottle. [Printed by] (Johnson of St. Paul's Churchyard) 1805.

Contains *The Epitaph of an Infant* ; *Domestic Peace* ; *To the River Otter* ; *To Poverty*. See *Athenæum*, 1903, II, p. 453 (R. A. Potts).\*

1855.

*The Poetical Works of William Lisle Bowles.* With Memoir, [etc.]

By Rev. George Gilfillan. Edinburgh (Nichol), 1855.

The Memoir, in Vol. 2, contains *Samuel Taylor Coleridge to William Lisle Bowles*.

P. 41, No. 37.

Instead of 'a passage from *Christabel*,' read, *Christabel*, lines 408-426.

1861.

*A Book for a Corner.* By Leigh Hunt. New York (Derby), 1861.

*Delights of Books of Travel* contains, pp. 166-168, *Kubla Khan*, with two faulty readings.

*Selections from the English Poets.* By Leigh Hunt. New York (Derby), 1861.

Vol. 2 contains *Love* ; *Kubla Khan* ; *Youth and Age* ; *The Piccolomini*, Act 2, Sc. 4, ll. 118-138 ; *Work without Hope*.

1886.

*The Chanticleer.* Lent Term, 1886.

Contains extracts from 'A Latin essay on *Posthumous Fame*, described as a declamation and stated to have been composed by S. T. Coleridge, March, 1792, . . . preserved at Jesus College, Cambridge.' *The Chanticleer* is the college magazine. See *Letters*, I, 29, and *Bibliography*, p. 3, under No. 15 (a).

1891.

*The Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics.* Selected . . . by F.

T. Palgrave. London (Macmillan) [First Edition, 1861], 1891.

The second edition, 1891, etc., contains *Love*; *Kubla Khan*; *Youth and Age*.

1893.

*Leigh Hunt's 'What is Poetry?'* Edited . . . by Albert S. Cook. Boston (Ginn), 1893.

The editorial matter contains excerpts from *Biographia Literaria*.

1897.

*Library of the World's Best Literature.* Edited by Charles Dudley Warner, [etc.] New York, [1897].

<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> Vol. VII, pp. (3853-3870) contains *Kubla Khan*; *The Ancient Mariner*, ll. 45-142; *Time, Real and Imaginary*; *Dejection*; *The Good, Great Man*; *To a Gentleman*; *Ode to The Duchess of Devonshire*; *The Pains of Sleep*; *Song by Glycine*; *Youth and Age*; *Phantom or Fact*. Compare *Bibliography*, p. 85, No. 270.

1901.

*The Oxford Book of English Verse.* Chosen and Edited by A. T. Quiller-Couch. Oxford (The Clarendon Press), 1901.

Contains *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*; *Kubla Khan*; *Love*; *Youth and Age*; *Time, Real and Imaginary*; *Work without Hope*; *Glycine's Song*.

1903.

*Loci Critici.* Passages Illustrative of Critical Theory and Practice.

By George Saintsbury. Boston (Ginn), 1903.\*

Contains Chapters XIV-XXII from *Biographia Literaria*.

## V. CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS.

Of the 110 entries under this head only the last 8 are of post-humous 'contributions.' The rest constitute a most valuable catalogue of Coleridge's identified articles and poems in the periodicals of his time. I regret that space forbids a detailed description and more specific praise of this part of Dr. Haney's work.

Regarding Coleridge's unsigned and otherwise unidentified 'early hack-work,' not everyone will entertain the views expressed in the Preface either about its relatively mediocre interest or about the futility of trying to distinguish it by internal evidence. However, stylistic determination of authorship is a discipline of too special a sort to be required of the bibliographer; we may merely lament

Dr. Haney's unwillingness to embark upon a work of supererogation. Possibly before another issue of his *Bibliography* some enthusiast will have disengaged, from the rubbish that surrounds them, parts at least of 'those labors' in which Coleridge, as he says, 'employed the prime and manhood of [his] intellect.' (*Biographia Literaria*, 307.)

On the other hand, scientific completeness would call for the admission to this section of a number of titles that are now to be found only in division IX; titles of critical articles, such as many of those by Dykes Campbell in the *Athenæum*, containing longer or shorter excerpts, variants, previously unpublished poems, and the like, from Coleridge. Cross-references at least should be given to the articles in question, and in that case a fuller description of their contents might seem advisable in section IX.

Aside from this I have noted one probable addendum to division V:

1903.

*The Athenæum.* 1903, II, 453.—*An Unrhymed Sonnet.*—By S. T. Coleridge? R. A. Potts.\*

The Sonnet is entitled *To Poverty*.

## VI. LETTERS.

This section consists of 38 titles of works and periodicals containing letters by Coleridge, a collection that will prove valuable to the future editor who may decide to publish Coleridge's correspondence in reasonable completeness.

P. 52. Transfer hither Nos. 120, *seq.*, p. 95.

P. 54, No. 24, add:

See *Athenæum*, 1888, II (871-872).

## VII. BIOGRAPHY.

With the seventh division we pass from a bibliography of Coleridge's own writings to the large realm of what has been published about him by others, commencing with accounts of his life. Dr. Haney has 17 entries in this section, catalogued in the order of their publication, and accompanied by brief critical notes as well as abundant citations of reviews.

There is necessarily a certain amount of overlapping between different sections of the *Bibliography*; nowhere more than in section VII and the two succeeding divisions of Critical References. The latter contain not a little material of a biographical nature,—(e. g., p. 65, No. 47, p. 76, No. 174, p. 85, No. 273); conversely, the entries under Biography, for example No. 12,—Brandl's well-known work,—must be consulted for general literary criticism of Coleridge.

### VIII. WORKS REFERRING TO COLERIDGE.

Up to this point Dr. Haney's *Bibliography* is so much more complete than any previous attempt that there is no call for comparison. From here on it progresses through hitherto unbroken ground. The eighth and ninth sections, of critical references in works and in periodicals, are in themselves a new and extensive enterprise. Scarcely a writer of standing in England or America during the last seventy-five years but has published his opinion of Coleridge in briefer or more extended form. The number of such references, if we were to include the briefest, might be almost beyond counting. Yet the main difficulty does not lie in tracing all these scattered allusions or even in setting an inferior limit of inclusion; below a certain magnitude it lies in the determination of the importance of any given reference. For example, one may readily assume that Kipling's novel utterance on *Kubla Khan*, incidental though it be, has a greater right of entrance among the Critical References than has anything that Elbert Hubbard may have said about Coleridge in *Little Journeys to the Homes of English Authors*, (*Bibliography*, p. 71),—except for purposes of censure. Accordingly I give Kipling's reference, with one or two others of like brevity and perhaps equal interest, among the additions to divisions VIII and IX.

The titles alone make interesting reading in the long list of 282 works where Dr. Haney has found fairly extended comments on his author, suggesting as they do in a specific way the widespread influence exercised by Coleridge upon his own and later generations. With such patent evidences before me of industry on the compiler's part, I hesitate to throw into undue prominence his omission of the works of Frere, Newman and Poe. In all, I have the following additions for section VIII :

Anton, Peter. *England's Essayists. Addison, Bacon, De Quincey, Lamb.* Edinburgh (Macniven), 1883.

Pp. (190, 198, 216, 227, 231, 234, 238, 251).

Bowring, Sir John. *Autobiographical Recollections.* London, 1877.

Butcher, S. H. *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art.* London (Macmillan), 1898.

Cabot, J. E. *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* Boston, 1893.

Cook, Albert S. *Leigh Hunt. An Answer to the Question 'What is Poetry?'* Boston (Ginn), 1893.

Dowden, Edward. *The French Revolution and English Literature.* New York, 1897.

For Coleridge see especially chapters iv and v.

Frere, John Hookham. *Works.* London (Pickering), 1872.

Vol. 1 (*Memoir* by Sir Bartle Frere) pp. (49, 172, 244, 249, 253, 269, 296).  
See also below under division XII, Poetical Tributes.

Goethe, Marie. *William Wordsworth, seine Leben, seine Werke, seine Zeitgenossen.* Halle (Niemeyer), 1893.

Gordon, Mrs. Mary. *Christopher North.* New York (Widdleton), 1863.

Gummere, F. B. *The Beginnings of Poetry.* New York (Macmillan), 1901.

Hannay, David. *Life of Smollett.* London, 1887.  
P. 99.

Hudson, H. N. *Studies in Wordsworth.* Boston, 1884.

Hunt, James Henry Leigh. *A Book for a Corner.* New York (Derby), 1861.  
Pp. (164, etc.)

Hunt, James Henry Leigh. *Selections from the English Poets.* New York (Derby), 1861.  
Vol. II, pp. (202-213).

Hunt, T. W. *English Prose and Prose Writers.* New York (Armstrong), 1887.

Hutchinson, Thomas. *Poems in Two Volumes by William Wordsworth.* Reprinted from the original edition of 1807. London (Nutt), 1897.

Hutchinson's Preface contains valuable remarks on Coleridge.

Ingpen, Roger. *Autobiography of Leigh Hunt*. New York (Dutton), 1903.\*

Catalogue also under *Hunt*.

Japp, A. H. *Thomas DeQuincey. His Life and Writings*. London (Hogg), 1890.

Kewitsch, —. *Essay on the Lake School. Program der Real-Schule . . . und der Provinzial-Gewerbeschule zu Trier*. 1861.

Landor, W. S. *Imaginary Conversations*. London, 1883.

For Coleridge see *Southey and Porson* in Vol. III, pp. (28, 29).

Lowell, J. R.

See below under *Norton* and *Scudder*.

Mill, John Stuart. *Autobiography*. New York (Holt), 1874.

Pp. (140, 152-155, 161, 163).

Minto, William. *A Manual of English Prose Literature*. Edinburgh (Blackwood), 1886.

Mitford, Mary Russell. *Recollections of a Literary Life*. London (Bentley), 1883.

P. (358).

Morley, John. *Life of William Ewart Gladstone*. London (Macmillan), 1903.\*

The references to Coleridge and his friends are of the utmost interest.

Nichols, W. L. *The Quantocks and their Associations*. London, (?) 1891.

Called a 'second edition, revised and enlarged.' A reprint of a privately circulated pamphlet. See *Athenæum*, 1892, I, p. 51.

An unsatisfactory treatment of a theme having great possibilities.

Newman, John Henry. *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. [1864]. New York (Appleton), 1865.

On p. 139 is a quotation on Coleridge from an article by Newman in the *British Critic*, Apr. 1839, *The State of Religious Parties*. Compare Newman, J. H., *Chronological Notes*, Spring, 1835, and Mozley, Anne, Newman's *Letters and Correspondence*, London, 1891.

Norton, C. E. *The Letters of James Russell Lowell*. New York, 1884.

Catalogue also under *Lowell*.

Palgrave, F. T. *Landscape in Poetry*. London (Macmillan), 1897.

Poe, Edgar Allen. *Works*. Edited by E. C. Stedman and G. E. Woodberry. Chicago, 1895.



Pratt, Alice E. *The Use of Color in the Verse of the English Romantic Poets.* *University of Chicago Dissertations*, 1898.

Chap. IV deals with Coleridge's use of color; the literary sources of his color words are not always correctly indicated.

Raleigh, Walter. *Wordsworth.* London (Arnold), 1903.\*

Scudder, Horace E. *James Russell Lowell. A Biography.* Boston, 1901.

Stedman, E. C. *The Nature of Poetry.* Boston, 1892.

Stephen, Leslie. *The English Utilitarians.* New York (Putnam's), 1900.

Stevenson, Robert Louis. *Works.* New York (Scribner's), 1898.

Vol. 22, p. 261. A peculiar analysis of the beginning of *Kubla Khan*, in *Some Technical Elements of Style in Literature.*

Taine, H. *History of English Literature.* [Translated by H. van Laun] Edinburgh, 1872.

Taylor, Henry. *Autobiography.* New York, 1885.

Ward, Adolphus William. *A History of English Dramatic Literature.* London, 1899.

Wülker, R. P. *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur.* Leipzig und Wien. 1896.

A new edition with a more adequate treatment of recent authors is promised.

Yule, Henry. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo.* London (Murray), 1875.

On *Kubla Khan* see Vol. 1, pp. (296-7).

One or two further remarks on this division may not be out of place here. The system of alphabetizing employed in it does not always produce the happiest results. Thus the cataloguing of Coventry Patmore's *Memoirs and Correspondence*, No. 34, under *Champneys, Basil*, their editor, and similarly of the *Prose Works* of William Cullen Bryant, No. 79, under *Godwin, Parke*, might not offer ready clues to anyone in search of the opinions of notable men on Coleridge. Cross-references might be useful in such cases. It seems, too, that the compiler is not wholly consistent in his usage: compare No. 34 with No. 169, and No. 79 with No. 142. The last entry in the section, No. 282, is misplaced; it is evidently an afterthought (cf. p. 134, Nos. 340, 341). For No. 142, Ainger's *Works of Charles Lamb*, a revision of the *Bibliography* would naturally substitute one of the two recent and preferable

editions of Lamb, *i. e.*, Lucas'\* or Macdonald's.\* Under No. 92, Dr. Haney's able description, *The German Influence on . . . Coleridge*, see the present writer's review in the preceding number of the *Journal*\* and his notice in *Philosophical Review*, Vol. XII, No. 73, p. 108.\* Those interested will be glad to know that M. Aynard, a former pupil of M. Legouis, is bringing out an extended work on Coleridge.

We may pass to the next division.

#### IX. ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS.

These, like the entries in the foregoing section, are arranged alphabetically according to authors, except, of course, in the case of anonymous articles. There are 160 listed entries in this division, exclusive of subordinate references, etc. I trust that here again my commendation of the compiler's diligence may not seem smothered by a number of relatively unimportant addenda, most of them subsequent to the *Bibliography*.

Ainger, A. *Mrs. Sandford*. *Athenæum*, 1903, I, p. 83.\*

[Coleridge, E. H.] *Lord Brooke and S. T. Coleridge*. *Athenæum*, 1903, I, p. 531.\*

[Coleridge, E. H.] *Note on Coleridge's Use of the Epithets "Tyrannous" and "Strong."* *Athenæum*, 1903, II, p. 360.\*

Cooper, L. *Note on 'The Ancient Mariner.'* *Athenæum*, 1903, II, p. 328.\*

Cooper, L. *Coleridge's Father*. *Modern Language Notes*. XVIII, (223-224).\*

Dowden, Edward. *Waifs and Strays of S. T. Coleridge and Wordsworth*. *Academy*, 1879, I, p. 523.

See *Bibliography*, p. 35, No. 2; compare also the present review under V., third paragraph.

Gummere, Francis B. *Primitive Poetry and the Ballad*. II. *Modern Philology*. I, p. 231, etc.\*

Hutchinson, Thomas. *Coleridge and W. L. Bowles: the so-called Sonnet on Count Rumford*. *Athenæum*. 1902, I, p. 563.

Kipling, Rudyard. *Wireless*. *Scribner's Magazine*. Vol. 32, pp. (141-142).

Mason, C. P. *A Spurious Archaism*. *Athenæum*. 1883, I, p. 838.

## X. MARGINALIA.

Here perhaps is Dr. Haney's most noteworthy section, if any may be so denominated. It is a novel attempt. Coleridge's habit of marginal annotation has long been a matter of literary gossip; too long to need much further comment, even of the interesting sort in the compiler's Preface. Yet the Preface with its extended remarks merely begins where most accounts have ended; for division x of the *Bibliography* represents the first systematic effort that has been made to bring together all existing information on the titles and whereabouts of volumes enriched with Coleridge's handwriting. In addition to five booksellers' catalogues describing such annotated works, Dr. Haney gives the titles of 341 books containing identified marginalia. They make an illuminative, if not infallible, guide to the poet-philosopher's reading.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Haney's energetic request for further data about such works will in the future meet more adequate satisfaction than it has hitherto received. In his compilation he has had recourse thus far, I take it, to knowledge already at large,—to scattered notices in the *Athenæum*, to the *British Museum Catalogue*, and the like,—rather than to many special communications from individual possessors of lurking marginalia. May I seize the opportunity of urging upon every silent owner the extreme utility of bringing his now cloistered information to the general fund? There must be lying hid throughout England a great number of Coleridge's notes in his own and borrowed books, with which to enlarge the already recognized list. Even of the poet's favorite authors some are yet to be accounted for. Can no one tell us of an annotated Bartram's *Travels*, or Purchas' *Pilgrimage*? The present writer awaits the discovery of a Bartram.

In the way of possible addenda we may note a presentation copy of *Sibylline Leaves*, with MS. notes and corrections by Coleridge, which, after passing through several hands, was for a time in the library of the poet Longfellow. (See *Final Memorials* of Longfellow, pp. 124, 125, etc., Boston (Ticknor), 1887). Perhaps some reader can trace its history further. The notice of a presentation copy of *Remorse*, in the *Athenæum*, 1903, I, p. 628,\* has hardly escaped Dr. Haney's watchful eye.

## XI. COLERIDGE IN FICTION.

Space compels us to deal rapidly with the remaining sections. If they make unusual elements in a bibliography, they are none the less interesting and welcome. Division XI has 6 entries.

## XII. POETICAL TRIBUTES.

We miss among the 35 entries any indication of the lines on Coleridge, written shortly after his death, by Susan Frere, niece of J. Hookham Frere. Accordingly add here :

Frere, John Hookham. *Works*, second edition. London (Pickering), 1874.

Vol. 1, (Memoir) p. cccxix. The lines in question are not found in the first edition, 1872.

Under No. 33, to *Stanzas*, etc., add :

See *Athenæum*, 1894, II, pp. (716-717) [E. H. C.]; and *ibid.*, II, p. 829 [T. Hutchinson].

No. 33 is Globe Edition of Wordsworth, by Morley. References to Dowden's edition, or to Hutchinson's, would be preferable.

## XIII. PARODIES AND IMITATIONS.

With the 12 entries here should be included *The Simpliciad*, [etc.], the satirical jingle noted by Hutchinson in the Preface to his facsimile reprint (1897) of Wordsworth's *Poems in Two Volumes*, 1807. Alphabetize under (?) *French*,—.

## XIV. PORTRAITS.

Although scarcely bibliographical except in so far as it notes the whereabouts of reproductions in printed books, section XIV needs no apology.

Sixteen portraits, pencil-sketches, etc., of Coleridge are catalogued here in chronological order and with appropriate remarks. An appended note tells the location of busts of Coleridge.

## XV.—TABLE OF EDITIONS.

This last division of all includes only successive English editions of separate works. It serves as a sort of supplementary index to section III.—It should be printed on a page of its own.

\* \* \* \*

So much may suffice for a curtailed survey ; the work merits a few remarks of a general nature.

Even under his careful arrangement, Dr. Haney's voluminous material is not always at the ready disposal of the student. This is particularly true of the Critical References, yet not exclusively. A more general difficulty will be found in following any proposed topic, say translations, from one division to another, or in gathering together, for example, everything concerning *The Ancient Mariner*,—editions, critical literature, etc. An increase in the number of divisions is hardly advisable ; a perfect system of cross-references, scarcely practicable. Without multiplying reasons, I should heartily welcome a full index both of subjects and of names.

If any new division were proposed, it should be one on Coleridge's manuscripts ; a list of these belongs logically in a bibliography that takes account of marginalia. (Cf. also *Bibliography*, p. 121, No. 200 ; and Frere's *Works*, cited above.)

Let us hope that so eminently useful a work may not always remain in a limited edition. Lovers of Coleridge are not decreasing in number.

One would do ill to close without specific mention of Dr. Haney's critical remarks upon his more important entries. The editor has in no way shirked this often grossly neglected part of the bibliographer's duties. His notes, if now and then too merciful, are on the whole penetrating and illuminative.

One thought more. Dr. Haney has alluded in more than one publication to the evident and crying need of a definitive edition of Coleridge's works. Could not Dr. Haney himself be induced to undertake such an edition ? The making of this *Bibliography* has given him a thorough acquaintance with all the necessary apparatus ; yet in the present writer's estimation this acquaintance is but one of the qualifications that Dr. Haney has for so desirable an object.

LANE COOPER.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY,  
February, 1904.

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*Deutsche Grammatik.* Gotisch, Alt-, Mittel- und Neuhochdeutsch von W. Willmanns, O. Professor der deutschen Sprache und Literatur an der Universität Bonn. Dritte Abtheilung: Flexion. 1. Hälfte: Verbum. Erste und zweite Auflage. Strassburg. Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1906. Pp. x + 315.

The first half of the long and eagerly expected third volume of Professor Willmanns's "*Deutsche Grammatik*" has at last appeared. This part treats of the verbal forms and their use, *i. e.* the use of the infinitive, the participles, moods, tenses, etc. The distinguishing features of the first two volumes—clear scientific presentation, careful sifting of evidence, and fairness—reappear in this part of the work. To a student of language the reading of this book is an intellectual feast. In it we leave behind us the disheartening quibbling of grammarians over grammatical dogmas and enter upon a serious scientific study of the forces which for many hundreds of years have been evolving out of the many German dialects the strong and beautiful literary language of modern Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Only now and then does the author depart from his method of calm scientific observation to become somewhat dogmatic and try to prescribe the proper course for the development of fluctuating constructions in present usage. But even here he never plunges into disputed questions with preconceived ideas or partizan spirit, but proceeds with scientific precision, guided by the desire to further and strengthen the constructional developments in the direction of clearness and differentiation of meaning.

Professor Willmanns has everywhere tried to bring his treatment of the development of the language down to the present day, so that the entire picture might lie open before the student. Some of the finest passages in the book concern current speech and betray profound thinking over living problems, but in general we feel that he has treated the older periods with more care than he has the language of our own time. In the older periods he sometimes presents rich materials by way of evidence, but at the close of this extended treatment of the preceding stages he usually confines himself to making a mere statement of present usage and rarely gives

confirmatory evidence. In a few cases he has even forgotten to give the present situation. Altho we very thankfully receive this fine fruit of Professor Willmanns's study we cannot refrain from saying that it would have been a great pleasure to us to see described by such a mature scholar the *present* boundaries of all fixed constructions and to have our attention directed to the fluctuations of current speech and their *present* tendencies. To a well regulated state nothing is more vital than its boundaries and the sources of its present and future wealth. Thus, for instance, it would be very interesting to learn from this distinguished scholar the absolute boundaries of the German infinitive and its utmost power to express thought and on the other hand the probabilities of its future development and acquirement of new force. It would also be very instructive to see Professor Willmanns compare systematically the structural developments of German with those of other modern languages as modern English. Otto Jespersen has recently upon several occasions compared English with other languages and exalted it rather unduly. Just as English is developing to a high degree of perfection a plainer type of speech, demonstrating the power and the beauty of a language with a simple form of inflection, the German is developing to a high degree of perfection a more involved type, demonstrating the power and the beauty of a language with a fuller form of inflection. Each of these types undoubtedly has its advantages and defects, and each is responding promptly to the growing needs of a powerful and wide-awake people. As Professor Willmanns has not made systematic observations of German from the standpoint of the modern languages, especially modern English, he has overlooked several of the most striking peculiarities in German grammar. These few seeming deficiencies embolden the reviewer to present at some length his own reflections which have arisen from a careful reading of Professor Willmanns's book and which rest upon an extended study along the lines which are the least prominent in the distinguished German grammarian's work and which in places correct, modify, or supplement the results there submitted. In this discussion the reviewer often refers by means of the contraction *Gram.* to his own German Grammar written in English. In this manner he hopes to present his facts more fully, for he can thus by mere reference

pass over his earlier results and give here in part the materials which he has collected since the publication of his book.

On p. 17 W. says of the participles *mißgedeutet*, *ratgeschlagt*, etc.: "Aber solche Mißbildungen erkennt die jetzige Schriftsprache nicht mehr an, auch nicht die mit *miß*-, die noch Adelung bei manchen Verben als die korrekten Formen angesehen wissen wollte." W. is here not fully in accord with the facts. In a number of verbs *ge-* may still stand between *miß*- and the participle. Examples are given in *Gram.*, p. 479 (*b*). Moreover, this usage is not confined to the North or Midland as stated by some, but is also found in the South: *Er hat an meinem Mütterlein mißgethan* (K. F. Meyer's *Novellen*, 2, 332). In a number of adjective participles this form is the rule: *mißgeartet*, *mißgebildet*, *mißgeformt*, *mißgegriffen*, *mißgepaart*, *mißgeschaffen*, *mißgestimmt*, etc., and sometimes *mißgeachtet* (Lienhard's *Eulenspiegels Heimkehr*, p. 163), etc. Complete separation is not common, but there is a tendency to it in colloquial language. Vogel, a fairly good exponent of North German usage, even recommends it in his "Grammatischorthographisches Nachschlagebuch," p. 286, in case of *mißstimmen*: *Du stimmst mich stets miß*. The form *ratgeschlagt* is no longer in use, but similar formations are still found and some of them are used regularly, as *wettgelaufen*, *aftergeredet*, etc. A number of such forms are given in *Gram.*, p. 343, and still others must be added, as *gegengezeichnet*, etc. This last mentioned verb is given in dictionaries generally as a separable formation, but the reviewer has never found in print a case of full separation. In response to a card of inquiry sent out to a large number of German scholars and a number of officials in the German consular service all but three replied that they do not separate the parts in the present tense. Thus *gegenzeichnen* seems to belong to this group along with *wettlaufen*, etc. The accented first component here as in a number of other verbs confuses the feeling and leads to the impression that the verb is separable, and hence the *ge-* is placed between the parts. As, however, the origin is dimly felt few separate any of these verbs in full, as Hauptmann has done in "Und Pippa tanzt," p. 78, in case of *nachtwandeln*: *Er wandelt nacht, also week ihn nicht!* On account of the confused state of feeling here the present and past tenses of such verbs are avoided in a number of uncertain cases.



W. treats of the development of the gradation of strong verbs and their manifold shiftings with great clearness, but it is to be regretted that he has not closed with a statement of the exact situation of to-day. Usage is here very conflicting and we need more light. Frequently, however, he touches upon fluctuations in the living language and illumines the subject. Sometimes he is not so convincing. On page 46 he says: "Von *fragen* und *stecken* sind auch starke Formen des Präteritums weit verbreitet, und in der Schriftsprache anerkannt." A careful observation of the fluctuations in strong verbs which has extended throughout a number of years leads the reviewer with regard to these two words to believe that the strong forms of *fragen* in both the present and past tense have been waning for a quarter of a century. On the other hand, the intransitive form *stak* is now more common than *steckte*, while the present tense and perfect participle are always weak. The further results of this investigation are presented in *Gram.* pp. 308-322, which however need to be corrected in one point, namely *steckte* is there given as more common than *stak*. Attention is here called to these results as to an earnest attempt at an objective presentation of the facts in the hope that they may be further tested and further light thrown upon this difficult subject.

Among his remarks on weak verbs W. says of *dünken* on page 83: "Neben *däuchte* gilt *dünkte*, neben *dünkt* *däucht*." The reviewer finds in contrast to usage a little earlier in the period *dünkt*, *dünkte* much more frequently than *dünkt* or *däucht*, *däuchte*, i. e. the present tense form has leveled the others.

In treating of the simple infinitive W. does not seem to mention the very common use as an appositive to a noun or a clause: *Wochen und Wochen vergingen, in denen es für Ernst nur zwei Obliegenheiten gab: den Dienst versehen und die Mutter pflegen* (Fedor Sommer's *Ernst Reiland*, p. 230). *Der Name dieser Veröffentlichung sagt schon zum Teil, was sie soll: der Kunst besonders der Dichtung und dem Schrifttum dienen, alles Staatliche und Gesellschaftliche ausscheidend* (*Blätter für die Kunst*, Okt. 1892). The infinitive with *zu* is also used here: *Was die meisten Romantiker doch nicht konnten, brachte er fertig: das als notwendig Erkannte zu tun* (Ricarda Huch's *Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik*, p. 152). The simple infinitive is, perhaps, more common here and in one place, of course, always used, namely where imperative force appears: *Der*

*Arbeitgeber, der sein Interesse wahren will muß unentwegt an der alten Losung festhalten: Herr im Hause sein!* (*Hamburger Nachrichten*, 22. Sept., 1905.)

On page 128 where he treats of the infinitive with *zu* used in the predicate with *sein* as a gerundive W. does not speak of the *attributive* use of this form and this point has escaped the attention of grammarians generally. The attributive construction, so richly developed in English, is manifesting a tendency to grow in German, appearing now and then after a predicate noun: *Eine grössere Folgerichtigkeit und weitere Vereinfachung ist sicherlich ein Ziel, auf innigste zu wünschen* (*Hamburger Nachrichten*, 15. Jan. 1905). *Das ist ein Verfahren, sehr zu mißbilligen* (Georg Edward). Sometimes elsewhere, especially after a pause, where it may also be construed as a predicate of an elliptical clause: *Er verübte sonst noch eine ganze Menge Schandtaten . . . gar nicht aufzuzählen* (Kröger's *Leute eigener Art*, p. 117). This construction has only developed in the position after the noun. Before the noun it has assumed a *d* and has thus been confounded with the present participle: *der zu tadelnde Mann*. This was quite natural, for the infinitive could not be inflected like an adjective and could not remain uninflected here, as attributive words standing before a noun must be declined.

Willmanns like other grammarians seems to think that the predicate use of the prepositional infinitive has only passive meaning. With intransitives and reflexives it often has the idea of the necessity, possibility, or fitness of an action as in case of the gerundive, but it has of course *active* force: *Es ist nichts zu danken, ein paar Rippen sind entzwei* (Goethe's *Götz*, 3, 9). There is nothing to be thankful for, *i. e.*, that one can be thankful for. *Was ist aber dabei zu lachen?* (Wildenbruch's *Der Astronom*) What is there in it to laugh about, *i. e.*, that one can or must laugh about? *Die Leute freuen sich, aber es ist nichts zu freuen* (Georg Edward) The people are rejoicing, but there is nothing to rejoice over. For the failure of the German to express the preposition and the reflexive pronoun in connection with the infinitive here, see next paragraph.

In treating of the prepositional infinitive, W. like other grammarians fails to speak of the tenacity with which the German infinitive clings to its old substantive nature where in English it has developed verbal force and requires the construction of the verb: *Es wird fortan nichts mehr zu lachen geben* (H. Hoffmann's *Ritt-*

*meister*, III, p. 210), while in English we must render : *From now on there will be nothing more to laugh ABOUT*, retaining the prepositional construction required by the verb. Likewise : *Hast de doch wieder was zu ärgern*, *Hans* (Hauptmann's *Einsame Menschen*, Act 1), but in English : *Well, John, you have found something again to worry (YOURSELF) ABOUT*. In this last German sentence the infinitive is without the reflexive and the preposition required by the verb, while in English both must accompany the infinitive if the idiom requires them with the verb. Also the following difference between the English and German infinitive might have been noted. In English the prepositional infinitive often has the force of a relative clause and *must* in German often be rendered by such : The king has no children to succeed him on the throne *Der König hat keine Kinder, die ihm auf dem Throne folgen könnten*. The infinitive can be used here in German only where there is present the clear idea of purpose, end, or result : *Erasmus war der Mann, den Glanz solcher Stellung zu genießen* (Paulsen's *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, 2nd ed., p. 145). Here the *zu* before the infinitive has its original force as a preposition. While the English, starting from this same point, has developed the prepositional infinitive into the full force of a relative clause, the German has scarcely passed beyond the first stage of development. As the *zu* with the infinitive has in general lost its original meaning, *um* is often prefixed to it here to bring out clearly the idea of purpose, end, or result : *Eines von den Mitteln um dahin zu gelangen ist aber dieses usw.* (O. Weissenfels in *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen*, (Feb.-März, 1906, p. 101). This new construction is defended in *Gram.* p. 523, where other examples are given from reputable authors. Many examples have been collected since from prominent literary and scientific writers. G. Wustmann, however, has combated the construction with his customary crude energy and lack of insight into historic and linguistic processes.

On pages 138-142 W. gives a valuable account of the development of the passive forms in German. In *Gram.*, pp. 299-304, the subject is treated with especial regard to the actual practise of living authors as opposed to the abstract theory of grammarians, and examples are given from current literature. Both accounts, however, fail to mention an interesting case of fluctuation between the imperfective passive (*Das Haus wird gebaut*) and the per-

fective (*Das Haus ist gebaut*), to which Professor von Jagemann of Harvard has called the reviewer's attention. Where we might upon the first thought expect to find a perfective passive form with *sein* we often find an imperfective form with *werden*, as not the idea of a *physical state* is before the mind, but that of a *mental operation* which the mind itself performs over and over, or performs each time anew when the subject suggests itself : *Jeder Kreis WIRD durch jeden Durchmesser in zwei gleiche Teile geteilt*, Every circle is divided by each of its diameters into two equal parts. *Gallien WIRD in drei Teile eingeteilt*, but in Latin : *Gallia EST omnis divisa in partes tres*. *Europa WIRD von Asien durch das Uralgebirge getrennt*. The ideas of a *physical state* and a *mental operation* are often both employed with the same groups of verbs and may even alternate in the same sentence : *Die "Königin der Adria" (i. e. Venice) liegt in den Lagunen, 3, 6 km vom Festlande, mit dem sie durch eine Eisenbahnbrücke von 222 Bogen verbunden IST, besteht aus 122 Inselchen, die unter sich durch 378 Brücken vereinigt WERDEN* (Pierer's *Konversations-Lexikon*, XII, 693).

On page 172 W. states that the *progressive form* of the verb was once common in German, but that the full force of it was not vividly felt and that it finally disappeared. He then laconically remarks that it was replaced by : *Er ist beim Schreiben, am Schreiben, im Schreiben begriffen*. The question of the German substitute for the progressive form is discussed a little more fully in *Gram.*, p. 250, *Note*, but both accounts are inadequate. An attempt is here made to formulate a better rule. To emphasize especially the idea of progression the German employs in connection with the verb the adverb *gerade* or *eben* or instead of the adverb a prepositional object, usually *an* + dative, or these constructions may be replaced by a prepositional phrase consisting usually of the preposition *bei*, *in*, or *an* and the infinitive-substantive of the verb : *Ich schreibe gerade (or eben)*, I am writing. *Sie tanzten gerade, als ich eintrat*, They were dancing as I entered. *Er lernt an seiner Aufgabe*, He is learning his lesson. *Seit zwei Jahren baut man an einer Brücke*, They have been building a bridge these two years. *Sie ist beim Ankleiden*, She is dressing. *Die Kurse sind im Steigen, im Fallen*, The value of stocks is rising, falling. *Sie hatte es gerade mit einem Kinde zu thun, das am Kartoffelschälen war*, She was just then occupied with a child who was

peeling potatoes. It should be noticed that in this progressive form the object must form a compound with the infinitive-substantive, as in the last sentence. Instead of an infinitive-substantive it is quite common to employ the prepositional infinitive in connection with *dabei*: *Ich bin dabei* or *gerade dabei, einen Brief an meinen Vater zu schreiben*. This form is especially convenient where there are objects and adverbial modifiers which would be difficult to unite with the infinitive-substantive. The progressive idea is also expressed by means of the participles *begriffen* or *beschäftigt* in connection with a prepositional phrase: *Die Truppen sind im Anmarsch begriffen. Ich bin gerade mit Schreiben beschäftigt. Die japanischen Matrosen sind beim Aufräumen der Minen im Hafen und beim Entfernen der bei der Hafeneinfahrt gesunkenen Schiffe beschäftigt* (*Hamburger Nachrichten*, 7. Jan. 1905). As in the last sentence the object often assumes the form of an attributive objective genitive dependent upon the infinitive-substantive. The infinitive-substantive is often replaced here by the prepositional infinitive with *damit*, especially where there are objects and adverbial modifiers which would be difficult to unite with the infinitive-substantive: *Ich bin (gerade) damit beschäftigt, einen langen Brief an meinen Vater zu schreiben*. In retaining and developing the progressive form of the verb the English has acquired at this point a great superiority over the German in the direction of terseness and simplicity.

On page 179 W. states that the older usage of employing *wollen* and *sollen* to form the future tense survives in the future infinitive, but he does not attempt to differentiate their meaning here. *Wollen* seems to be used here where the act is planned by the subject of the main verb and *sollen* where the act is planned by some one else: *Gordon gab übrigens die Versicherung, es gnädig machen zu wollen* (Fontane's *Cécile*, chap. VI) and figuratively *Es scheint regnen zu wollen*, but *Das Gut scheint verkauft werden zu wollen*.

On page 222 W. states that the imperative of the 1st person singular is now only used of such verbs as *sein* and *mögen* which have here a clear subjunctive form. This statement is not in harmony with the facts, which are given in *Gram.*, p. 251 (A).

On page 223 W. represents as obsolete the use of *müssen* in the imperative mood or rather in the subjunctive with the force of the imperative. Again W. is not in accord with the facts. The

imperative and optative are even common in one case, namely where the wisher expresses the desire that somebody may be forced to suffer something undesirable. Examples are given in *Gram.*, p. 332 (c, 2nd par.).

On page 224 W. along with other grammarians regards the indicative of *wollen* as the only form of this verb used as a substitute for the 1st person plural imperative, as in *wir wollen gehen!* The subjunctive, however, is also used: *Wollen wir ihn* (Dr. G. W. A. Kahlbaum) *in unserem Gedächtnis bewahren!* (F. Strunz in *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 31. Aug. 1905, p. 415). In *Gram.*, p. 252 (B. a) examples are given from T. Storm and Wildenbruch. In the inverted word-order it is impossible to determine whether the form is indicative or subjunctive: *Nun wollen wir loswandern!* (Hauptmann's *Und Pippa tanzt*, p. 54).

On pages 230-1 W. treats of the use of the past subjunctive, i. e., the unreal optative, in wishing, but he does not mention its very common use with reduced force to express modestly a command: *Herr Flemming möchte kommen* (Otto Ernst's *Flachsmann als Erzieher*, 3, 10) Bid Mr. F. kindly step in. Notice the normal word-order here. W. seems to think that the normal word-order cannot stand in the unreal optative. It is after the analogy of the present subjunctive: *Er möge kommen.* For examples of the older and still common question and transposed order in the unreal optative see *Gram.*, p. 231. W. does not mention the use of the past indicative instead of the unreal optative. For an example see *Gram.*, p. 231 (b).

On page 231 W. says in speaking of the use of the unreal optative in wishing: "Jetzt wird mit ganz verbläster Bedeutung *wollte* gebraucht, z. B. *Wollte es doch regnen!* und namentlich *möchte*; nie *würde*." In actual practise, however, *würde* is often used. Examples are given in *Gram.*, p. 231 (A. a). One of these examples is very beautiful: *Wenn sie [die Rosen] doch nicht welken würden!* (H. Böhlau's *Adam und Eva*, chap. vi). Here *würde* is used in accordance with Willmanns's own rule, which he has given on p. 198, namely that the conditional should be used with reference to the future and the past subjunctive with reference to the present. Thus the general condemnation of this construction on the part of grammarians is indiscriminate.

On page 244 (6) W. states that the subjunctive must be used in

indirect discourse if the subordinate clause is not introduced by a conjunction, "weil dann der Modus allein die indirekte Rede beginnt." In fact the indicative is often used here and even regularly so where the writer is inclined to be influenced in his indirect statements by the form of lively narrative: *Ich erfuhr von dem Gastwirt, die Herrschaften kamen grade aus hiesigem Ort* (H. Hoffmann's *Rittmeister*, p. 97).

On page 243 (4) W. remarks: "In einem Falle ist der Optativ sogar notwendig, nämlich dann, wenn die Aussage des Nebensatzes für das regierende Subjekt in die Zukunft, für den Redenden in die Vergangenheit fällt: *Sie sagte, vermutete, wußte, freute sich, daß er bald zurückkäme,—zurückkehren würde.* Der grund liegt darin, daß die Sprache die dem Optativ *zurückkehren würde* entsprechende Indikativform *zurückkehren ward* nicht mehr besitzt; *zurückkehren wird* könnte nur gesagt werden, wenn die Handlung auch für den Redenden zukünftig ist." It may be true for the literary language that the future indicative cannot be used here, but it is surely quite common in colloquial language: *Ich hab' schon gewußt, es wird dir recht sein* (Halbe's *Mutter Erde*, p. 89). Also the present indicative instead of the future: *'s ist gut, aber ich hätt' nicht geglaubt, daß du dies Jahr noch fertig wirst* (Hermann Hesse's *Peter Camenzind*, p. 254). Even the past indicative is used here under the influence of the preceding past tense and the past idea: *Man hätte befürchten müssen, daß man sich Nase und Gesicht an den metallenen Zacken zerriß* (Wildenbruch's *Vice-Mama*). In all three cases the time of the verb in the subordinate clause is future with reference to the subject of the main verb, but is past at the time of utterance. The general principle involved in the first two of these examples is as stated in *Gram.* p. 246 (f) that if the indicative is used in indirect discourse the same tense may be employed as would stand in the direct statement. The principle at work in the choice of the past tense in the third example is the force of attraction as indicated above. It should be noted that the indicative is used in all of these cases, not the subjunctive as demanded by W.

On page 244 W. formulates the rule that after a past tense the past subjunctive is regularly used in indirect discourse to express the idea of *unreality*, but that after a present tense, either the indicative or subjunctive may be employed, and he seems to regard the indicative as the better form in accordance with the general rule that the

present language inclines to the indicative after a present tense. The reviewer, while acknowledging the general trend toward the indicative after a present tense, believes that the tendency to express the *idea of unreality* by the use of the past subjunctive is gradually establishing itself even after a present tense in opposition to the older law of sequence and the modern trend toward the indicative, as this idea is often important to the thought and feeling and is thus struggling for a clear and distinct *formal* expression. Examples are given in *Gram.*, pp. 233 <sup>(2)</sup>, 239 <sup>(2)</sup>, 2nd par.), 245 (c). This principle is stated there rather timidly, but continued observations have strengthened the author in his earlier impression. The tendency seems to be general, both in poetry and the plain prose of the newspaper: *Die Leute lügen, die da unten schreien, | Ihr wärt ein anderer als Ihr waret* (Hauptmann's *Die versunkene Glocke*, 3, p. 96). *Leider können wir nicht sagen, daß sie (i. e. die Anklagen) unbegründet wären* (*Hamburger Nachrichten*, 23. März 1906).

On pages 252 and 272 W, rightly states that the present subjunctive is now almost entirely replaced by the present indicative after the conjunctions *bis* and *ehe* or *bevor*. It should, however, be noticed that in choice language the subjunctive is still sometimes retained with *bis* after a past tense or after a proposition in negative or interrogative form and with *ehe* if it follows a proposition containing another optative subjunctive. These are positions which in general are favorable to the subjunctive. One example is given in *Gram.* p. 222 (B). Two more examples follow: *O Gott! Du willst nicht warten, bis die Zeit | mich schuldlos spreche?* (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Griechische Tragödien*, 1, p. 170). *O teure Herrin, eher mög' ich sterben, eh' sich in meinen Busen | solch ein Gedanke dränge* (*Ib.*, 1, p. 144).

In speaking of the various kinds of clauses of purpose W. remarks on p. 256 concerning the modern use of the mood that the indicative or the subjunctive may be used after a present tense, but that the subjunctive is now used more frequently than the indicative after a past tense. In fact, however, as stated in *Gram.* p. 222 (b), we often find the indicative here, even a past indicative attracted into this tense after the preceding past tense: *Und diese Furcht vor den Menschen erschien ihr so natürlich, so notwendig—so zugehörig zu ihrem Schicksal. Wie konnte er verlangen, daß sie*



*frei davon* WAR (H. Böhlau). The use of the tense here seems a marked peculiarity to an English-speaking student.

On page 258 W. says: 'Nach *sagen* and *mitteilen* verlangt der Sprachgebrauch das Hülfszeitwort, damit der Forderungssatz sich vom Aussagesatz unterscheide; z. B. *Sie ließ ihm sagen, zeigte ihm an, daß er kommen möchte oder sollte, nicht: daß er käme*. This is only in part true. After an imperative of *sagen* the simple indicative is unusually common here, as the imperative of itself usually makes it clear that the following clause is an indirect command: *Sagen Sie dem Zimmermädchen, daß sie meine Tasche und mein Plaid wieder hereinträgt* (Adolf Stern's *Der Pate des Todes*, 1). Other examples are given in *Gram.*, p. 248.

On page 265 W. states that the indicative can be used for the subjunctive in unreal conditions, but makes an important qualification: 'Nur wenn die Aussage im Gegensatz zu der unmittelbaren Gegenwart steht, ist uns der Indikativ versagt. In dem Satze: *Tratst du, Herr, nicht zwischen uns hinein, so stünde jetzt auch ich als pflichtvergessen mitschuldig und beschämt vor deinem Blick* (Goethes *Tasso*, 2, 4), *liesse sich stünde nicht durch stehe ersetzen*.' W. here fails to see the real situation. Not the *present*, but the *past* indicative is used here: *Wenn es nach ihm gegangen wäre, stand jetzt die Wohnung nicht leer* (Beyerlein's *Jena oder Sedan?*, p. 156). Thus the past indicative is not only used here with the force of a past perfect subjunctive, as in *Mit diesem zweiten Pfeil durchschloß ich Euch, wenn ich mein liebes Kind getroffen hätte* (Schiller), but also with the force of a past subjunctive with present meaning, even with reference to the immediate present, as in the sentence from Beyerlein. The past indicative is in both cases employed to add more assurance or certainty to the tone of the assertion. There is no real justification for the limitation made by W. and indeed the facts of actual usage are squarely against it.

In a number of places W. underrates the power of the present potential subjunctive in current usage. He seems to grant it a wide field of usefulness only in indirect discourse. It seems to the reviewer that this subjunctive is recovering its former power in a number of categories. The past subjunctive is freeing itself from the influence of the verb of the principal proposition and is acquiring independent force, namely that of *unreality*, *modest* or *cautious statement*, *possibility*, while the present subjunctive is differentiating

itself so that it indicates *plausibility*, *probability*, or a *subjective view*, as illustrated in the next four paragraphs.

On page 274 W. states that the past subjunctive is usually employed in adverbial clauses of manner introduced by *als ob* and adds : 'doch ist auch der Opt. Präs. noch üblich.' He seems to intimate that the present subjunctive is not as common here as formerly. The reviewer believes on the contrary that next to its use in indirect discourse this is the most common use of the present potential subjunctive and that it is increasing in power. It is now much used to indicate that a comparison rests upon plausible grounds or is a subjective view. Examples are given in *Gram.*, p. 226 (B). It is also very common in adjective clauses introduced by *als ob* and dependent upon a noun : *Die (i. e. die Rede) macht ganz den Eindruck, als ob es sich um ein abgekartetes Spiel handle* (*Hamburgischer Correspondent*, 23. April 1905). W. does not mention the present indicative here, but it is also common when the comparison is made in a quite positive tone. An example is given in *Gram.*, p. 226 (b). W. mentions the use of the past indicative here to express the idea of unreality, but regards it as uncommon. On the other hand the reviewer regards it as very common, especially in colloquial language. Examples are given in *Gram.*, p. 234 (b).

On page 279 W. says concerning the mood in clauses of manner introduced by *ohne daß* : 'Der Modus ist fast immer der Irrealis (i. e. past and past perfect subjunctive) oder der Indikativ.' On the other hand the reviewer regards the present subjunctive as also quite common here in choice language wherever it is desired to represent some result as the subjective view of the speaker or writer, or as something probable : *Böcklin kann nicht beurteilt werden, ohne daß dies Gemälde in Betracht komme* (Hermann Grimm's *Fragmente*, I, p. 529). *Aber eine Kultur von solcher Größe bricht nicht zusammen, ohne daß aus ihren Trümmern neues Leben erblühe* (Eduard Norden's *Die lateinische Literatur im Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter*, Einleitung).

On page 276 W. says of the use of the present subjunctive in relative clauses after a negative proposition : 'Der Potentialis ist uns noch nicht versagt, aber man pflegt ihn nicht zu gebrauchen. Lc. 1, 61, lautet bei Luther : *Ist doch niemand in deiner Freundschaft, der so heißse* (= g. *haitaidau*); uns liegt *heißt* oder *hießse*

näher.' On the other hand the reviewer regards the present subjunctive here as still not infrequent in choice language. Several examples are given in *Gram.*, pp. 226 (C) and 227 (D). One of them is here submitted: *Da ist keine dürftige Nessel, kein Veilchen im Busch, das nicht durch heimliche Ritzen das Licht suche* (Lienhard's *König Arthur*, 1). The present subjunctive here represents the statement in the subordinate clause as something altogether probable and hence is here aptly used. The past subjunctive would represent the statement as possible and hence is here not so appropriate. Of course in plain prose the present indicative may be employed, but it would divest the utterance of the distinct poetic feeling.

On page 289 W. seems to imply that only the indicative is used after *falls* when used as a conjunction introducing a conditional clause. On the other hand, the reviewer thinks that the present subjunctive is often used here to represent the condition as something that will probably happen. An example is given in *Gram.*, p. 227 (E).

On page 279 W. rightly remarks that the present subjunctive is not so common as formerly in clauses introducing an exception, such as *er komme denn*, unless he comes. Wunderlich, on the other hand, remarks in his *Satzbau*, I, p. 297: 'Die neuere Sprache hat die Fügung wieder aussterben lassen.' While the construction is not so common as it formerly was except in the set expression *es sei denn daß*, the reviewer believes it is coming back into favor again in choice prose. A few examples are given in *Gram.*, 223 (b). Many examples have been collected since, of which two are here given: *Es ist, als trügen sie tief im Herzen eine goldene Saite, die nicht klingen kann, es rühre sie denn der Finger der Schwesterseele* (H. von Krause's *Sein Geheimnis* in *Westermanns Monatshefte*, März 1905, p. 804). *Einmütig erklärte man von seiten der Städte, keine Reichssteuern bewilligen zu wollen, es sei denn die Aachener Beschwerde vorher erledigt* (K. Lamprecht's *Deutsche Geschichte*, v, p. 661).

If there is a negative in a principal proposition containing a verb with negative force the clause has by virtue of the preceding double negative affirmative meaning, but earlier in the period a pleonastic negative established itself here and is still occasionally found: *Es konnte nicht fehlen, daß sie sich (nicht) zuweilen trafen.*

W. on p. 283 acknowledges in general this rule, but makes an exception : 'Fast unentbehrlich ist uns die Negation, wenn für den Indikativ des unabhängigen Satzes im abhängigen der Irrealis gebraucht ist : *Es konnte nicht ausbleiben, daß sie sich nicht zuweilen getroffen hätten* (unabhängig : *sie haben sich getroffen*).' The abundant materials in the hands of the reviewer seem to indicate that this distinction rests upon the personal feeling of Willmanns rather than upon the facts of actual usage. The *nicht* is also here usually dropped. It will be a distinct gain to the language if this pleonastic negative entirely disappears, for the *nicht* is sometimes needed in the subordinate clause, as the statement is sometimes negative : *Sie leugnet nicht, daß sie nicht daran gedacht habe* = *Sie räumt ein, gar nicht daran gedacht zu haben*.

On page 304 W. speaks of the curious reflexive construction in which the reflexive accusative object enters into such close relations with the verb that both together being treated as a simple intransitive may form an impersonal passive. He adds that the construction is avoided in the literary language. The reviewer here gives an example from C. Viebig's *Die Wacht am Rhein*, p. 48 : *Da wurde geknufft und geprügelt, in zitternder Angst SICH VERKROCHEN und mit lautem Hallo losgestürmt*. This construction is treated from a higher point of view in *Gram.* p. 352 (c). Not only a reflexive object may thus enter into such relations with the verb, but any accusative object : *In den Zwischenpausen auf dem Schulhofe wurde nur noch SOLDATEN GESPIELT* (Ompteda's *Sylvester von Geyer*, chap. xv). The accusative of a noun here is not to be considered as rare but rather as quite common. Other examples are given in *Gram.* Corresponding exactly to this peculiar passive construction is the use of the reflexive object with the gerundive in colloquial language, a usage which is often censured by grammarians : *Auf jedem öffentlichen Balle IST SICH in der Reihenfolge der Tänze genau an die Tanzordnung zu halten*. Why German grammarians should censure the use of the reflexive in both instances and not say anything against the use of the accusative of a noun here is a mystery to the reviewer, for the two constructions are absolutely identical.

On page 307 W. says with regard to the number of the verb when the subject is a plural title : 'Nur wenn das Subjekt ausdrücklich als Titel bezeichnet wird, gilt der Singular : *Die Räuber*

ist der Titel von Schillers erstem Drama.' Abundant materials in the hand of the reviewer indicate that the plural of the verb is more common here: '*Die Erbschleicher*' sind ein ungeheuerliches Werk (Rudolf Schlösser's *F. W. Gotters Leben und Werke*, p. 269). Schnaffners '*Irrfahrten*' sind ein zartes, tief empfundenes Buch (Edmund Lange in *Die schöne Literatur*, 9. Sept. 1905). In the 10th edition of Wetzel's *Die deutsche Sprache*, p. 275, we find *Der Räuber ist ein Schauspiel von Schiller*, but in the 12th edition the plural of the verb is recommended. In general the trend here is toward the plural. On the other hand it seems quite inconsistent that the singular verb is uniformly employed if the title is a couple of proper nouns linked by *und*: *Romeo und Julie wird heute gegeben*. The plural name of a German newspaper requires the plural form of the verb: *Die 'Hamburger Nachrichten' erscheinen täglich dreimal*. In case of a foreign newspaper we sometimes, perhaps in imitation of the foreign idiom, find the singular here: '*Es kann nicht klar genug gesagt werden*,' SCHREIBT die '*Times*' (*Hamburger Nachrichten*, 27. Okt. 1904). *Die Schlüsse, welche die 'Times' ZIEHT, werden gewiß in Frankreich nicht geteilt* (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, 31. März 1905). W. does not speak of this usage in connection with names of boats. The verb is here regularly in the plural if the name is in the plural: *Die 'Zwei Gebrüder' HATTEN die Hohewegsbälje unter dem Hohenwegsleuchtturm bereits erreicht* (Hermann Rückner's *Küstenfahrer*, chap. 1). To an English-speaking student this construction is very queer indeed and seems a needless concession to form at the expense of the thought.

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*English Literature From the Norman Conquest to Chaucer.* By William Henry Schofield, Ph. D., Professor of Comparative Literature in Harvard University. The Macmillan Company, 1906, 500 pages.

Professor Schofield's *English Literature From the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* is likely to prove a serviceable book and to stimulate intelligent interest in a period of English literature often

neglected and misunderstood. Many specialists and many 'gentle readers' have long needed just such a book as Professor Schofield has written. The brilliant chapters in Ten Brink's celebrated *History*, although still inspiring on account of their enthusiasm, insight, and imaginative grasp, are now inadequate. Since that great scholar laid aside his pen for the last time, much has been done to modify and to correct his conclusions. Moreover, the well known histories of the period that have followed Ten Brink's are for one reason or another unsatisfactory. By avoiding their shortcomings and by writing pleasantly, Professor Schofield has produced a book that deserves a prominent place on the shelves of both the scholar and the general reader.

The book is, first of all, orderly and interesting. Its general plan, like that followed by Paris in his "*Littérature Française au Moyen Age*," is reasonable in every way. According to this arrangement the material is conveniently classified with reference to literary kinds. The advantages of this method over the chronological scheme adopted by Brandl are obvious. Where Brandl is confusing Schofield is clear. Surely, too, the literary type—romance or *fabliau*—is of more vital interest than those questions of chronology and dialect that are often so hard to answer. With characteristic tact, Professor Schofield does not tease his readers with such problems. Nor does he vex them with a mere enumeration of titles, which is likely to be as engaging to many thoughtful persons as Homer's catalogue of ships. It may, on the whole, be safely said that he has been uncommonly successful in eschewing what for the general reader is tedious and in emphasizing what for all men is interesting.

It is to be regretted that a book which has so much to recommend it should not be characterized throughout by precision of style. Here and there Professor Schofield is likely to mislead many readers to whom his book as a whole will strongly appeal. To say, for instance, that 'Anglo-Saxon authors were then [at the time of the Conquest] as suddenly and as permanently displaced as Anglo-Saxon kings,' (p. 1) is to say something which is clearly inaccurate. It seems probable, to be sure, that a century after the Conquest Anglo-Saxon was a language by no means generally familiar to Englishmen of education. But it is not true that no Anglo-Saxon literature was produced after the Conquest. The *English Chronicle*

lived on until 1154. Here clearly, is work, which, under any reasonable interpretation of the phrase, was done by 'Anglo-Saxon authors.' Besides, it is altogether likely that we have very meager records of the literature of the Transition Period. Who can doubt that much work done by 'Anglo-Saxon authors' during these troubled years has perished? It is well to note, in this connection, that William the Conqueror was by no means hostile to the native speech. With no active opposition to the production of Anglo-Saxon literature, there is no reason in the nature of things why it should not have been produced. We can say no more than Brandl has said: 'Dass nach hundert Jahren die alte Schriftsprache samt den darin niedergelegten Produktionen den Engländern entfremdet wurde';<sup>1</sup>—or than Morsbach: 'Die Eroberung Englands durch die Normannen hatte der Herrschaft der WS. Schriftsprache ein jähes Ende bereitet.'<sup>2</sup>

Professor Schofield reiterates in his book opinions which he has expressed before but which have failed to win wide approval. He still holds that the *Pearl* is simply an 'untarnished eulogy of Maidenhood' (p. 381). He says nothing of 'a little grave, a nameless man's distress.' In this omission of any mention of the usual interpretation of the poem he is at fault, whatever may be his own opinion. Moreover, Professor Schofield has not proved his case. His ingenious article upon the *Pearl* is characteristically fresh in conception, but it fails to convince. The poem strikes clearly the note of personal grief and it contains passages that are obviously autobiographical. It has been sensibly noted that the conventionality of the *Pearl*, its machinery of the mediæval vision poetry, does not disqualify it as an elegy.<sup>3</sup>

More than a third of Professor Schofield's text is devoted to the Romances. This is, perhaps, the most valuable section of the book. One may safely say that it is an admirably concise, interesting, and accurate treatment of the subject. In one or two places, however, the author seems to be in error. Writing of the *Horn Child* he says: 'One of the most striking scenes of *Horn Child*,

<sup>1</sup> Paul's *Grundriss*, II, 614.

<sup>2</sup> *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, I, Anm. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Recent Studies of The Pearl*, Clark S. Northup, *M. L. N.*, 21-22. See, too, *In Defense of 'Pearl'*, G. G. Coulton, *The Modern Language Review*, II, 39 ff.

that at the banquet, was perpetuated in several Scottish ballads called *Hind Horn*, still current it may be in remote parts' (p. 265). If he means here to reaffirm his opinion that the Horn ballads are derived from the Romance, the sentence quoted may well give us pause. There are very few ballads that are certainly derived from Romances. Unless, then, we have a strong argument to the contrary, we rightly assume that the Horn ballads were independent of the *Horn Child*. Professor Schofield's reasons for the contrary assumption are neither compelling nor precise.<sup>1</sup> In the meanwhile the late Professor Child's words stand: 'The likeness evinces a closer affinity of the oral tradition with the later English romance than with the earlier English or the French, but no filiation. And were filiation to be accepted there would remain the question of priority. It is often assumed without a misgiving, that oral tradition must needs be younger than anything that was committed to writing some centuries ago; but this requires in each case to be made out; there is certainly no antecedent probability of that kind.' (Child, I, 193).

Professor Schofield's opinion about the source of Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* is hardly more acceptable than his views concerning the *Pearl* and the *Horn* ballads. He states the case too confidently when he says that 'there is every reason to accept the poet's assertion regarding his source; he had almost certainly a definite French lay before him, which he followed in all essentials of his narrative, though as was his wont, he introduced digressions to a considerable extent' (p. 194). The author might have profited more than he seems to have done from Pio Rajna's extended and brilliant criticism of his article on the *Franklin's Tale*.<sup>2</sup> One may rather confidently say, at least, that Chaucer knew Boccaccio's story and particularly the form of it that appears in the *Filocolo*. Mr. Karl Young, in an important paper in *Modern Philology*,<sup>3</sup> has, indeed, demonstrated Chaucer's use of the

<sup>1</sup> *Publ. M. L. A.*, XVIII, p. 78. Schofield here misquotes Child in the passage: 'The likeness evinces a closer affinity of the oral traditions with the later English or the French, but no filiation.' The quotation is correctly given above.

<sup>2</sup> *Publ. M. L. A.*, XVI, 405 ff. Pio Rajna's article is in *Romania*, XXXII, 204 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Philology*, IV, 169 ff.



*Filocolo* in the *Troilus and Cressida*. Mr. Root is certainly near the truth when he says that 'the fact that the scene was laid in Brittany would be sufficient to explain the fanciful attribution to a Breton lai.'<sup>1</sup>

But these are matters of opinion, and in matters of opinion Professor Schofield is a free lance. For this reason, in part, his publications are invariably interesting. Then, too, although he keeps the philological faith, he is never simply the 'Herculean raker.' His style, though not always precise, is agreeable. He never, however, like Professor Saintsbury, forgets the difference between literary history and *causerie*. On account, then, of its reasonable arrangement, pleasant English, and substantial scholarship, the *English Literature From the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* is a book highly creditable to its author.

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*Analecta Germanica*. Hermann Paul zum 7. August 1906 dargebracht von Anton Glock, Arthur Frey, Friedrich Wilhelm, P. Expeditus Schmidt, Michael Birkenbihl, Alois Dreyer. Amberg, H. Böes, 1906. 392 + 16 S. 4°. M 10,00.

Einem guten alten deutschen Brauche folgend hat sich eine Anzahl ehemaliger Mitglieder des unter Leitung Hermann Pauls stehenden deutschen Seminars der Universität München zusammengetan, um dem bewährten und verehrten Lehrer, der ja einer der vornehmsten und verdientesten Führer auf dem Gebiete der deutschen Philologie ist, zum 60. Geburtstage eine Reihe von Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen in Form einer Festgabe darzubringen. Ist auch die Zahl der Mitarbeiter im Verhältnis zu den Vielen, die Pauls Seminarübungen im Laufe der Jahrzehnte gehört haben, bescheiden, so ist doch die Leistung ihrem geistigen und wissenschaftlichen Gehalt nach in der Hauptsache trefflich gelungen, und sie wird zweifellos dem Gefeierten Freude und Genugtuung bereitet haben. Ganz besonders ist auch die gediegene, ja kostbare Aus-

<sup>1</sup> R. K. Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 274.

stattung des Buches hervorzuheben ; sie ist ein schönes Zeichen für die Opferwilligkeit des Verlegers, der selbst einst auch zu Pauls Schülern gezählt hat.

Der Inhalt des stattlichen Bandes ist folgender :

1. *Zur Mysterienbühne.* Von A. Glock (S. 1–18.) Auf Grund genauer Betrachtung einiger alt überlieferter Bühnenanweisungen und richtiger Deutung alter lateinischer Ausdrücke, die gewisse Örtlichkeiten in den Kirchen bezeichnen, kommt der Verfasser in zutreffender Ergänzung der bisherigen Forschung zu dem Ergebnis, dass die in den Kirchen aufgeführten Osterfeiern im Chor und beim Hochaltar stattfanden, wenn man *kein* eigentliches ‘Heiliges Grab’ hatte. Wurde aber ein solches verwendet, so wurde eine passende Stelle des Kirchenschiffes oder irgend ein Nebenraum, ein Seitenaltar oder ein Grabmal dazu genommen, nicht, wie man noch mehrfach annahm, der Hochaltar. Die szenische Einrichtung war immer sehr einfach, in der ältesten Zeit hat man nicht einmal einen erhöhten Schauplatz in der Kirche gehabt. Glocks Ausführungen sind klar und überzeugend ; nur hätte er besser gethan, die entschieden richtigere Schreibung *Misterium* als Ableitung von *ministerium* = *kirchliche Handlung* statt *Mysterium* zu wählen.

2. *Beiträge zur Syntax des Schweizerischen.* Von A. Frey (S. 19–46.) Wissenschaftlich getreue und zuverlässige Darstellungen der deutschen Mundarten—in phonetischer, grammatischer, syntactischer und lexikalischer Hinsicht—sind eine Forderung, die immer wieder mit grösstem Nachdruck erhoben werden muss ; denn wenn es auch einige und zwar recht gute Arbeiten dieser Art gibt, so fehlt doch noch unendlich viel. A. Frey wäre der Mann, seine heimische Mundart einmal ausführlich zu behandeln. Die Proben in diesem Bande, die nur einige wenige, willkürlich ausgewählte, aber besonders anziehende syntaktische Tatsachen besprechen, reizen den Germanisten, noch viel mehr zu erfahren, als hier geboten ist. Das Schweizerdeutsch ist ja in jeder Beziehung eine der eigenartigsten und lehrreichsten Mundarten ; dass das auch für die Syntax zutrifft, beweisen die hier vorgelegten, trefflich bearbeiteten Beispiele, die nur den einen Fehler haben, dass ihrer zu wenig sind.

3. *Sankt Afra.* Eine schwäbische Reimlegende. Kritisch bearbeitet von F. Wilhelm (S. 43–169.) Diese Arbeit ist die beste Leistung des ganzen Bandes ; sie erweist den jungen Gelehrten, der sich schon 1904 durch seine ungemein gründliche und sorgsame

*Geschichte der handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Strickers Karl dem Grossen* trefflich in die Wissenschaft eingeführt hat, von neuem als einen tüchtigen, umsichtigen und kenntnisreichen Forscher. Die *Abhandlung* (von S. 85 an) behandelt erschöpfend alle mit dem Denkmal verknüpften Fragen. Sie gibt eine genaue Beschreibung der Handschriften A (Cgm 751) und B (Cgm 402), die beide der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts angehören und auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zurückgehen, die nicht vor 1454 und nicht nach 1469 geschrieben sein kann. Aus ihrem Verhältnis zu einander ergibt sich, dass keine von beiden bedingungslos als Grundlage eines kritischen Textes dienen kann, dass aber A als die sorgfältigere den Vorzug verdient. Der zweite Abschnitt behandelt die Quellen der Legende, die sich in allem Wesentlichen leicht in einigen lateinischen Darstellungen der Geschichte des heiligen Narcissus und der heiligen Afra feststellen liessen.—Sehr wichtig ist das dritte Kapitel *Sprache und Metrik*. Wir finden in ihm zunächst eine Übersicht über die Reime, nach Vokalismus und Konsonantismus geordnet, aus der sich, wie auch aus andern Umständen, klar ergibt, dass das Gedicht nach Ostschwaben, ja fast sicher nach Augsburg gehört. Bei der nun folgenden Betrachtung des Wortschatzes hätte noch mit Nutzen das *Historische Wörterbuch der elsässischen Mundart* von Charles Schmidt (Strassburg 1901) vergleichsweise herangezogen werden können; es finden sich darin z. B. lehrreiche Bemerkungen über *eiz*, das als *Aisse* noch heut fortlebt. Zu dem Worte *halt* ist zu bemerken, dass es zwar einerseits gewiss auf den alten Komparativ got. *haldis*, ahd. *halto* zurückzuführen ist, dass aber auch eine andere Erklärung als formelhafte Verkürzung aus dem Verbum *halten* = *meinen* infolge Wegfalls des Pronomens *ich* in Betracht kommt. Ob man eine Verschmelzung mit dem komparativischen *halt* annehmen will, lasse ich dahingestellt. Jedenfalls ist das Wort erheblich weiter verbreitet, als W. annimmt; es ist z. B. in allen schlesischen und den österreichischen Mundarten durchaus häufig, auch jetzt noch. Unter der Überschrift *Sprache* hätte übrigens auch auf die wichtigsten grammatischen Erscheinungen eingegangen werden sollen, wie z. B. vor allem auf die altertümlichen Formen der schwachen Verben auf -*öt*, -*öte* wie *petoten*, V. 299 (in beiden Handschriften), *creützigoten*, V. 317, *genagelott*, V. 536, im Reim auf *verspott*; denn solche Formen sind für die Sprache überhaupt nicht minder

wichtig als für die Reimtechnik, bei der der Verfasser allerdings S. 115 von ihnen gesprochen hat.—Die metrische Untersuchung gewinnt dadurch eine weit ausgreifende Bedeutung, dass sie sich nicht auf das Gedicht unmittelbar beschränkt, sondern auch die noch immer viel umstrittene Frage nach der Einheitlichkeit der mhd. Dichtersprache erörtert. W. steht, wie auch mir scheinen will, mit Recht auf dem Standpunkte, dass jene tatsächlich vorhandene Einheitlichkeit im dichterischen Ausdruck nicht sowohl auf rein sprachliche, als vielmehr auf stilistische Übereinstimmungen zurückzuführen ist, so dass also richtiger nur von einer verhältnismässig gemeinsamen poetischen Technik zu reden wäre. Sehr beachtenswert sind auch die Ausführungen über die Schwankungen und Verschiedenheiten der mundartlichen Ausspracheformen, die auch für den Versbau sehr zu berücksichtigen sind; es sind also in demselben Gedicht unbedenklich Formen wie *cápellân, caplân, cáplan* oder *getöttet, getött* oder *gern, geren* als nebeneinander möglich anzusehen; solche verschiedenen Formen und Betonungen sind ja noch heute in unserer Sprache, in der Schriftsprache wie in den Mundarten in Hülle und Fülle zu beobachten. Dahin gehört besonders die Behandlung des schwachen *e* in Vor- und Nachsilben, des Endungs-*e*, das Svarabhakti u. a. Aus allen diesen Dingen aber geht wiederum das eine klar hervor, dass eines der wichtigsten Bedürfnisse unserer Wissenschaft die weitere Ausarbeitung von Grammatiken der Mundarten ist.

Der vierte Abschnitt skizziert noch kurz die literarische Stellung der Legende, und der Anhang bietet dankenswerte Proben von fünf Prosafassungen derselben (aus Cgm. 6, aus dem Jenaer Martyrologium, aus dem Wenzelpassional, dem Bebenhauser Legendar in Cgm. 257 und aus dem Druck von Silvanus Otmar von 1516).

Zum *Text* der Legende, der unter Beibehaltung der Schreibung von A kritisch abgedruckt ist und die Abweichungen der Handschriften sowie wichtige Stellen der Quellen darbietet, möchte ich folgendes bemerken: V. 121, *Nv tût vns die gschriff das bekant* klingt recht holprig, wenn wir, wozu W. geneigt scheint, jambischen Rhythmus annehmen; entweder müssen wir hinter der ersten Hebung zweisilbige Senkung setzen, was gewiss zuzugeben ist, oder wir könnten *das* als überschüssig streichen.—V. 182 *o'chen* und 798 *ochein*. Dieses Wort hat in unserm Gedicht sicher die Lautform *oechein*; 182 haben wir da den einwandfreien Reim *weichen*

*ein* (Hs. *jn*) : *oechein*, und V. 797 liegt die Sache genau so, denn in V. 797/8 *Vnd weicht czu° einem priester jn | Dyonisium Affra oechein* ist das handschriftliche *jn* als *ein*, d. h. als Adverb zum Verbum *weicht* zu fassen und nicht als Pronomen personale *in*, wie W. S. 112 irrtümlich sagt ; V. 1155 findet sich noch einmal dieselbe Formel. Freilich hilft dies auch nicht dazu, die Unklarheit in Bezug auf die Reime *i:t* und *i:ei* zu heben.—V. 299 würde es sich gegen W., der übrigens hier gegen seine eigene S. 115 geäußerte Meinung verfährt, empfehlen, die in beiden Handschriften überlieferte Form *pettoten* stehen zu lassen, anstatt sie in *petten* zu ändern, da ja auch die leichte zweisilbige Senkung nichts Anstössiges hat.—V. 301 ist nicht in Ordnung ; ich sehe eine leichte Heilung darin, den Punkt hinter 301 zu streichen und das Wörtchen *es* sowie *do* in 302 zu tilgen. So erhalten wir die inhaltlich und formell befriedigenden Verse :—

*Bis das an dem morgen fru°  
komen geschlichen specher czu°.*

In 302 das handschriftliche *die* vor *specher* zu beseitigen, ist nicht durchaus nötig.—V. 444. Die Einsetzung der Form *arebait* statt des überlieferten *arbit* ist unnötig, der S. 129 dafür angegebene Grund hinfällig ; denn man muss doch nicht lesen :—

*die man doch on grósz árbait,*

sondern man liest viel besser :—

*die | mán doch ón grosz árbait.*

V. 708 *pett* ist, nur des Versmasses wegen, statt *gepett* eingesetzt ; war V. 503 dieses Verfahren erklärlich und zu billigen, so ist es hier meines Erachtens nicht unbedingt nötig (trotz der Bemerkungen S. 130) ; denn die zweisilbige Senkung würde wieder nicht stören. Sie findet sich auch sonst, z. B. V. 575, 869, 1129 (wo die in der Anmerkung angegebene Lesung zwar möglich, aber nicht zwingend notwendig ist).—V. 844. Hinter diesem Verse fehlt ein Semikolon.—V. 872 ist das *e* der Vorsilbe gegen die Handschriften getilgt, was mir aus den eben angeführten Gründen wieder nicht ganz notwendig erscheint.—V. 929 gehört zu den S. 149 besprochenen Fällen ; ich werfe die Frage auf, ob es da nicht doch besser ist, ein *e* der Vorsilben, hier in *angesicht*, mit den Handschriften

stehen zu lassen und in unserm Verse es dem Zufall oder der Absicht des Lesers anheim geben, ob das *e* in *angesicht* oder in *gesponsen* synkopiert wird. Da in solchen Beziehungen der Herausgeber eben nie ein objektiv entscheidendes Urteil, sondern immer nur seine subjektive Meinung bieten kann, ist vielleicht der subjektiven und augenblicklichen lautlichen Gestaltung des Textes durch den Leser mehr Spielraum zu gewähren. — V. 947 würde ich *müge* statt *müg* vorziehen. — V. 991 *pett* ist wieder statt *gepett* eingesetzt, meines Erachtens wieder ohne zwingenden Grund, da sich leichte zweisilbige Auftakte auch sonst finden (z. B. V. 650, 702).

4. *Ein Spiel vom Verlorenen Sohne* am Pfalz-Zweibrückener Hofe. Nach der Handschrift des Pfalzgrafen Philipp Ludwig im K. Geheimen Hausarchive zu München mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben von P. E. Schmidt, O. F. M., (S. 171–260). Sehr willkommen ist der Text, der 1504 Reimverse umfasst. Er wurde von dem erst acht Jahre alten Pfalzgrafen Philipp Ludwig 1556 niedergeschrieben, als das Stück am Hofe aufgeführt wurde. Die Anmerkungen, von denen der Herausgeber spricht, sind eigentlich drei kleine Abhandlungen. Die erste beschäftigt sich mit der Bedeutung des Spiels für die Erziehungsgeschichte der Wittelsbacher, die zweite mit der Bühnentechnik jener Zeit, die dritte mit der Geschichte des Prodigusstoffes, der ja im Drama des 16. Jahrhunderts ausserordentlich beliebt war. Absichtlich hat der Herausgeber auf eine philologisch-sprachliche Durcharbeitung des Textes verzichtet, die übrigens noch eine ganz dankbare Aufgabe wäre.<sup>1</sup> Die Bühnentechnik, die wir aus ungewöhnlich exakten Bühnenanweisungen hier recht genau kennen lernen, stimmt bis auf einige wenige Abweichungen mit der, die Sch. in seinem Buche 'Die Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schul dramas und seiner volkstümlichen Ableger im 16. Jahrhundert (Berlin 1903) geschildert hat überein. Literarisch am wichtigsten ist die Vergleichung des Stückes mit andern Prodigusdramen, vor allem mit dem Jörg Binders und W. Schmeltzls, zu denen das vorliegende Werk sehr enge Beziehungen aufweist. Wer der Bearbeiter desselben war, ist nicht bekannt,

<sup>1</sup> V. 81 ist *Bis* zu lesen statt *Bist*, V. 100 wahrscheinlich: *Ein solches* [oder *solich*] *grosses leid kompt mir*. V. 379 lies *mit* statt *nit*, V. 380 lies *nit* statt *mit*. — V. 388 lies *das* [oder *mein*] *recht* statt *brech*.

vielleicht hat er eine frühere Fassung von Schmeltzls Werk vor sich gehabt.<sup>1</sup>

5. *Die orientalischen Elemente in der Poesie Heinrich Heines.* Von M. Birkenbihl (S. 261–322.) Diese Arbeit ist die einzige, die keinen erfreulichen Eindruck macht. Nicht nur, dass die Abhandlung vorzeitig abgebrochen ist—wegen des Drängens der Druckerei!—sie zeigt auch von einem einseitigen Hange zum Kleinlichen und zur Parallelenjägerei, wie er in diesem Grade nicht oft zu finden ist. Verfasser hat glücklich herausgefunden, dass Heine schon seit der Studentenzeit orientalische Studien getrieben und besonders auch mit dem Persischen sich beschäftigt hat, und sucht nun nachzuweisen, dass eine Fülle von Einzelheiten und Zügen unmittelbarem Anschluss an persische oder andere orientalische Dichter oder ihrer Nachahmung entstammen. Zweifellos richtig ist daran selbstverständlich, dass Heine durch den Orient beeinflusst ist, und zahlreiche Stellen in seinen Werken zeugen dafür, dass er orientalische Bilder, Gleichnisse usw. liebt. Wie unreif der Verfasser über diese Dinge urteilt, zeigen etwa die Worte (S. 277): ‘Man hat bisher durchweg angenommen, dass Heines Kunst in der Beseelung der leblosen Natur, sowie in der Personifikation der Blumen, Sterne und Tiere unmittelbar auf ähnliche Stellen in den Werken der Romantiker und im Volkslied zurückgehe. Ich glaube, noch weit stärker als durch die Romantik wurde Heine hier von den Persern beeinflusst.’ Als ob Heine es nötig gehabt hätte auf die Romantiker oder das Volkslied *bewusst zurückzugehen*! Als ob nicht dichterische Phantasie von selbst, unwillkürlich und unbewusst zu solchen sprachlichen Ausdrucksmitteln gelangen könnte! Wenn Heine dergleichen hat, so ist das doch in den weitaus meisten Fällen nicht absichtliche Nachahmung, sondern es ist Geist und Stimmung der Zeit, die in seiner besonderen dichterischen Begabung ihren besonderen Niederschlag finden.

<sup>1</sup> Das schwierige Wort *Zod jungfrau* glaubt Sch. als *Zofe* erklären zu sollen und bringt es mit *zöten* = kämmen, Zöpfe flechten zusammen. Ich denke dabei auch an *Zotter*, *Gezetter* = unordentliches Gefolge (s. Ch. Schmidt, Wörterb. der elsäss. Ma., S. 443, 145) und meine, dass wohl auch etwas von der unanständigen Bedeutung des Wortes *Zette* dem Worte anhaften mag, wozu vor allem auch die *Greta hore* bei B. Waldis (s. S. 246) veranlasst. Die *Zod jungfrau* ist also vielleicht ein leichtfertiges Mädchen im Gefolge der andern, ein leichtfertiges Dienstmädchen.

Wenn man in jeder Stelle z. B., wo Rose und Nachtigall erwähnt werden, eine unmittelbare Einwirkung des Hafis sehen wollen, dann bleibt ja vom Dichter Heine gar nichts übrig, dann ist er ja nur Mosaikarbeiter. Zudem ist das orientalische Kostüm damals die allbeliebte Mode; Goethe, Byron, Thomas Moore und viele andre haben kräftig Stimmung dafür gemacht. Geradezu komisch wirkt es aber, wenn Birkenbihl das so echt Heinesche Gedicht aus den 'Nordseebildern'

Wie auch die Welt so traulich und lieblich  
Im Römerglas sich widerspiegelt

Vor allem aber das Bild der Geliebten,  
Das Engelköpfchen auf Rheinweingoldgrund

S. 294 allen Ernstes auf *Hafis* zurückführen will; als ob dieser Orientale sein Ideal—ein *blondes* Engelsköpfchen—im Römer auf Reinweingoldgrund auch nur sich vorstellen könnte! Noch heiterer ist es, wenn das Wort *Rosenöl* in einem Gedichte (Elster, II, 286) gewissenhaft aufgefasst wird (S. 308) als 'vielleicht eine Reminiscenz an das Buch: Orientalisches Rosenöl. Stuttgart und Tübingen, Cotta, 1815.' Da geht denn die Gelehrsamkeit doch etwas zu weit; auch damals hat gewiss schon jeder einigermaßen Gebildete gewusst, was Rosenöl ist, so gut wie heute. Wie einflussreich die indirekten Wege sind, auf denen Heine zur Kenntnis des Orients gelangen konnte, möge B. einmal, wenigstens was Byron anlangt, im fünften Kapitel von W. Ochsenbeins Buch 'Die Aufnahme Lord Byrons in Deutschland und sein Einfluss auf den jungen Heine' (Bern 1905) nachlesen.—Übrigens begegnet es dem Verfasser auch einmal, einen sicher—wie der ganze Zusammenhang ergibt—ironisch gemeinten Ausspruch Heines als bitteren Ernst aufzufassen, wie S. 264 das lange Zitat aus der 'Romantischen Schule' über A. W. Schlegel beweist. Das Heranziehen des Sonetts 'Aucassin und Nicolette,' S. 271, ist unkritisch.—Im zweiten Teil seiner Abhandlung sammelt B. noch ziemlich mechanisch eine Menge Stellen, in denen irgend etwas Orientalisches vorkommt.

Schon diese wenigen Bemerkungen werden gezeigt haben, dass die Untersuchung als verfehlt zu betrachten ist.

6. *Hans Sachs in München und die gleichzeitigen Münchener Meistersänger.* Beiträge zur Geschichte des Meistersanges. Von



A. Dreyer. S. 323–389. Die Überschrift unterrichtet hinlänglich über den Inhalt dieser wertvollen Studie, die einen schätzenswerten Beitrag zu der noch immer recht mangelhaft bekannten Geschichte der deutschen Meistersingerei liefert. Sie stellt sorgfältig Hans Sachsens Beziehungen zu München fest und bespricht die Verhältnisse und Mitglieder der Münchener Singschule, die übrigens keine besonders grosse Bedeutung gehabt hat. Sehr wertvoll sind auch die Beilagen. Sie bieten zunächst eine Reihe bisher noch nicht veröffentlichter Gedichte von Jörg Schiller,<sup>1</sup> Albrecht Lesch, Jörg Schechner, Niklas Zimmermann, Jeronimus Drabolt und Katharina Holl. Es folgen dann zwei 'Verzeichnisse von Dichtern, die Töne von Münchener Meistersängern als Vorlage benützten' und ein recht lehrreiches, von Adam Guschmanns Tabulatur völlig unabhängiges '*Schulregister*' aus einer Handschrift der Münchener Universitäts-Bibliothek (Cod. Ms., 826, 4°).<sup>1</sup> Ganz besonders rühmend ist es endlich, dass dieser Abhandlung auch noch 16 Seiten Nebenbeilagen beigegeben sind, die vier Lieder in der ursprünglichen Niederschrift mit Noten und Text und dahinter auch eine moderne Übertragung (von Th. Kroyer) enthalten.

HERMANN JANTZEN.

KÖNIGSBERG I. PR.

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*Das St. Galler Spiel von der Kindheit Jesu.* Untersuchungen und Text, von Joseph Klapper. (*Germanistische Abhandlungen*, begründet von Karl Weinhold, herausgegeben von Friedrich Vogt, 21. Heft). Breslau, 1904. 129 pp. 4.40 Mk.

Klapper's work contains an exhaustive study and a carefully revised text of the St. Gall Christmas play. The play with brief introduction has already been published by Mone (*Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, 1846); Klapper's new text, however, is not only convenient for reference in following his investigations, but is welcome

<sup>1</sup> Dieses '*hübsch Lied von fünf Frauen wy sie einander clagten yber jre man*' braucht übrigens nicht aus dem Leben gegriffen zu sein, wie D. auf S. 340 sagt, sondern es gehört in denselben Zusammenhang wie die Wettgedichte, die ich in meiner '*Geschichte des deutschen Streitgedichtes*' (Breslau 1896) S. 67 besprochen habe.

for its own sake, correcting as it does the inaccuracies and omissions in Mone.

The first part of Klapper's study is grammatical, a presentation of the phonological and inflectional peculiarities of the language of the play, distinguishing, at least in some points, between the dialect of the poet and that of the scribe, and attempting occasionally to distinguish peculiarities of the copy which the scribe had before him. On the basis of these linguistic observations Klapper undertakes in the second part of his study to determine the time and place of the manuscript and of the original play. The manuscript is assigned to the end of the fourteenth century and to the St. Gall region, originating probably in St. Gall itself. The original play is dated a century earlier and its place of origin Klapper believes to be western Switzerland. He rejects Mone's supposition that the home of the original was the Lower Rhine; this point is of some importance, as Mone's view has found its way into other works and has been mentioned by Wilmotte (*Les passions allemandes du Rhin*, Paris, 1898) in support of his theory of a Rhenish 'Urspiel' for most of the German plays.

In the third part of his study Klapper discusses the relation of the St. Gall play to other plays, the ultimate sources of the play, and its style and verse-structure. Under its relation to other plays he does not bring much that is new. The chief new point that he tries to make is that the Easter play of Muri has influenced the Herod scenes of the St. Gall Christmas play. His proof consists in a number of more or less similar passages from the two. His statement (p. 47) that the passage in which Herod receives advice cannot be explained from the Latin *officia*, or liturgical plays, is not in accord with the facts. The advice given to Herod is to order the slaughter of the innocents, and that he does this on the advice of some one else is a feature that occurs in a number of Christmas plays, including some of the Latin *officia* (see Kummer, *Erlauer Spiele*, footnote on p. 27). The evidence of influence of the Muri play does not seem to me at all convincing.

A feature peculiar to the St. Gall play is the introduction of the daughters of Sion, who sing the praises of Mary. Klapper says (p. 40): "In den Töchtern Sions sehe ich, wenigstens in erster Linie, nicht, wie Teuber will, eine Allegorie, sondern sie scheinen an die Stelle der im Pseudo-Matthäus erwähnten Obstetrices getreten zu

sein, die schon im Freisinger Offizium die Könige zur Krippe weisen." If Klapper means by this anything more than merely that the *obstetrices* do not appear and the daughters of Sion do, if he means any real connection, he does not give any reasons in support of it, and the facts do not seem to point that way. The *obstetrices*, in the plays in which they occur, do not come to pay homage, but are naturally at the crib from the first and receive the shepherds or the three kings. Here however the daughters do not appear until after the shepherds, and like them come to pay homage, the daughters to Mary, as the shepherds to Christ. Their introduction is doubtless due to the desire to increase the scenes of homage; this tendency is seen elsewhere, as in the later Hessian play, where five *virgines* and five *cantores* appear and sing alternately the praises of the new-born Christ. The introducing of the daughters of Sion might naturally be suggested by the Old Testament prophecies that the daughters of Sion should rejoice in the coming of the King (Zach. 9. 9; Is. 62, 11), although their praises in the play are addressed to Mary alone. Klapper (p. 66) cites as a source an antiphony in which the daughters of Jerusalem address Mary and she responds with the same general thought as in the play. As he further points out, part of the daughters' praise of Mary is based on Cant. 6. 9 (Klapper by mistake has 9. 6); this verse follows close upon a mention of the daughters of Jerusalem in the words, "viderunt eam filiae et beatissimam prædicaverunt."

The part of Klapper's work dealing with the religious sources of the play, its use of the bible, the apocrypha, antiphonaries and breviaries, and Latin hymns, is one of the most important parts, and throws interesting side-lights on the general question of sources and methods of composition in the medieval religious plays. In a final section on style and verse-structure attention is called to the chivalric elements in the style. Being of the thirteenth century the play would naturally still be subject to the influence of the epics of chivalry. Earlier (p. 39) Klapper has pointed out that the past tenses of the stage-directions and the occasional rhymed couplet among them are epic features, that is, lapses into the narrative tone. An interesting but probably not significant parallel to the rhymed stage-directions might be mentioned in the directions in hexameters in the Latin *officia* of Nevers and Bilgen (Creizenach, p. 63).

In an appendix Klapper gives a few prose selections from the

manuscript in which the St. Gall play is contained, to show the dialect of the scribe. In a second appendix he gives the results of a comparison of the text of the Easter play in Mone (*Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, I, 72 ff.) with the manuscript. These are important for any one who might wish to use the text for linguistic purposes.

A few misprints and other matters of detail may be mentioned here :—

P. 45. II a 89, should read II a 39.

P. 50, also on p. 66 and p. 95. Cant. 9, 6, should read Cant. 6, 9.

P. 95. The antiphonal source cited in the foot-note is quite different from the form in which it is given on p. 66. In the same foot-note 571 should read 471.

P. 121. The note on line 697 is out of its proper numerical position.

Klapper's work is a welcome addition to the literature of the religious drama. If more such exhaustive studies were made of individual plays, the way would soon be paved for a more comprehensive work than has yet been written on the German religious drama.

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## CURRENT LITERATURE.

## RECENT GERMAN FICTION.

Upon German fiction of the present it is possible to base something like an approximately correct conception of the character of the German people to-day. For the novelists of Germany are portraitists rather than narrators; they are concerned more with character and the crises which are its touchstone than with the conditions and accidents which culminate in those crises. Since their apprenticeship in the school of French naturalism, the German novelists have learned to combine seriousness of purpose with that lightness of touch which is needed to make a problem palatable to the general reader, and the first eager, rather superficial and often repulsive imitation of Zola, noticeable in the fiction of the century's end, has been supplanted by a more refined and æsthetically satisfactory presentation of the tangible verities of life. History and romance play a very subordinate part in German fiction to-day. The authors prefer to study types of their own time and the plots of their stories depend almost entirely upon the action of men and women, their attitude toward life and their mutual relations. Leaving aside groups of writers whose outlook upon life is narrowed by sociological theories and those that are burdened with some message, religious, patriotic or otherwise, the recent works of German novelists are well-constructed and well-written, of the widest possible range of theme and wholesome in spirit.

The domestic drama, as determined by motives of heredity, marriage or economics, is the foundation upon which the majority of stories is built. The first quite naturally lends itself to speculation and analysis, which at times leads into by-paths of investigation not inviting to the Anglo-Saxon reader, yet though there is a strong tendency among German writers of the present to mix up art and science, there are some who know how to avoid the pitfalls of such

experiments. One of these is Dr. Karl Federn, the Dante scholar and translator of Emerson and Whitman, whose name appears on the title-page of a novel *Die Flamme des Lebens* (S. Fischer & Co., Berlin). The taint of hereditary insanity is the shadow hovering over the hero and heroine, yet the voice of life calls loud to both and they obey the lure. Though the woman escapes by suicide from the fate she fears, the brave struggle of the man gives the story a keynote of faith in the power of human beings to throw off the spell of the unknown forces which seem to have willed their defection. George Hirschfeld, once hailed as a young rival of Hauptmann, has recently turned to fiction and in *Das Mädchen von Lille* (S. Fischer & Co., Berlin), tells the story of a marriage which from the outset seems to lack a secure foundation. The Pre-Raphaelite figure of the invalid heroine with the soul of music is in strange contrast to the robust health and methodical industry of the young historian, characters which are splendidly drawn. Their love is somewhat anæmic; but the tragedy only develops when the daughter of that ill-matched couple grows up, burdened with the sensitiveness of the mother, paled by the atmosphere of the sick-room, a flower from shadow-land which a breath of reality can kill. There is a third woman, companion and governess to the girl, faithful friend and indispensable helpmate to the father, also a fine portrait. The dramatist's hand shows itself in the firm construction of a plot with meager action, and in the well-prepared dramatic climax. The inevitable tragic end is, however, relieved by a suggestion that it is not the author's final word on the subject of the right of the living.

The growth of a child-soul is a theme much favored by the psychological novelists of Germany. Friedrich Huch in his story of *Mao* (S. Fischer & Co., Berlin), alludes to the possibility of a remote ancestral influence shaping the character of his hero. The burden of the story is the painful contrast between the dream-world of an imaginative child and the realities of the workaday world which pass its understanding. The practical, sensible, conventional parents are worried by the undemonstrative, shyly secretive nature of the boy, until his passionate attachment for the portrait of an unknown boy hanging in the old family residence culminates in his untimely end. The story is steeped in an atmosphere of sad mystery and told with an indefinably tender charm. George

Reicke in his new story *Der eigene Ton* (Egon Fleischel & Co., Berlin), also begins with his hero's childhood and traces the development of one of those unfortunate individualities, moved by a strong ambition, but at every start stopping short of success either by a longing for the unattainable or an inability to grasp the tangible values of life. It is a story of poverty and hardship, but parallel with the account of a student's struggle for the material necessities of life runs the narrative of his inner growth, until he attains the maturity of acceptance. The book is full of a sane philosophy, presented in a style of great force with an artistic disposition of lights and shades and just enough humor to relieve its pathos.

The *mésalliance* in the widest meaning of the word furnishes the theme of some splendid stories of society, serious enough in their treatment of certain phases of life to be ranked with the problem novels. In the center of the stage, upon which Rudolf Huch's *Komödianten des Lebens* (Egon Fleischel & Co., Berlin), act their sorrowful farce, is an ill-mated couple: the daughter of impoverished aristocrats, who dreamed of a humble but honorable husband and awoke to find herself the wife of a wealthy, but vulgar and unscrupulous brute. Huch has overcrowded his canvas, yet his types of society in a small industrial town are intensely lifelike, from the guileless professor with his chivalrous devotion to the woman he adores from afar, to the Konsistorial- and the Landrath and other dignitaries of the small community. There are satirical sidelights upon caste spirit, and there is quaint humor, but through it all runs the thread of tragedy. In Hermann Stegemann's story *Die als Opfer fallen* (Egon Fleischel & Co., Berlin), the hero and heroine are quite as fatally mismated. Into an Alsatian town with its peculiar blend of German and French characteristics, he brings an elderly German pedagogue who has married the young daughter of his deceased colleague and treats her as raw material, like the Alsatian boys whom he is to educate into loyal German citizens. The conflict between light-hearted youth with an insatiable and innocent desire for the joy and the beauty of life, and crabbed age, rigid with dry as dust pedantry, leads up to a strong dramatic climax. The local atmosphere, charged with ill-suppressed antagonism between the French and the German citizens, adds to the high tension of the story. A

strong arraignment of the caste spirit is the burden of a novel by Hans von Hoffensthal: *Helene Laasen*, published by the same house.

Another group of society stories takes its cue from the much discussed question of marriage. Karl von Perfall is a severe moralist and a skillful narrator; he has few equals among German novelists for mastery of the technique of the novel. He is an architect of fine plots, but in the problems which are their foundation he lacks the fine touch of the real artist and the sympathetic understanding of the philosopher. As in former stories of the kind he fascinates in *Um die Familie* (Egon Fleischel & Co., Berlin), by a plot of absorbing interest, but repels by a brusque realism of language, recalling mediaeval satirists. The gift to illumine with a gentle humor the darker sides of life Georg von Ompteda possesses in a remarkable degree. As a portraitist of military types and the nobility of modern Germany, struggling hard to keep its place and defend its standing against the encroachments of finance and industry, he is unparalleled, and the series of novels called 'Eysen' will survive many contemporary works. In his latest book, *Ein Glücksjunge* (Egon Fleischel & Co., Berlin), he refrains from grappling with any serious problem, he does not even draw a complex character or offer an intricate plot, but tells the simple story of a young officer, who gets into many scrapes during his life in the German metropolis, but emerges from them hardly the worse for the experience. He is, what his comrades call him, a lucky dog. It speaks for the literary gift of the author that he succeeds in interesting his readers in the story, which comes like a relief after the many complex characters and situations treated in modern German fiction. He does not even indulge in critical sidelights upon military life, like the Freiherr von Schlicht, whose *Mobil* (Albert Langen, Munich), is a strong presentation of the commercial view of marriage, so lamentably general in the empire. Told without much detail, without any melodramatic episodes, this story brings home the lesson it intends to convey. A society novel approaching in invention and construction of plot the French drama of intrigue is A. Latzko's *Abenteuer des Herrn Cordes* (Egon Fleischel & Co.), a brilliant narrative with less evidence of serious purpose than most German fiction.



Wilhelm Schmidtbonn's novel *Der Heilsbringer* (Egon Fleischel & Co.), is the story of an itinerant prophet-reformer, bent upon helping the needy and the suffering in the large cities. A Quixotic dreamer going about with long hair and sandals and preaching as the panacea for all ills the possession of a small plot of ground, the fruits whereof suffice for food, he suggests a number of proto-types, and the scene where he leads a motley crowd to the emperor and demands a hearing, recalls memories of the Coxey army. But the note of pathos is strong and the tragedy of the hero's mother, who had seen six sons leave her little hut, never to return, is shadowed forth with much sympathy.

Austria, which has always given German letters individualities standing apart from the movements and the schools in Germany proper, has of late produced a group of interesting writers, whose master in technique was Zola and who in spirit follow Rosegger. One of these newcomers is Emil Ertl, whose *Leute vom blauen Guguckshaus* (L. Staackmann, Leipzig) is a distinct departure from the usual trend and treatment of fiction. This story of Old Vienna in the Napoleonic era with its artizan and middle class types and the industrial milieu, pictured with a Zolaesque minuteness of detail, full of the homely wisdom and the quaint humor of the plain people, is like a series of genre pictures projected upon a large canvas and accompanied by the whirr of the weaver's shuttle flying back and forth in the quiet workshop, while without the cannons of Bonaparte are booming.

From this simple, wholesome story of simple, useful lives it is almost painful to turn to a book, which in the inarticulate obscurity of its psychic sensations and emotional hallucinations reflects the invertebrate decadence of a writer, whose work in two languages and whose striking literary physiognomy have given him an international reputation. Przybyszewski, the Pole with the perfect mastery of German, in the earlier years of Young Germany the very soul of the artist Bohème of Berlin, has after an interval of work in his native language and his native country, sent out another German book *Androgyne* (F. Fontane & Co., Berlin), which is so typical of his morbid pessimism that it deserves notice as a unique literary curiosity,

Clara Viebig, one of the most highly gifted women writers of Germany, treats in her latest story: *Einer Mutter Sohn* (Egon

Fleischel & Co., Berlin) the tragedy of the childless woman with the invincible mother instinct. During a sojourn at Spa her heroine adopts the baby boy of poor peasants ; but as the child grows up in surroundings foreign to his inherited tendencies, she is pained to see him at heart a stranger, who, when gossip reveals to him his descent, reproaches her for having separated him from his kin. The story has two moments of intense suspense, handled with great artistic discretion : the parting of the real mother from the child with her sudden outburst of savage temper, and the scene, where the boy sullenly demands to know the truth about his birth. The characters are clearly outlined and the plot is firmly knit.

A Viennese author, Helene Polidahl, writing under the pseudonym of Hermann Dahl, has followed up her first success, the story of a religious temperament, with a remarkable study of an artist life : *Harald Atterdal* (F. Fontane, Berlin), in which the psychological interest in the hero and the high emotional pitch of the narrative are admirably sustained throughout the book. In the *Kinder der Gasse* (S. Fischer, Berlin) Charlotte Knoeckel has written a powerful story of young people exposed to the dangers and struggling against the poverty of factory life. More interested in the inner life of her people than in their immediate material needs, she has lifted her story to a higher plane than the tenement fiction of the nineties and pleads her cause in a simple, forceful style without maudlin melodrama or partizan proselytism. In the work of a third woman, Orla Holm, the scene is German-Africa. *Pioniere* (F. Fontane, Berlin) is a picture of colonial life, unpretentious in style, a pathetic transcription of a page of real life.

Some volumes of short stories deserve mention. Hugo Salus is a lyric poet of great delicacy of mood and color, which qualities lend a peculiar atmosphere to his stories. The blue window of magic power which is to restore health of mind to the unfortunate heroine of the first story, *Pieta*, is symbolical of the spirit of the book with the title *Das blaue Fenster* (Egon Fleischel & Co., Berlin). Its cool mild light robs even the cruel tragedy of *The Avenger* of its sting and saves the groteskly humorous tale of the mermaid carved on the façade of an old house in Prague from becoming a burlesque. The poetical romanticism of the book is delightfully refreshing. Jacob Wassermann's volume, *Die Schwestern* (S. Fischer, Berlin), is more modern, both in spirit and form. He has chosen to dive

into the depths of souls abnormal, and the tragedy of the three women, who are the heroines of these stories, Donna Juana of Castile, Sara Malcom and Clarisse Mirabel, is unrelieved by a ray of light. The atmosphere is stifling with terror and almost uncanny in its dramatic tension. Ernst von Wolzogen in his *Seltsame Geschichten* (F. Fontane, Berlin) revels in extravagant situations. The story of a mysterious quack is a nightmare of monstrous imagination; that of the curious prophet preaching the gospel of nature and a simple life in a community swayed solely by practical interests and moving in the conventional grooves of propriety, is irresistibly funny.

In the *Bekenntnisse eines jungen Mannes* (Egon Fleischel & Co., Berlin), Selma Erdmann-Jenitzer, dramatist and stage-manager in Bremen, shows a strong grasp of vital problems, which she presents with considerable power, and with a slight inclination towards over-emphasis of their *Tendenz*. Countess Uxkull, on the other hand, whose earlier books were vehicles for her views of certain problems of life, has written a charming volume of poetic tales, *Ins Leben zurück*, (F. Fontane & Co., Berlin), which show her as a mature philosopher and a true artist. There is a strong dramatic element in the three stories, which are told in a language of rare beauty and finish. Lulu von Strauss-Torney's two stories, *Der Hof am Brink*; *Das Meerminneke*, (Egon Fleischel & Co., Berlin), are among the best specimens of the historical novelette recently produced in Germany. The atmosphere of the first, the scene of which is a German village in the Thirty Years' War, is hot with the breath of hatred and hostility and rife with riot and violence of all sorts. The men and women acting this war drama stand out from the historical canvas in bold relief. 'The Meerminneke' is the story of a supposed mermaid, washed ashore in a small Dutch community, where her pale face, black eyes and red hair make her a suspicious creature. Into the pathos of this tale, vividly describing the superstition and the cruelty of a mediaeval mob, the author has woven some strands of grim humor.

AMELIA VON ENDE.

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## THE NATURALISTIC PLAYS OF GERHART HAUPTMANN.

### II.

**C**OLLEAGUE CRAMPTON. The stern and gloomy misery of *The Weavers* was followed by a comedy. At least this is the class-title which Hauptmann gave to the above-named play ; though it does not really deserve this designation. The piece has no plot, the action brings about no development of any kind, and things are at the close exactly as they were at the beginning, as far as the real problem of the play is concerned. All this is cleverly disguised by a highly conventional, and very improbable love affair between two of the minor characters.

The painter Crampton, professor at the art academy of one of the larger cities of Silesia, unmistakably Breslau, has become a slave to alcohol and is rapidly gliding downward. But while threatening clouds close in upon him from all sides, he still flatters himself with dreams of promotion and honor. Instead he receives his dismissal ; his wife and children, with the exception of his youngest daughter, leave him, the sheriff attaches all his belongings, and the professor is compelled to take refuge with his chief creditor, a restaurant and saloon keeper, who feels assured that Crampton's relatives will ultimately pay his debts. He therefore does not hesitate to give him further credit. Crampton's youngest daughter Gertrud, a sweet girl, who is still in her teens, loves her father very dearly, and sides with him against the cool-headed, proud mother and the other sisters ; though she is not blind to his faults. She is present in his studio, when the catastrophe comes upon him, and he knows no other expedient than to send her to the aristocratic relatives of her mother. Crampton requests Max Straehler, a student of the art school who has recently been expelled for disorderly

conduct, and who happens to be there, to take Gertrud to the station, and advance the money for the ticket. Crampton is without a cent, he has just been obliged to pawn a rug to get money for his beloved drink.

But Gertrud is little inclined to seek refuge with the relatives of her mother, and wishes, moreover, to remain near her father in this crisis. She confides all this to Straehler, who has fallen deeply in love with her at first sight, and he conveys her into the house of his elder brother, his over-indulgent guardian, a jovial, liberal-minded bachelor, whose widowed sister presides as mistress in his comfortable home. There Gertrud is in excellent care. Max Straehler, a youth of nineteen, provided like his brother and sister with an ample purse, buys up the trappings and curiosities of Crampton's studio, which must be sold to satisfy the creditors; and furnishes with these things another studio in such manner that it resembles Crampton's former one as much as possible. He then coaxes the professor from his 'joint' by means of the pretense that he wishes him to paint a picture of his sister. When Crampton gets to the studio he is at first offended that one of his former students has been so impertinent as to furnish for himself a studio with the things which once belonged to his professor. But he is quickly reconciled, when he is given to understand the real meaning of all this. And love's labor is not lost; Max Straehler gets his Gertrud as reward for helping her to reclaim her father, and we are left to suppose that they live happily ever afterwards.

But we have strong misgivings that things will go on afterwards as they went before. At the most, Gertrud and Straehler may succeed in keeping the professor within reasonable limits, in providing him with the necessary cash, and sparing him public disgrace, but they cannot reform him. Crampton is unable to exist without alcohol, in fact he has no longer any sober moments, though his delirium may be lit up now and then by flashes of ingenious and dazzling thought. What he was in former days, it is impossible to determine; but it does not seem probable that he should have ever been a great artist. Poten-

tially perhaps, but not actually. A bold and soaring fancy does not yet constitute a great artist; it must be paired with enough will-power to bring about the artistic realization of those pictures of the imagination with which such an individual dazzles himself and others. It is indeed a frequent occurrence that great artistic genius is lost to the world, since its possessor lacks the necessary energy for systematic and persevering work. As man, Crampton commands little, if any, respect; he is even too lethargic to protect what is most near and dear to him: his idolized daughter. To spare himself all trouble he entrusts her to an irresponsible, young fellow, whom he knows only by name, and who has been expelled for misconduct. Crampton, however, seems to see in Max Straehler a genius, who, like himself, cannot brook the fetters of narrow-minded, philistine conventionality.

The professor is wholly a slave of his moods, and passes in scarcely half an hour through the entire scale of emotions, from the most extravagant hope to the blackest despair. Here we have indeed action dependent almost exclusively on the external circumstances, but the unstable and irritable mental state of Crampton, and not the naturalistic method are responsible for this. In the end Crampton's manner of action is still the resultant of his character, which is of the type designated commonly as lack of character. Crampton is wanting in all true self-respect; he substitutes for it a vain, conventional pride. All the time he is playing at comedy, boasts of his intimacy with persons of high rank, plays the generous protector of others, though he cannot even mend his own fortune, and continually deceives himself and others. He has much in common with Hjalmar Eckdal of Ibsen's *Wild Duck*; even his affection for his youngest daughter is little more than self-love. The urbanity and affability which he now and then displays are just as much the outcome of his temporary moods, as are his occasional haughtiness, rudeness and injustice. The only really constant factor in his make-up is his impressible and highly irritable temperament; and therefore he is always at the mercy of the moment.

The author seemingly desired to convince us that Crampton is indeed a man of great genius, hampered and suppressed by the petty and narrow-minded views of society and the public in general, and the thralldom of every-day life. Of course, as in former plays of Hauptmann, a share of the blame for Crampton's failure is put upon his cold-hearted and haughty wife; though this motive is only touched upon. Another important factor is the paltry and pedantic spirit pervading the art academy at which Crampton has been teaching. German art in general is indeed treated most slightly in this play. Crampton calls the art school 'eine Stubenmalerakademie,' and Straehler declares in proud conceit: 'That little bit of art which we have nowadays in Germany cannot at all scare me, with that I can easily compete.' The dwarfing and harmful influence of the schools, and the matrimonial problem are frequent motives in Hauptmann's plays. It seems, as if the author himself had not succeeded any too well in either of these institutions. Wilhelm Scholz could not accustom himself to the slavery of school, and Johannes Vockerat bursts out, when his father reminds him of the precepts of Johannes' teachers: 'Father, by all means do not refer to my teachers, if you wouldn't make me laugh. Don't remind me of this bunch of asses, who have sucked the very marrow from out of my bones.' Crampton's and Straehler's contempt for the art school has just been mentioned, and we find the same hatred of the school also cropping out in later works of Hauptmann. Wives who fail to understand their husbands, and who thus become their bane, are even more frequent in his dramas.

What little good we hear about Professor Crampton as a man, and as an artist, comes from the mouths of biased judges. The love and admiration of Gertrud does much honor to her heart, but it does not in the least convince us of his worthiness. Gertrud is, like Crampton himself, of a highly emotional temperament, and for this reason she prefers him to the cool and rational mother. The porter (Dienstmann) Loeffler sees in the professor above all the good fellow, who even when he is up to



his ears in debts, is still liberal with his money. He is probably also impressed by Crampton's half-delirious rhapsodies, but we certainly cannot rely on his judgment in regard to the latter's artistic ability. There remains still Max Straehler. He is in the first place no competent judge because of his extreme youthfulness, and he is, secondly, so violently in love with Gertrud that we cannot draw any reliable inferences from what he says and does.

Most critics who have dealt with *Colleague Crampton* concur in the opinion that the conclusion of the play is highly improbable; *i. e.*, if interpreted as signifying the redemption of Crampton through his daughter and Max Straehler. It is, to be sure, not at all certain, that this is the interpretation intended by the author. At any rate, Crampton is far too much enslaved by his habits, to be reclaimed in such a simple manner. The only moment of the play at which a redeeming resolution is psychologically possible, is just that of the catastrophe. Crampton might then have aroused himself to secure the future of his favored daughter. But, despite the conviction that the life with the aristocratic relatives of her mother will starve the best part of her being, he leaves her to this fate. Entrusting her to the care of a stranger, he, leaning upon his faithful Loeffler, departs for the saloon with the air of a man to whom the world has done great wrong. The favorable change in his circumstances comes about without any effort of his own, and when he in a sudden outburst of enthusiasm at the close of the play declares that he is now done with his spree, we are unable to believe him. We know that this spree has already lasted for years, and that his enthusiasm, born of the impressions and events of the moment, will be of very short duration. It has become very evident that it does not require much to make Crampton see things in the most rosy light.

In regard to the remaining characters there is less agreement of interpretation. While some have fallen in love with the 'sweet sixteen' Gertrud, and also with the entire family Straehler, others designate these characters as conventional

stage figures. I am decidedly of this latter opinion, and believe, moreover, that Hauptmann has not been particularly successful with them. The porter, Loeffler, on the other hand, is indeed original, well drawn, and presented quite in detail.

The piece is really without conclusion, as already mentioned, but this fact is scarcely noticed, because of Straehler's affectionate wooing of Gertrud, which comes to a happy and romantic conclusion. The stage directions are, as usual, lengthy, and in a narrative, but often abrupt, and even awkward style. The piece has worth only for its character drawing; as a comedy it falls short. It has pleased Hauptmann to present to us the picture of a cultured, talented, and well-meaning man, who has become the victim of the alcohol habit, and in this he has succeeded splendidly.

*The Beaver Coat* and *The Red Cock*. In *The Beaver Coat*, Hauptmann has dealt with the theme containing the elements of a good comedy, but he has succeeded only indifferently well. The usual breadth of 'milieu' might pass without censure, but not the repetition of the motives of the first and second act in the third and fourth; nor the fact that one of the main characters has become a caricature, and that a conclusion is lacking altogether. The absence of a consistently developed plot, and the circumstance that several of the characters are drawn with equal breadth has caused disagreement as to the 'immanent idea,' and the real 'hero' of the play. Schlenther,<sup>1</sup> for instance, who is considered by many a very competent interpreter of Hauptmann, is of the opinion that v. Wehrhahn is the main character of the play; and it is indeed impossible to disprove his view conclusively. But were that so, the value of the piece would be still smaller, since v. Wehrhahn, even considered as an exception, is incredible, as the author has represented him.

The scene of action is a village somewhere near Berlin; in the first and third act, the room of Frau Wolff, in the second

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

and fourth, the office of the *Amtsvorsteher*<sup>1</sup> v. Wehrhahn. Frau Wolff comes home late at night with a poached deer, and finds there, very much to her surprise, her oldest daughter Leontine, who is hired out to the *Rentier* Krueger. She has, however, run away this night, because she has been ordered after ten o'clock at night to carry a cord of wood from the street into the woodshed. At first the mother chides, but ultimately defends the girl against the anger of the father, who also has come in. The fourteen year old Adelheid now makes her appearance, and the family is assembled in full. Frau Wolff cuts the deer open and takes out the entrails; liver and heart are put at once into the frying pan. After a while the skipper Wulkow comes in, to whom Frau Wolff usually disposes of any poached game, as he carries on a secret trade in such merchandise. Wulkow tries to cheapen the deer, but Frau Wolff is sly enough to obtain the top price. The bargaining scene is very humorous; Frau Wolff continually laments that she always loses when bargaining with the shrewd, old skipper, while she is really getting the best of him all the time. In the course of the conversation Adelheid mentions the nice beaver coat which the *Rentier* Krueger has received from his wife for a Christmas gift. Wulkow at once pricks up his ears; he has long been wishing for such a coat, and he suggests that he would willingly pay from sixty to seventy dollars, that is, about one-fourth its real worth if Frau Wolff should find an opportunity to procure one for him. Frau Wolff replies with virtuous indignation: 'You seem to be off a little . . . Where should we get such a coat from?', but this is by no means her last word in the matter. For the present the nice, dry pine wood of Krueger is uppermost in her mind. She finds her own woodshed would be a much better place for it than the middle of the street, where it now lies, handy enough, too, to get at. Her husband, whom

<sup>1</sup> An *Amtsvorsteher* is a judiciary official with some administrative functions, standing at the head of a small district which corresponds most nearly in size and importance to our township.

she calls Julian instead of Julius, in order to show her refinement, is not inclined to see things her way ; but Frau Wolff is a skillful sophist, and soon wins him over to her point of view. Wood they must have, and where else could they get it with as little trouble and risk ; and then Krueger deserves some punishment for mistreating her daughter. She finally clinches the argument by producing a bottle of whisky. Julian has just given in, when the village beadle comes to tell Frau Wolff that she is to do the washing to-morrow for Frau v. Wehrhahn, the wife of the *Amtsvorsteher*. Frau Wolff is not in the least disturbed by his presence, she innocently asks him to hold the lantern while she and her husband get the sled ready for the expedition ; telling the beadle that they are going to a neighboring village to buy some geese.

On the next morning Krueger finds to his sorrow that his wood has disappeared ; and he hastens to the *Amtsvorsteher's* office to report the burglary. Krueger makes Leontine Wolff responsible for the loss of the wood, since she had neglected to carry it into the woodshed, as she had been told to do. Frau Wolff is washing for Frau v. Wehrhahn, as we know, and v. Wehrhahn takes an informal short cut, and has her called into the office to straighten out matters. Krueger, a choleric, but really good-natured old gentleman, declares with much emphasis and temper that he will compel Frau Wolff to pay for the wood, at which the honest soul becomes highly indignant, and, turning the tables, reproaches Krueger for his inconsiderate treatment of Leontine. To this Krueger replies that the work would not be too much for the girl, if she were not given to dancing until late at night. The two have a lively quarrel in the presence of the official, who proves entirely unable to conduct a rational investigation of the affair. When Krueger justly becomes a little impatient, v. Wehrhahn orders him out of the office, without as much as recording the case. Krueger is told he may make a written report, if he choose.

In the third act we meet again in the house of Frau Wolff. She has in the meanwhile managed to steal the beaver coat of

Krueger, and has sold it at once to the skipper Wulkow. Julian has lent his hand to this second job only on the condition that the money is to be used to pay off the mortgage on the house, and objects now when he is told to bury the money. But Frau Wolff is too shrewd to arouse suspicion by paying off a comparatively large sum of money immediately after this burglary, which has set the whole village astir. 'You are surely a most stupid blockhead. If you didn't have me, you would be lost,' she says to her Julian, who is indeed remarkably slow of comprehension. When Doctor Fleischer, a harmless, scholarly man, who lives as part tenant in Krueger's house, comes to tell Frau Wolff the news of this new and unheard of burglary, she feigns a most perfect surprise. Fleischer remarks: 'The people were very proud of it (*i. e.*, the Kruegers of the beaver coat.) But to tell the truth, I could not help laughing to myself. The effect is too comical, when such a thing is discovered.' To this Frau Wolff replies with compassionate and mild reproach: 'Why, that is really cruel of you. I can't laugh at such things.' She has become so thoroughly accustomed to play the part of an honest, charitable soul that this hypocrisy costs her no effort at all. She endeavors above all to keep up appearances, for she sees that appearances go a long way, and she would not, even to herself or the members of her family, admit that she is anything but highly respectable. When Adelheid dares to remark that the wood, which she has just brought in, is stolen, her mother gives her a box on the ear and declares, very much in earnest: 'We are no thieves.' At last Krueger comes, himself, to tell kind-hearted, honest mother Wolff, of whose sympathy he is sure in advance, about his new loss. 'Within two weeks two such burglaries,' he exclaims excitedly, brandishing a piece of the very wood which was stolen from him, without having a shadow of suspicion. On the contrary, he excuses himself for his recent show of temper, and tries to get again on friendly terms with mother Wolff. She, pointing out that we all have our faults, and taking her share of the blame, makes reconciliation an easy matter, and

they come to the agreement that Leontine is to return again to the Kruegers, and is to receive henceforth thirty dollars wages instead of twenty as before.

The last act shows v. Wehrhahn once more in full glory. He has leagued himself with a rascally informer to convict Doctor Fleischer,—who appears politically suspicious to him,—of lese majesty, and land him in the penitentiary. For v. Wehrhahn considers it his chief duty to purge his district of all people whose views are obnoxious to the government, and he evidently thinks that any sort of means is justified by the end. The stupidity with which he goes at this self-imposed task is almost incredible. The real duties connected with his office he treats as things of little importance, and becomes provoked when Frau Wolff comes with her daughter Leontine to deposit a package containing a vest, which was stolen from Krueger together with the beaver coat, and which Leontine pretends to have found on the way to the railroad station. Of course, this is Frau Wolff's idea, and is a very clumsy attempt to make it appear, as if someone living outside of the village had committed the burglary. Frau Wolff is virtually setting a trap for herself; especially since she is so foolish as to deliver with the vest also a slip of paper with some handwriting on it. The whole procedure is inconsistent with the shrewdness which Frau Wolff displays in general. A criminal does indeed often betray himself by excessive precaution, and arouses suspicion by his very efforts to ward it off. But the author did not introduce the scene for that purpose; it is intended only to show the appalling stupidity of v. Wehrhahn, and all the rest as well. Krueger sees plainly that the *Amtsvorsteher* is neither able nor willing to do anything in this matter; why does he not employ a private detective, especially since Frau Wolff has been so unwary as to furnish him such an important clue as this note? Even if Krueger is too much of an old-fogey to think of this expedient himself, surely someone in the village should have sense enough to put him on the right track; is Frau Wolff really the only intelligent person there? She and her daughter are sent away

by v. Wehrhahn without being examined in regard to the pretended find. They have scarcely gone when Doctor Fleischer comes to give valuable information concerning the burglary. He has seen the day before, while taking a boat ride, a poor, untidy skipper sitting on the deck of his vessel in a brand new fur coat, which was entirely out of harmony with his general appearance, and he naturally infers that the skipper has gotten this valuable article in a dishonest manner. Now Krueger appears, bringing Frau Wolff and Adelheid back with him, to compel the *Amtsvorsteher* to examine the girl in regard to the package she has found; and on their heels follows the skipper Wulkow, who comes to report that a child has been born to him. Doctor Fleischer has seen Wulkow the day before only from a distance, and does not recognize him. To prove how ill-founded Fleischer's suspicion is, v. Wehrhahn appeals to Wulkow, to know if skippers do not, too, wear fur coats, and Wulkow assures him that such is often the case, and that he himself has one. This demonstrates clearly, v. Wehrhahn thinks, how worthless the information of Doctor Fleischer is. The package which Adelheid has found on the way to the station indicates, he infers, that they must look for the thief in Berlin. Krueger is of the opinion that the package is merely a ruse, and Frau Wolff fully agrees with him—she well knows that this is the surest way to arouse the opposition of v. Wehrhahn, who declares that he, because of his experience in office, must know better. Fleischer also desires to initiate proceedings against the informer, whom v. Wehrhahn is using as his tool, for that fellow has tried to buy false testimony to secure Fleischer's conviction. But v. Wehrhahn orders the latter peremptorily to leave the office, and pronounces mother Wolff the model of an industrious, upright and honest woman, who has only the one fault that she considers all the world as virtuous as she herself is. With this scene, the comic spirit of which is much impaired by the stupidity of all the opponents of Frau Wolff, the play comes to an abrupt close. Neither the burglary is discovered, nor are there any results from v. Wehr-

hahn's endeavors to send Doctor Fleischer to the penitentiary. The third and fourth acts are, moreover, only somewhat deepened parallels of the first and second.

But Hauptmann has, so to speak, furnished in *The Red Cock* a continuation and conclusion of *The Beaver Coat*. More than ten years later we meet honest Frau Wolff for the second time; she resides apparently still in the same village, still enjoys her good reputation, and moderate prosperity. Her Julian has been assembled to his fathers, and the widow has married the shoemaker Fielitz. The latter is a very doubtful character; he has, in his earlier days, twice been in the penitentiary, but is now on good terms with the authorities, making himself useful to them as an informer. Fielitz possesses a valuable lot, with an old, tumbled-down house upon it, which, however, is insured for seven thousand marks. Accordingly, Frau Fielitz deems it advisable to set fire to her own property some nice day, and collect the insurance; but her husband turns a deaf ear to this proposal. He is by no means so stupid as the deceased Julian; quite on the contrary, he has been through the mill himself; but he lacks courage. In spite of his objection, he gives his wife very efficient counsel as to how the thing may best be done; and one windy day, while the whole family is absent, fire breaks out in the house of Fielitz and lays it low. Frau Fielitz, in the usual, clever manner, directs suspicion to the imbecile son of the former gendarme Rauchhaupt, and the insurance is paid. But there hovers a threatening cloud on the horizon. Rauchhaupt's sense of honor as ex-official is deeply wounded by the disgrace of his son, whom he knows to be innocent, and he is convinced that Frau Fielitz is herself responsible for the fire. Accordingly, he endeavors to procure evidence against her. She is indeed in a most precarious position, for the smith Langheinrich, who is captain of the firemen, has on the day of the fire found a piece of fuse in the cellar of her house. Fortunately for Frau Fielitz he has long been coveting Leontine, her oldest daughter, who, with an illegitimate child to care for, is still single. Langheinrich receives



her as the price of his silence, and Leontine gets a husband into the bargain. Frau Fielitz places the insurance and her savings in the hands of Schmarowski, her son-in-law, who has married Adelheid, the younger daughter. He rises by means of this money from a simple foreman to a contractor, and erects a large building on the lot of Fielitz. This Schmarowski is a man after the heart of his mother-in-law. He has but one ambition: to get on in life, and any means which will serve this end are acceptable to him. At first he tries his luck as supporter of throne and altar; but embraces socialism, when he finds that he can reap a larger harvest under its banners. Our old friend, v. Wehrhahn, has kept himself in office, despite his stupidity, and continues, as of old, to keep a watchful eye on political suspects. At the opening of the play he is still a strong promoter of the interests of Frau Fielitz and her son-in-law, but after the latter's change of front, he, of course, drops them. The shrewd woman has, however, reached the stage, where a slight suspicion thrown upon her reputation can no longer seriously interfere with her material progress; but she naturally still endeavors to keep up appearances as much as possible. Fear and excitement have driven the shoemaker Fielitz crazy; but his wife keeps cool, wards off the threatening discovery, brings about a reconciliation with Rauchhaupt, and smooths at the same time the way for Schmarowski, who is after Rauchhaupt's property. Yet the continuous struggle tells also on Frau Wolff, her health has been undermined, and she dies of heart failure, on the very day on which the carpenters complete the work on the new building. This spares her at least the grief of seeing herself cheated out of her hard-earned money by the shrewd and unscrupulous Schmarowski; for this would have been the inevitable result. In him she would have found her master. Fielitz demented, and his wife paying with her life for the coveted success, this is the reward of their ambition. But the play is still far from being a 'Tragikomoedie,' though Hauptmann has designated it such. The outcome is highly arbitrary and accidental. Death in the midst of a successful

career, even if it be an honest career, is not at all tragic, or there would be no end to tragic deaths; for the number of those who sacrifice health and life in their endeavors to reach some goal or other is legion.

While *The Red Cock* is in one sense a continuation and conclusion of *The Beaver Coat*, the play is nevertheless an independent whole. Frau Wolff-Fielitz is without question the main character in this piece; the subtitle, the conclusion and the space allotted to the different characters establishés this sufficiently, and this settles also the controversy concerning the main character, etc., in *The Beaver Coat*. Both plays are genuine 'milieu' dramas; *The Red Cock*, even more so than *The Beaver Coat*. The list of 'dramatis personæ' numbers twenty-six and eleven characters, respectively. In the former play there are indeed among others the eight daughters of the gendarme Rauchhaupt, though they are only mute, and entirely superfluous figures, and should not have been introduced at all.

*The Beaver Coat* has by no means profited anything through *The Red Cock*; Frau Wolff-Fielitz does not appear to us in a new, only in a still worse light. Such a development of her character, to be sure, was only to be expected. But since here as in all dramas of Hauptmann the chief emphasis is placed upon the characters, not upon the plot, the repetition of the same characters is necessarily disappointing. The motives of *The Beaver Coat* are, moreover, already repeated in that play, and *The Red Cock* is really nothing but a third, much enlarged, but not improved edition of Frau Wolff. The former play has been greatly overestimated. Repeatedly it has been put side by side with Kleist's *The Broken Pitcher*; although the two plays have little else in common than the prominence given to details, and the fact that in both a moral deficiency is treated from the humorous point of view. But Hauptmann's humor is very tame and shallow compared with Kleist's. All other similarities are superficial or accidental, and conditioned by the nature of the themes themselves. Very much amiss is, at least the first part of Schlenther's argument in regard to this matter.

Take for instance the following: 'Here, as there, an offence shunning the light of day is committed in a village at night. The village justice is to find out the evil doer. In the former case the question is: who broke the pitcher; in the latter it is: who stole the fur coat? There the owner of the broken pitcher hastens to the village justice, Adams; here the owner of the stolen fur coat hurries to the *Amtsvorsteher* v. Wehrhahn.' But what of it? Is an offence shunning the light of day not naturally committed at night, and should the sufferers run for the village mid-wife instead of to the village justice to obtain redress of their wrongs? To carry the parallel still farther Schlenther has made v. Wehrhahn the main character. This stupid Baron v. Wehrhahn has been variously interpreted, but it certainly shows strong prejudice if one pronounces him typical of a certain class of Prussian officials. Hauptmann has indeed repeatedly proven himself highly partial in his treatment of the representatives of official authority. The subordinates of v. Wehrhahn, too, are in both plays but a set of fools, far below the intellectual level of the crafty villagers with whom they have to cope.

Frau Wolff-Fielitz could not possibly have been more realistically drawn and more true to life. Three traits of her character stand out above all the rest: her desire to get on, her respect for appearances, and her astonishing shrewdness and skill in lying and dissembling. She knows even how to extricate herself when she stands between two opposing parties, with neither one of which she wants to spoil her chances. Her power to invent excuses and justifications for her lawless doings is almost inexhaustible. Stealing of game does not at all trouble her conscience, since the state is the loser; and the burglary committed against Krueger she defends with the argument that he does not thereby become poor, by a great deal. Knowing how important appearances and a good reputation are, she guards them jealously, even with the members of her own family, and at the bottom of her own heart she really knows of no wrong. Julian, her first husband, who is exceed-

ingly slow of comprehension, thinks he has done his share, when he works diligently, and that it will not do for him to steal if he wants to keep clear of the penitentiary. She assures him that he will not make much headway by working, and that no one will question how he got his money after he has become rich, but she emphatically objects to the use of the word stealing. 'You are a fool indeed and will ever remain one,' she rebukes him. 'No one has said anything about stealing. Who never risks anything will never win anything either. And when you are wealthy, Julian, and can ride in a carriage, no one will ask how you got there. I should not have a word to say if we were to take anything from poor people. But suppose we did go to Krueger, and load the cord of wood on our sled, and put it into our shed, the people would not get any poorer thereby, I dare say.' Such views are not infrequent among people of the lower classes, in Germany as well as elsewhere. Frau Wolff is very anxious that her daughters should make a career; their beauty she considers as just so much stock in trade, and hopes that it may open to them a way to the stage. How their virtue would fare in such a case is a minor matter, but it is all important that they should guard the semblance of it. When Krueger laments over the loss of his precious coat, Frau Wolff exclaim with virtuous indignation: 'Why, it is enough to kill one with vexation! What a set of rascals we have here . . . . Fie upon them! Did you ever hear the like? I have no words for it,' and she remarks that it would indeed be a blessing if the thief, or the thieves should be sent to the penitentiary. Strange to say, everyone considers this pretended honesty and frankness of Frau Wolff genuine. She takes even the liberty to tell people under the guise of fearless candor most disagreeable things right to their faces; so she says to Glassenap, the secretary of v. Wehrhahn: 'You are only fooling time away. Better do something to find out the thief!'

While Frau Wolff is equal to every emergency, the people with whom she has to cope are a most stupid set; v. Wehrhahn and his associates take the lead, and make matters really a little

too easy for clever mother Wolff. Her Julian, the skipper Wulkow, and the old Krueger are very realistic, and not mere types; each has something clearly and distinctly his own.

In *The Red Cock*, Frau Wolff-Fielitz has made considerable progress. Her efforts are now directed towards higher aims; she no longer risks her reputation for two or three hundred marks, nor steals outright. But she betrays also more clearly than in *The Beaver Coat* her baseness of character and absolute lack of moral sense. She, for instance, blames Leontine that she feigns displeasure at the caresses of the smith Langheinrich, instead of encouraging them. For Langheinrich, though a married man, is not to be considered as such, since his wife is dangerously ill, and has little chance of recovery. Leontine with her illegitimate child could not wish for a better match, and should make herself as agreeable to him as possible; married man or not. A more material, mercenary and unfeeling attitude is scarcely conceivable. In public Frau Wolff-Fielitz simulates of course the befitting emotions. She is not a figure which could engage our interests and our sympathy, and her fate is by no means tragic. Nor does it seem probable that the external circumstances of her life are to a large extent responsible for her moral deficiencies. If accident of birth had allotted to her a higher station, she would have striven for larger ends with more subtle and clever means; guarding her reputation more jealously and more successfully. She would have appeared to the eyes of the world in a far more favorable light without actually being morally better. But Frau Wolff-Fielitz is, at any rate, a strong character; she knows what she wants, and shuns no toil and danger to obtain her goal. Her views of the world are clearly defined and contain a good deal of truth. She is keenly aware of the fact that appearances are ordinarily more important than the essence of things. The great majority is often deceived by appearances; and Frau Wolff-Fielitz, who sees to the bottom of things, has therefore come to the conclusion that folly rules the world. The people in general she divides into two classes; one of which consists of the lazy and

indifferent, who do not participate in the mad strife for success—for it never occurs to her that one might keep out of it for any other reason—to the other class belong all those who have joined the race, and these are all vile, without exception. For her there is no mean between the two extremes; integrity and material success are, according to her view, incompatible, especially in the case of a poor man. But she has the desire to rise above this mire in which the poor wretches are compelled to compete with each other for the crust of bread they eat. Frau Wolff-Fielitz harbors no illusions and no ideals; she would even disregard appearances, if she did not recognize in them an important means to obtain the coveted success. Aside from this, life has nothing to offer her, nor does she hope anything from the life beyond. She looks forward to her approaching death with the equanimity of a true philosopher: she has lived, and made the most of life, what more could she ask for? Her whole life has been one unceasing struggle, but only for things which neither endure, nor satisfy.

Baron v. Wehrhahn holds a less important place in *The Red Cock* than in *The Beaver Coat*; but still excels in credulity and stupidity. The shoemaker Fielitz is as shrewd and as unscrupulous as his wife, but he lacks her boldness and skill in dissembling. He is of little importance, and we may pass him by with the remaining characters of the play. Only Doctor Boxer we must consider somewhat in detail, though he is but very remotely connected with the plot. Boxer is morally and intellectually far superior to all the other characters of the play; at least that is the impression which the author wished to convey. Doctor Boxer is, so to speak, the representative of the intellectual aristocracy; and his attitude towards the people and the events which the play puts before us is therefore of great importance. He, too, sees to the bottom of things in each and every case, but remains an entirely passive spectator, and intentionally closes his eyes and ears to the lawless doings of the villagers. The author suggests that grave injustice inflicted upon Boxer for political reasons has brought him to look upon the law and

those who administrate it with lofty scorn. But for him there exists seemingly not even a distinction between good and evil; he looks upon the 'comédie humaine' with a half compassionate, half contemptuous smile. His moral sense does not seem in the least offended by any of the events, which apparently have for him only the value of mere natural phenomena. I am inclined to think that the author himself is hidden behind this Doctor Boxer, and that Hauptmann has lent to the latter largely his own views and philosophy of life. Both *The Beaver Coat* and *The Red Cock* excel in giving the local coloring. The smith Ede, for instance, with his never failing saucy wit, is a splendid figure, though perhaps a little exaggerated. Him and Schmarowski, the author has characterized by their very names. This he probably also intended when he called his *Amtsvorsteher* v. Wehrhahn, but this name is much less appropriate.

The artistic form of the two plays under discussion is very imperfect; their plots are uninteresting, in fact *The Beaver Coat* does not possess any plot at all; the character drawings are excellent with one single exception, but the characters do not win our full sympathy. The humor of both plays is often forced, and the repetition of motives becomes tedious. *The Beaver Coat* has been very successful on the German stage, where the actors do their best to make v. Wehrhahn appear still more ridiculous than the author has already made him; and the German play-going public is always ready to respond to a satirical attack upon the Prussian officialdom.

*Teamster Henschel.* After *The Beaver Coat* followed *Hannele*, a play of decidedly anti-naturalistic character. Some of the scenes are indeed still drawn according to the naturalistic pattern, but *Hannele*, as a whole, is full of mysticism and romanticism. In his next work, *Florian Geyer*, Hauptmann made a supreme effort to treat a historical theme after the naturalistic method. But here he did not have the same means at his disposal, he could not model his character after real life, and the result has therefore been less satisfactory. We have in this case to deal with a product of the poet's own imagination, however

detailed historical and philological studies he may have made, to form for himself a correct conception of the past. *Florian Geyer* centers like *The Weavers* in an uprising of the people, the Peasant War, which, however, was of gigantic dimensions compared to the uprising of the Silesian weavers in the year 1844. But this play is meant to represent to us chiefly one character, *Florian Geyer*, who played an important part in the movement. The author has, however, not succeeded in mastering the immense material, and in showing us his hero in action; for this reason the play utterly failed on the stage, despite the unusual care bestowed upon its construction. We should note that in *Florian Geyer*, Hauptmann makes an attack upon Goethe's *Goetz*, *i. e.*, the character, which history shows in a far less favorable light than Goethe's play. *Florian Geyer* was followed by *The Sunken Bell*. The critics and reviewers all agree that in the latter play Hauptmann gave expression to his grief over the failure he had made with the former. Some suggest that *The Sunken Bell* contains also much of an entirely personal and private character. The opponents of naturalism, as well as the public in general received *The Sunken Bell* with enthusiasm; for in this play the author has turned away from naturalism in the most ostentatious and unmistakable manner. It is full of symbolism and mysticism, *i. e.*, thoroughly romantic, as is to be expected of a *Deutsches Maerchendrama*. Although, Hauptmann has borrowed from various sources for this piece, and despite the weakness of the main character, *The Sunken Bell* met with tremendous success, and greatly increased the following of the author. But those who had entertained the hope that he now would leave naturalism alone were sorely disappointed by the next play, *Teamster Henschel*, which is the acme of naturalistic perfection.

It takes up again the motive with which Hauptmann had dealt in the novelistic study, *Bahnwaerter Thiel*, but we must take care not to identify the characters and motives of the story with those of the play.

Henschel loses his wife after a lingering illness, resulting



from child-birth. She leaves him a sickly child, scarcely six months old, and shortly before her death she exacts from him the promise that he will not marry Hanne Schael, an attractive, but very sensual young woman, who is in Henschel's house a servant. But Hanne makes it her sole endeavor to win for herself the place of the deceased wife; for Henschel is not only a robust man, still in his best years, but he is above all well to do for a man of his station. Hanne cares for the household and the orphaned child with the greatest diligence, her bodily charms certainly have some attraction for Henschel, and so she prospers rapidly and well in her intent. When she has made herself all but indispensable to the widower, she plays her trump card, declaring to Henschel that she must leave his house since the people are assailing her reputation. Henschel cannot well manage his business without some capable woman at the head of his household; and, being adverse to change, loses his head completely, when Hanne signifies her intention to leave him. He is, moreover, convinced that the girl is just suited for him as wife; only the promise given to his first spouse keeps him from marrying her. These scruples are easily allayed by his landlord, the hotel keeper Siebenhaar, whose superior judgment the honest teamster respects very highly. To be sure, Hanne has an illegitimate child, but this does not trouble Henschel much, his views on that point being very tolerant. He decides to marry Hanne; and she is at the goal of her ambition. Critics have found fault with Hauptmann for not representing the actual proposal, but if we consider the character of the principals in the case, we must admit that the scene would not well permit of presentation; least of all of a naturalistic one. Thus far matters have progressed in the first two acts, in the third act we meet Hanne as Frau Henschel. The child of the first wife now lies in the grave-yard. Henschel is absent from home to buy horses, and Hanne has invited to her home a clever but dissipated waiter, with whom she has illicit relations. But her paramour has scarcely entered the room, when Henschel comes home, two days earlier than expected. The caller

quickly slips away without being noticed by Henschel, who is wrapt up in his thoughts. He has brought with him the daughter of Hanne, a little girl of six, to rescue her from the evil influence of her grandfather, an habitual drunkard, with whom the child has been living up to this time. But the unnatural mother is little pleased with Henschel's generosity; for while she admits to him that the child is hers, and while everybody in the village knows this to be the case, she maintains before the people that the child belongs to her sister, and she does not want to give herself away by taking it into her house. She has, moreover, been crossed in her lewd purpose by Henschel's unexpected return, and is in the worst of humors. The child finds accordingly a very unkind reception. Henschel is much displeased with her cruel abuse of her own child, and sees now clearly that Hanne is after all not what he has supposed her to be. The people of the village have from the start, judged more correctly, though somewhat too severely. It is believed by the villagers that Hanne and Henschel have together wilfully hastened the death of his first wife and her child, and Hanne's lewd conduct is the chief topic of town talk. Henschel is the only one who is ignorant of all this, until at a quarrel in the inn the brother of his first wife tells him the whole truth. At first the unfortunate teamster flies into a mad rage, but when this is over, he collapses under the cruel blow. He becomes despondent, has hallucinations regarding his first wife, who comes to remind him of his broken promise; and after a short but ineffective resistance he commits suicide, perhaps with the idea of making atonement thereby.

It becomes at once apparent that the play, like most of its predecessors, suffers from breadth of 'milieu.' Almost one-half of the number of characters introduced, and drawn with comparative minuteness, have no other purpose than to depict the life and local atmosphere of a Silesian health resort in the sixties of last century; and in this the author has even surpassed his customary success. Teamster Henschel does indeed undergo a sort of development, or rather a rapid change; but

he is not really the dominating character in the play. In the first three acts Hanne Schael is the central figure. Landsberg, who is a confirmed Ibsenite, finds that the first two acts should have been omitted entirely, and that that part of them essential for the understanding of the plot should have been woven into the dialogue of the remaining three acts. Much beauty we should certainly not have lost by such a procedure.

As usual, there is disagreement as to the interpretation of the play and the characters. Frau Henschel number one, who is a very important factor for the development of the plot, is the first we must consider. She has been ill for months, and feels that her end is approaching. Is her unfounded jealousy under these conditions at all credible? People who are long confined to the bed are apt to complain of neglect; and if they daily are left for hours alone with their thoughts, they often conceive the strangest suspicions. Frau Henschel has the robust, sensual and good-looking Hanne daily before her, and it requires no great prophetic gift to foresee that Henschel probably would marry the girl if she should die. To treat Hanne unkindly does not at all lie in Henschel's nature, and she gives him, moreover, no occasion for such treatment. Circumstances compel him to accept from her many a little service, and this still increases the familiarity which is common among people of that class. All this is ample reason for the suspicion and jealousy of Frau Henschel, and she demands from her husband as a proof of his faithfulness the promise that he will not marry the girl. In doing this, she does not in the least think of a spiritual relation which is to endure beyond the grave; sheer peevish egotism, which begrudges others what it cannot possess and enjoy itself, is the main motive of her action. Woerner sees in Frau Henschel far more of the ethereal than she really possesses; chiefly because she makes the mistake of identifying Frau Henschel with the first wife of *Bahnwaerter Thiel*. Frau Henschel is neither better nor worse than the average woman of her class. When she exacts the promise from Henschel, she puts the chief stress upon the charge of inconstancy and

demands the pledge as a proof of the contrary. She envies Hanne the possible possession of Henschel, and would envy any other woman just as much ; only she sees that Hanne will some day occupy her place if she does not try to prevent it. Even her worry for the welfare of her child under the care of Hanne does not bear much weight ; since a step-mother still enjoys the worst of reputations among those people. Frau Henschel would have been more true to life, or at least more typical, if she had extracted from her husband the promise that he would not remarry at all.

Henschel is but a big child ; in his huge body dwells a sensitive but little developed soul, his horizon is limited, and there is but one way for him. It is quite clear that he gives his wife no cause for jealousy, and that he wishes and hopes for her recovery. And yet he breaks the given promise, and all happens in the most natural and simple manner in the world. After the death of his wife he stays more at home than usually, pondering over his misfortune, which he regards almost entirely from the material point of view. There he has Hanne constantly before his eyes, and she knows how to make herself indispensable and agreeable. Henschel does really need a wife, regarding the matter from the simple business point of view ; but while his first wife was still living, he has paid little attention to marriageable woman, and now he sees no one but Hanne. The girl is indeed quite well suited for Henschel, if we leave out of account her sensuality and her utter lack of feeling ; but these she knows well how to disguise before the simple teamster, who takes everything at its face value. Woerner draws also a parallel between Henschel and Thiel, and holds that the former is enslaved by the sensual charms of Hanne. I cannot well agree with this view. While the charms of Hanne do not fail to make some impression upon Henschel, he appears nowhere as her slave, though his good-natured simplicity makes him easily her dupe, and prevents him from using energetic measures. He is much inclined to superstition, as we may see from the fact that he stands for half

an hour at the grave of his wife, waiting for a sign releasing him from his promise. When Hanne brings ruin and disgrace upon him, he sees in this only the just punishment for breaking his word. The blessing or curse of a dying man, or a promise given to him, are by these mountaineers still regarded with the superstitious awe which was characteristic of our heathen ancestors. When Henschel is disappointed in his hope that Hanne will make his home agreeable for him, and when he moreover, learns of her infidelity and the slanderous reports relating to the death of his wife, the measure is full. Thus far, he has enjoyed the highest respect and confidence of his neighbors, now they shun him, his wife betrays him, and all that will never change again. Only one solution of the problem is possible for him, he must end his life, for above all he wants to escape from the torment of self-accusation, from the hell within him. Lack of will-power joined with excessive sensibility is the verdict, as in the case of Johannes Vockerat, Professor Crampton, Bell-founder Heinrich, and other heroes of Hauptmann.

The hotel-keeper Siebenhaar, whom the author has made Henschel's adviser, really becomes his evil angel. The simple-minded teamster looks up to the cultured Mr. Siebenhaar with blind confidence, since he is convinced of the latter's intellectual as well as moral superiority. Siebenhaar must, or at any rate ought to know this; and it is his moral duty to give Henschel the most conscientious advice. Is Siebenhaar too short-sighted to comprehend the significance of the situation for Henschel, or is he too shallow and unprincipled to entertain and express any conviction? Certainly the latter. He knows very well what Hanne Schael really is, and that she is not at all suited for Henschel, still when the latter comes to him for advice, he agrees at once with his opinion, and confirms him in it. So Henschel must, or does at any rate interpret the dictum of Siebenhaar, for he is not in the least aware that it is evasive and ambiguous. Siebenhaar, in his capacity as hotel-keeper, has acquired the habit of pleasing everybody as much as pos-

sible, and of having no opinion of his own, which is a good enough method to apply to his guests. Henschel, however, comes to him as one in need of advice, comes to a man in whose judgment he puts implicit trust. There is much of the diplomat in the appearance, behavior and manner of utterance of Siebenhaar. What he has said in one sentence, he revokes in the next. Of course, Henschel does not become aware of this, and it is natural that he should give to Siebenhaar's words the meaning which accords with his wishes. The hotel, *Zum Grauen Schwan*, at which the different scenes of the play are located, is no doubt modeled after the hotel, *Zur Preussischen Krone*, at Obersalzbrunn, of which Gerhart Hauptmann's father was the proprietor at the time of the author's birth and where the latter spent the first years of his life. Naturally the question arises: has Hauptmann's father furnished the model for Siebenhaar? The financial embarrassment of Siebenhaar finds its parallel in the difficulties with which Hauptmann's father had to struggle. Woerner draws the bold conclusion that the father of men like Gerhart Hauptmann and his brother Karl could not well have been of the Siebenhaar type. Gerhart Hauptmann has certainly the courage of conviction; but his philosophy of life, as it becomes apparent in his works, is not so very far removed from the wisdom of Siebenhaar; and his passive altruistic attitude amounts often to a *laissez faire*. Henschel could not well have chosen a worse counselor than Siebenhaar, but he does not make the slightest attempt to shift any part of the responsibility for what has come to pass on to the shoulders of any one else. Fate has overtaken him, he thinks, and there would have been no escape for him under any circumstances; a view which agrees well enough with his mystical superstition.

He does not even reproach Hanne, she, too, has been only an agent, a tool, in the hands of some mysterious, absolute power. Hanne Schael is herself dismayed by the final outcome. Since she herself is virtually without any feelings, she could not foresee the consequences of her actions. Nor can she under-

stand how all has come about. She certainly hastens the death of Frau Henschel and the infant child through neglect, though she probably does not resort to active measures to bring it about. While she is of an almost brutal sensuality, she is well able to control her desires when her plans require it. Landsberg finds it improbable that she should prove unfaithful to Henschel, with the swaggering waiter, whom she turns down at their first meeting. But Landsberg entirely leaves out of account the attending circumstances. When Hanne and the waiter meet for the first time, she is bent on becoming Frau Henschel, and does not want to be handicapped by any one. For this very reason she breaks off her relations with the clumsy Franz. Siebenhaar, a very shrewd and keen-sighted witness, is, moreover, present, when she rejects the vulgar pleasantries of the waiter, and her rebuke, too, is more coquettish than energetic and serious. Hanne exercises no demoniacal influence over Henschel; he simply fails to assert himself because of his easy-going, good-natured ways. Her unfaithfulness alone would hardly have driven him to desperation; just as he takes no great offence at her illegitimate child. If this had been the only trouble he probably would have tried, if a thorough whipping would not effect a cure. In one particular Hanne Schael is superior to all the other characters of the play: she knows what she wants, and how to obtain it; even her passion is perfectly controlled by her reason, at any rate, as long as she deems such control necessary. While she is without a trace of morality, she is far from being of a diabolic nature. Her aims are petty, and her nature is so vulgar that we do not feel the slightest touch of the strange fascination which goes out from such characters as *Carmen*, or *Adelheid* (Goetz). The remaining characters of *Teamster Henschel* are only loosely connected with the plot, some of them are entirely superfluous, most of all the wanton Franziska Wermelskirch. The stage directions have the usual form, and are certainly most unsparingly realistic. When we read the description of the sick-room at the beginning of the first act, we actually feel difficulty in

breathing, so well has the author succeeded in reproducing the atmosphere of the place.

*Michael Kramer.* In *Schluck and Jau*, Hauptmann attempted again an excursion into the realm of imagination and romantic fancy; but in those regions his craft becomes always more or less unmanageable. It describes indeed often bold and graceful curves, and quaint arabesques, but the resulting figures lack definite meaning, and the author never gets beyond well-known commonplaces. He therefore quickly returned this time also to *terra firma*, i. e., the good old city of Breslau, to complete there the counterpart and reverse of a picture which he had drawn eight years before. He created in *Michael Kramer* the tragic pendant to *Colleague Crampton*. The hero is again a teacher at the art school at Breslau. He has a son, Arnold, in whose genius he puts great trust, and who is to realise the supreme hope of his life. But we are from the very start little convinced that Arnold really does possess the divine spark of genius, however much his relatives may assure us of the fact. The author describes Arnold as a fellow of twenty, deformed, with ugly features, piercing eyes, sallow complexion made still more disgusting by eruptions of the skin, and with all the marks of debauchery upon him. The inner man is even more repulsive. Arnold is an habitual liar, bragging, brutal and cowardly. He has ruined his mental and physical powers through licentious living, and stands directly before the final catastrophe, which is inevitable; only the 'how' is still an open question. The parents of the young man instinctively feel the approaching evil, and they try, each after his own manner, to avert it. Frau Kramer, who resembles Frau Doctor Scholz very much, sermonizes, threatens and implores in turn, but it is all of no avail. Arnold admits that something is troubling him, but no one can help him; so they ought at least to leave him alone. He concludes with a hidden threat of suicide; these are the last words which his mother is ever to hear from him.

Arnold is deeply infatuated with Liese Baensch, the daughter



of a saloon keeper. Since she has to fill the place behind the buffet instead of her father, who is ill, she cannot well escape from Arnold's attentions. He regularly visits the place, stays there until late at night, and at least feasts his eyes on the girl. Liese does not return his affections, but she is quite coquettish, and amuses herself by playing with Arnold's passion, and thereby naturally increasing it. Among the regular guests of Baensch's saloon there is a set of young men, belonging to the so-called better classes. The most unscrupulous and depraved of them, the swindler Quantmeyer, has beguiled Liese by a promise of marriage, and in consequence she makes to him all possible concessions. While Liese tries her best to preserve appearances and common decency in the presence of the guests, Quantmeyer, who has nothing to lose, makes no attempt to control his sensuality, and Liese must put up with most unfitting remarks and caresses. Arnold becomes almost mad with jealousy, but all he can do is to devour the girl with his eyes, and draw caricatures of her paramour and his boon companions. He is naturally considered as an intruder, and his opponents try their best to drive him away by ridicule, sarcasm, and open insults; but all prove in vain, Arnold sits night after night at his post of observation until late in the morning. The situation soon becomes alarming, and Liese Baensch appeals to Arnold's father to intercede. She barely escapes being surprised by Arnold in the studio of the professor. Michael Kramer had left word for his son to meet him there, that he might have a serious talk with him, and Liese's information has now given him an important clue. But he does not seize the steer by the horns; although he has just heard from Liese that Arnold has been at her father's saloon until early morning, he asks him where he has spent the night. Arnold answers promptly with a lie. His father seeks to impress upon him that he stands on the brink of a precipice, that he is rushing head-long to ruin, and that he shortly must perish, if he continues his debaucheries. To win the confidence of his son, Professor Kramer lays aside his paternal authority. He offers him his helping hand

as man to man, as friend to friend. Once more he asks the question where Arnold has been last night, and receives the same answer as before. At that he bursts out in the agonized cry : ' You are not my son. You can't be my son ! Go, Go ! I loathe you, I detest you ! ' That is the last farewell between father and son.

In the evening Arnold is again at Baensch's saloon to plead his cause with Liese, but she does not wish to have anything to do with him. Soon Quantmeyer and his friends come in, too, and at once begin to ridicule Arnold in the most offensive manner. But he stays with his eyes riveted on Liese, who in vain tries to stop Quantmeyer's indecent caresses. Arnold is driven to frenzy, he draws a revolver, which he has been carrying with him for months, for like our old acquaintance, the Scholzes, he suffers from mania of persecution. He is, however, too much of a coward to shoot ; his opponents rush upon him, and take the weapon away from him, while he in mad flight dashes into the street. During the whole quarrel Arnold's sister, Michaline Kramer, has been sitting with her friend, the painter Lachmann in an adjoining room, which is, moreover, connected with the other by an open door ; but she has no idea that her brother is present, and that he is the object of the attacks of Quantmeyer and his set. Not until Arnold flies past her pursued by the others, does she become aware of his presence. She is so completely overcome that she is unable to act at once, and her friend Lachmann wastes precious time in futile arguments.

The next act—the play has four of them, and the first three fall within the compass of twelve hours—occurs two days later. Fear, disgrace and remorse have driven Arnold to death ; he has drowned himself in the river Oder. Now his lifeless body lies in state at the studio of Professor Kramer, who holds the death watch at the bier of his son. The act is entirely without action. Michael Kramer attempts to defend, or at least excuse the deceased ; he praises his great genius, laments that he has come to such an end, that he himself has perhaps crushed his

son through his severity. He, the father, does possess the iron will, the love for art, the aspiration for the great and beautiful, but not the divine spark which makes the true artist. Upon the son fate had showered this gift lavishly, he was some day to fulfill the dreams and aspirations of his father; and now he lies there, cold and stiff, smothered in ugliness and baseness. Yet the great redeemer death has freed him of the dross of human imperfection. Now we can read in the features of the dead all the beauty, nobleness and grandeur which slumbered within him, and which has perished with him since his father knew not how to lift the treasure. The play closes with the pathetic, but extremely vague question: 'Where are we to land, whither are we drifting? Why do we sometimes rejoice in uncertain hope? We feeble, helpless beings, abandoned in the infinite? As if we knew whither our journey leads. Thus you, too, have rejoiced, and what did you know of it? It is not to be found in earthly feasts, and it is not the heaven the preachers talk of. It is neither the one, nor the other, but what—[lifting his hands toward heaven]—what will it prove to be in the end?'

From my summary, Arnold must appear as the main character of the play; to him the most space is given at any rate. Hauptmann knew that the suicide of a physical and moral bankrupt could not produce a tragic effect; and he therefore attempted to transfer the chief weight to the sufferings of Michael Kramer. But the space allotted to the latter is too limited, and the author has neither convinced us of the great genius of the son, nor succeeded in arousing a lively interest in the father. Repelling at first sight, Michael Kramer wins little upon closer acquaintance. We are indeed told that his influence upon the more gifted among his students is highly inspiring and ennobling, but we are unable to believe it. For we have before us in the painter Lachmann one of these blest ones; he has been one of the most promising students of Professor Kramer, who has especially favored him, and still honors him with his friendship and confidence; but what is this Lachmann,

after all? Michael Kramer is not the man to help those who need help most, namely the weak; the strong win out in the end, not only without assistance, but even in the face of adversities. Arnold, of whom the Professor entertains such extravagant hopes, becomes estranged from his father, through the latter's almost fanatical severity. Michael Kramer's educational methods crush the weak character of the son outright. The other parent, Frau Kramer, is of the type of woman so familiar in the plays of Hauptmann, who fail to understand their husbands and children alike, and she contributes, of course, her share towards spoiling the son. Now she takes sides with Arnold against his father, now she threatens him with the latter's severity, simply to scare him into obedience to her will. Arnold is morally and physically weak from the beginning, and because of this he is forced by the sternness of his father to resort to lying and hypocrisy, which, of course, cannot be changed into frankness and veracity at the eleventh hour, merely by a lecture on morals, or an appeal to his sense of honor. The Professor eulogizes work, duties, sufferings, seclusion, all in an off-hand and disconnected way, as ennobling influences of our lives; above all he cherishes the love of truth, but in a very perverse manner. It cannot at all surprise us that the daughter of Kramer, who like Crampton's Gertrud, is the favorite of her father, is far removed from true womanliness. Her very name, *Michaline*, is of evil omen, which becomes verified only too well. She smokes cigarettes, swears like a trooper, and behaves in general in a most unbefitting manner. Michaline may be a strong character, but she is not the woman we should be eager to meet.

The painter Lachmann, Michaline's intimate friend, is indeed a man to be laughed at. He and Michaline recall to their mind the divine bliss of their youthful love for each other, but they refer to their former affections as calmly as if they were speaking of a horse bargain they were once about to close, though even now there are still sparks smoldering under the ashes. What Lachmann prattles about the sacrifice he has

made in not marrying Michaline, is entirely incomprehensible. For whose sake did he make this sacrifice? Michaline certainly did not profit much by it: she has become a disappointed spinster, and wears herself out by giving private lessons, and the like. But Lachmann has perchance denied to himself the blessings of a home to be unhampered in his striving for his art. Not at all. He has married an uncultured and unmanly woman, with whom he, like all the husbands of Hauptmann, has nothing in common but the mere name; he has given up all his ideals, and thinks now most of all how to earn his daily bread and butter. Where does the sacrifice come in, or did Lachmann wish to save Michaline from being swallowed up in his grossness? Lachmann's wife was probably meant as a comic figure, but she is only ridiculous, and serves only the one purpose of making Lachmann appear still more absurd than he already is.

In spite of all the high-sounding phrases about art and ideals, we do not believe in Michael Kramer, in Arnold, or in Lachmann. It is not well possible to put a great artist as such before us on the stage; for the dramatist cannot convince us of the superior genius of his characters. Even if he could do so, the personages of his play would still only interest us, in as much as their joys and sufferings spring from motives and causes fairly well comprehensible to us, *i. e.*, we should single out the universally human elements. The particular joy and sorrow which attends the success or failure of an artist are not transmissible, perhaps not even to a fellow artist.

The pathos of the last act is considerably impaired by a naturalistic caprice of the author; he has inflicted upon Michael Kramer the bad habit of interrupting even his most elevated flow of language by continual repetition of the stereotyped phrases: 'Aber hoern Se.—Aber sehn Se.' Lachmann and Michaline, too, have a very awkward way of expressing themselves. It may well be the case that painters and sculptors—the artists as well as the non-artists among them—have very little regard for the beautiful and artistic in the use of language.

There may have been also a Professor at Breslau or elsewhere, who actually expressed himself in the manner of Michael Kramer; but the author was under no obligations to imitate his meaningless, parenthetical phrases, even if the individual in question should have furnished the model for Michael Kramer. Whenever we are in an elevated mood, our language rises also above the ordinary level, especially if we express serious and lofty sentiments. If nevertheless meaningless, stereotyped phrases again and again intrude, a disturbing and displeasing effect is the inevitable result. All this the dramatist must avoid, and the imitation of such peculiarities cannot in any way be justified, at least not in elevated dialogue.

Though *Michael Kramer* is a naturalistic play, it is nevertheless crammed with abstract ideas, which results mainly from the character of the *hero*; but the author is really responsible for the content of such passages. Hauptmann's lack of originality again makes itself strongly felt here, as in all plays in which he ventures into the realm of thought. We find many paradoxes, abstrusities and affected profoundness; also old truths, recognized long ago, are woven in here and there; but they are neither expressed in a striking manner, nor shown from a new point of view. Affected profoundness, frequently ill-chosen and conceited symbolism, and quaint mysticism are the chief characteristics of the next play, *Der arme Heinrich* — *Eine deutsche Sage* — Hartmann von der Aue is, of course, the source; Hauptmann can hardly be said to have improved upon him. As a drama his work is a failure, chiefly because he has not dared to dramatise the most dramatic scenes of the whole theme; but only narrates them. Nor does it contribute anything to the realm of thought, despite the philosophical air which it now and then assumes; but it contains many truly poetical passages. Unfortunately, just these latter impair often the consistency of the character in question.

*Rose Bernd.* The play which next followed, shows Hauptmann again in the element in which he is at his best; namely, in the midst of the every-day life of his native mountains. It

portrays to us the undoing of a young, vivacious, happy peasant girl; sound physically as well as morally, and it does so without any apparent secondary purpose. The author has not striven to demonstrate a scientific theory, or any moral tenet, as in former plays. He merely shows us how a happy and virtuous woman step by step becomes an infanticide, and we are left to draw our own conclusions. Misfortune creeps upon her stealthily; few of her companions see it approach, and no one of them fully understands how it all comes about; but for the reader or spectator everything is transparent. We may meet some day Rose Bernd before the bar of justice. There she stands with disordered hair, and set teeth, without a trace of hope or repentance in her features, now and then a gleam of hatred in her lustreless eyes, a hardened criminal in the judgment of the world. And yet she was once pure and happy, she was even morally superior to the average woman of her own class, and her fall has chiefly resulted from this very superiority.

Rose Bernd lost her mother early in life, and as the oldest, she had to take upon herself the care of the household and of her younger sister, at an age when she herself was still in greatest need of loving care. Want and sorrow have fallen early to her lot, but the worst is now a thing of the past. Rose has become a pretty, hale and hearty young woman, with a happy life apparently before her. She has always had a staunch friend in Frau Flamm, the wife of a wealthy farmer, in whose house she has been going in and out ever since her childhood. Flamm, himself, who is about eighteen years older than Rose, she has until recently regarded with childlike confidence and veneration, as her benefactor, and he has treated her with kind benevolence. But his regard for the young woman has acquired another aspect of late. Flamm is a robust, stately man in his prime, very good-hearted, but also quite regardless of the weal and woe of others, in gratifying his own desires. He soon succeeds in changing Rose's filial affection for him into fervent passion; and the hot-blooded young woman surrenders herself without reserve. Soon serious consequences result from their

intercourse; Rose Bernd will soon become a mother. Of course, she realizes how she would stand in the eyes of the world, if her fault should become known; but she fears above all the anger of her father, who is a narrow-minded, bigoted, sanctimonious fellow. He prides himself greatly on the virtue of his pretty daughter, and looks down with scorn and condemnation upon all whose conduct is not without blemish. According to the custom of the country, confirmed by religious authority, he considers it his right to dispose of the hand of his daughter, without taking much account of her own wishes, and he has chosen the book-binder, August Keil, as her future husband; Keil is a man of thirty-five, very unattractive in appearance, feeble and suffering from consumption; certainly very ill-suited to become the husband of the strong and healthy young woman. But he has saved up a neat sum of money, and that is the chief essential in the opinion of the old Bernd, who does not lose sight of his own interest in the bargain. Rose has long refused to marry August Keil, but now consents, since by this marriage she may hide her fault from the eyes of the world. She does, however, not in the least intend to deceive Keil, and feels convinced that he will pardon her.

But Rose Bernd is no longer the sole possessor of her secret. The machinist, Streckmann, a brutish rascal, from whom no girl in the village is secure, has long had his eyes on the pretty Rose, followed her up now and then, and so he has surprised her at a meeting with Flamm. He threatens to bring disgrace upon her by exposing her fault; Rose, in her first alarm, attempts a flat denial, but when she sees that this will not do, she offers Streckmann her entire savings as price of his silence. He, however, desires nothing less than the same concessions which she has made to Flamm. Rose is naturally outraged and refuses. When the scoundrel Streckmann does not cease to pursue her, and begins to hint at Rose's secret in public, she calls on him at his own house late one evening, and implores mercy. Streckmann takes advantage of the situation, and ravishes the girl, feeling sure that she will not dare to prosecute



him for the crime, since her own fault would come to light thereby. Rose suffers intensely, but she must bear it. Streckmann has now, if not received, at least taken the reward of his silence, and she hopes that in future he will not molest her. She stands all alone in these trials, it would be useless to confess her fault to her father and implore him for pardon, and she has not yet found the courage to take the unbeloved man, whom she is about to marry, into her confidence. She has indeed an experienced motherly friend, who soon discovers the state in which Rose is, and, without asking any questions and without a word of blame, promises to stay by her; but Rose cannot, must not accept her assistance, for this woman is Frau Flamm.

Flamm himself has not seen the girl for weeks, though he has tried his best to meet her, for she avoids him. Of her condition he has no idea, which bespeaks remarkable stupidity on his part. At last he surprises her one day alone in the field, and with his habitual disregard for others compels her to grant him an interview on the spot. When he sees that she is firm in her resolution to break off all relations with him, he goes his way, not particularly concerned, and still in ignorance of her state; although Rose has given him several unmistakable hints. But this meeting has sealed her doom. Streckmann, who covets her more than ever, has seen her together with Flamm from a distance, and comes up at once, to demand again equal rights with the other. Rose is driven to desperation by Streckmann's unceasing persecutions, and flies into a rage, crying out that she will prosecute him for his crime, that he has no claim on her, and so forth. Streckmann becomes scared and is about to withdraw, when the old Bernd, and August Keil, who have been mowing grass near by, and have heard the cries of Rose, come up, just in time to hear that Streckmann has abused her, but how and when they do not know. It comes to a quarrel, in which Streckmann knocks Keil's left eye out, before they can be separated by some farm laborers, who have arrived upon the scene. In the meanwhile Rose has fallen into a sort of trance, and does not recover until all is

over. Keil and Bernd now bring suit against Streckmann; Bernd is even more implacable over the fact that Streckmann has impaired Rose's reputation than Keil over the loss of his eye. Streckmann puts up Flamm as witness for the defence against the charge of slander. It is quite clear to Flamm what things must come to, and that the worst consequences must fall upon Rose, and he endeavors to persuade Bernd to withdraw his suit, but is not man enough to come forward with the whole truth. But the old Bernd, in his fanatical and intolerant self-righteousness, would rather lay down his life than suffer a stain upon the reputation of his daughter, whose absolute purity he does not doubt for a moment. Rose soon receives a summons to appear in court as witness, and, half insane with fear and shame, she perjures herself. On foot and alone Rose starts on her way home, but stops at Flamm's house, for Frau Flamm has sent her word that she wants to see her. From the disconnected answers which Rose makes to Frau Flamm's questions, Flamm infers that she has been also intimate with Streckmann. With his usual stupidity he draws the wrong conclusion, pronounces Rose a lewd wanton, and declares that he will not do the least in her behalf. Completely crushed, she continues on her way home, but before she arrives there she is surprised by a thunderstorm, and seeks refuge under some willows. There she gives premature birth to a child; the fearful stress of the last days has hastened the event. In her hopelessness and despair Rose destroys the new life at once; then she drags herself home. There no one is present except Rose's younger sister, who is greatly frightened at her appearance, as she well might be. Rose craves above all rest. Through begging, remonstrances and threats she exacts from her sister the promise not to tell anyone of her arrival, and goes to her room. Soon after Bernd and Keil come home, and are much surprised that Rose is not yet there. Keil has heard through Frau Flamm of Rose's fall—of her last, despairing deed he knows as yet nothing, that is still her own secret—and he tries to break the sad news to her father. The old Bernd collapses completely

under the blow, although more from wounded self-pride than from concern and compassion for his child. Rose now comes down again, and stammers out a sort of confession. The whole truth has not yet dawned upon the men, when a gendarme comes in to serve a new summons for Rose to appear in court. The unfortunate woman feels instinctively that there is no longer any escape for her, and accuses herself of the crime she has just committed, at which the gendarme proceeds to arrest her.

While the play is actually a strong defence of Rose Bernd, the author has not in the least idealized her. Rose Bernd has faults and is not without guilt. It cannot be said that she has become a victim of Flamm, for, obeying her own passion, she meets him halfway; although the chief blame falls upon him as the older, and as one of superior culture. He has, moreover, abused the confidence of the girl, who was accustomed to see in him a fatherly friend. But Rose does not attempt to put the blame for what has happened at his door; she is even too proud to ask him outright for material assistance. She has sinned and she will atone. If she were less self-respecting and independent she would simply tell Flamm the truth in so many words, and this would end her trouble at once. It is well, possibly, that she is not quite aware of this fact. We may maintain that it was her duty to tell Flamm of her condition; and this she does. Although she does not speak out plainly and boldly, her allusions are of such a nature that it requires particular density not to understand them. She must needs interpret Flamm's lack of comprehension as intentional, and as a sign that he does not want to know anything of the matter. Rose has too strong a sense of justice to reproach Flamm, and is too proud to beg him for the support he owes her. There is, moreover, an estranging element in her relations to Flamm; he is for her, in spite of her love for him, the wealthy farmer, separated from her by sharply defined distinctions of social classes, not to mention the fact that he is the husband of another. If Flamm had common sense, and the manliness to

stand by his deeds, he might well have asked Rose the delicate question, if their intercourse had had any consequences.

If Rose had had something of Frau Wolff-Fielitz or Hanne Schael in her, she would have accepted without hesitation the assistance offered her by Frau Flamm, but her strong sense of justice forbids her to make the slightest use of it. But one thing she does have in common with Frau Wolff-Fielitz: namely, the regard for outward appearances, for so-called reputation. We must, however, here take into account as additional motive, her fear of her father, and her desire to spare him the grief of seeing his daughter dishonored. All this combined drives her into the clutches of the brutish Streckmann, and makes her the victim of his lust. The same causes together with feminine modesty lead her to perjury. The old Bernd is a stern bigot, who neither understands his child, nor has her true interests at heart; but she has nevertheless a certain devotion to him. If it were not for his sake, she would leave her native village, hide her shame where no one knows her, and support herself and her child by the work of her hands, which would not be a difficult thing for her to do. It was not mere sensual passion which led Rose into Flamm's embrace, she really loved him, though her hot, young blood is an important factor. In the eyes of the world and the law, moreover, her chief guilt does not consist in her illicit relations to Flamm, but in her perjury and the murder of her child, deeds which she committed in a state of moral irresponsibility. In the end, her ruin results chiefly from her character. Her fear of her father's wrath, and of public disgrace, her independence and pride, her sense of justice, and as the result of these her reserve towards Flamm, are the causes of her destruction, and bring about the catastrophe. Her greatest fault is her regard for external appearances, but this she has only in common with millions of others. Rose Bernd is neither bad nor weak; she possesses on the contrary, a strong moral sense, and a firm will.

Flamm is, despite his 'broad-shouldered, imposing and very winning appearance,' a wretched fellow, compared with the

humble peasant girl. The outward man may be attractive enough, his character certainly is not. Hauptmann seems to have consciously or unconsciously modelled him after one of Sudermann's East-Elbian noblemen, like them he abounds in physical force and vitality. Flamm is a sort of *Leo v. Sellenthin*, but not as consistent and clear-sighted. He personifies pretty well the individualism of our age in one of its least attractive forms. In defence of his acts he simply pleads uncontrollable, natural impulses, and in this manner he seeks to justify his disregard for social and moral laws. But he has not the courage to acknowledge his deeds before the world, or even come out with the truth to the old Bernd, to ward off at least the worst consequences from the girl. He prefers to leave her to shift for herself, although he knows that at the very best she will be disgraced before the world, condemned, and trampled upon. Of his own hide he is careful enough. When he sits securely with the poor, ignorant peasant girl by the way-side, he throws down the gauntlet to society and civilization; but in court he has, of course, spoken the truth. Not perchance, from love of truth, for he lies cheerfully and skilfully on various occasions, but because perjury is a penitentiary offence. His conduct is the more damnable because of the fact that Rose is an orphan, and stands under the special protection of Frau Flamm. Without his tyrannical and brutal interference at Rose's last visit with Frau Flamm, the latter might have been able to win the confidence of the crushed, half-insane girl, and save her from the worst. Flamm's violent and headstrong temper does by no means indicate a strong character. Powerful passion is far from constituting strength, unless it is controlled by an even more powerful will. An harmonious human being without strong emotions, or passions, if you will, is not well conceivable, but these by themselves are of little value. Rose stands morally far above Flamm. She resolves to atone for her fault by especial submissiveness, obedience and faithfulness to August Keil; while Flamm tries to convince her that Keil will have more than his deserts—notwithstanding their connection. Flamm

seems to think that the world and all that is therein, exists chiefly for his sake. That he is represented to be at bottom a kind-hearted fellow, does not improve matters. His threat that he will put a bullet through his head because he has ruined Rose, we cannot well take seriously ; and even if he did so, it would serve no purpose.

Fran Flamm is only remotely connected with the plot, but not superfluous, nor should we like to miss her. She has acquired in the school of long suffering many noble qualities : infinite patience, unselfishness, helpfulness, forbearance, and a wide outlook upon human life. She stands in strong contrast to the wives and mothers commonly depicted by Hauptmann, and fortunately she is not merely a product of the poet's fancy. The remaining characters can only be touched upon. Streckmann is all brute, however aided in his evil lust by human intelligence. The old Bernd has been already sufficiently characterized. Keil has been reared in an orphan asylum, and so he has lost his hold upon reality. Since every contact with the vigorous, strenuous life of the outer world causes him only pain, he withdraws more and more from it. He therefore lacks the necessary insight to judge correctly of Rose's condition, and to be a support to her in her trial, and her father is blinded by self-righteousness. From the dramatic point of view, August Keil is a very weak character ; but without this weakness the development of the plot could not take its present course. Through him and through Frau Flamm the author has voiced his altruism, which makes itself strongly felt in the whole treatment of the theme. *Rose Bernd* has a rather complex plot, which has been carried out with great consistency. This drama does not suffer from excessive attention given to unimportant details as do many of Hauptmann's former plays, and the action is surprisingly well motivated ; only Flamm's lack of comprehension seems improbable.

In *Rose Bernd*, the author has treated a theme very closely related to that of Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena*. There exists great similarity between the conditions of Rose and Klara ;

both are motherless, though Klara does not lose her mother until after her fall, the fathers are stern, unbending and would never forgive their daughters. Both Klara and Rose strive to save themselves from disgrace; the former thinks more of her family, the latter, more of herself; Rose does commit adultery, but she surrenders herself from love, while Klara's action results from scarcely more than a whim. The development of the two plays is different, because of the widely different conditions. Klara and her father stand in every respect above Rose and the old Bernd. The realism of Hauptmann's play is more unsparing, the psychological analysis more close and exact than that of Hebbel's; which is perhaps largely due to the change in taste which has taken place since the days of Hebbel. If he were living in our own age he would be as unsparing a realist as Hauptmann. With Wagner's *Kinder-moerderin*, the play under discussion has nothing in common. The general atmosphere of *Rose Bernd* is depressing, and the purpose of the play has been often misinterpreted. Rose is an uncultured, but not an immoral woman; her ways of thinking and feeling are not fundamentally different from those of her more favored sisters, though her passions and emotions have something of an irresistible, elemental force about them. From the dramatic point of view, *Rose Bernd* and *Teamster Henschel* are the best naturalistic plays of Gerhart Hauptmann.

Since *Rose Bernd*, two further plays of Hauptmann have appeared. While they both contain naturalistic elements, they are not naturalistic dramas. *Elga*, according to the author's own statement, written as early as 1896, but not published until the beginning of 1905, is a mere succession of scenes, which present in dramatized form the substance of Grillparzer's story, *Das Kloster bei Sendomir*. Hauptmann has followed Grillparzer quite closely in plot as well as in characterization; some essential changes were required by the dramatic form. The device to present the action under the guise of a dream does, however, not belong here, and is superfluous from every point of view.

*Und Pippa tanzt*, the last play which Hauptmann has pro-

duced thus far, is more a puzzle than a drama. In the first act we have extreme naturalism, mingled with a few mystic traits, which in themselves are not at all incompatible with the naturalistic method. As the play goes on we get altogether into the realm of phantastic mysticism and symbolism.

The play has been interpreted as a symbolic presentation of the truth that art cannot exist without a high degree of culture, that it must perish in the contact with the primitive man, even if the latter is not hostile in his disposition towards it. The author of the play himself is reported to have given it this interpretation. But it is first of all a forced one, and it secondly gives no clue as to the significance of many traits and details contained in the play. In the case of a naturalistic drama the author could make the plea that life is complex and capricious and that we are by no means able to comprehend and account for everything. It is, however, the chief purpose of the dramatic art to interpret to us what is apparently without meaning. Least of all in a symbolical play should there be anything which has no significance? If the author gives free play to his imagination and fancy, or loses control over them, there can no longer be any real symbolism. Grillparzer held: 'A work of art must be like nature, of which it is a clarified image (*verklärtes Abbild*); to the most penetrating mind not wholly comprehensible and explicable, and yet revealing even to the mere beholder an important meaning. He who produces something that is without meaning to the common understanding, and only assumes a real significance upon penetrating reflexion, may have succeeded in solving a philosophical problem in poetical form, but he has not created a work of art.' Hauptmann has surely not solved a philosophical problem in the play under discussion, nor has an important meaning revealing itself at once to the common understanding. *Ergo*. But there are those nowadays who admire a poetical production the more, the more obscure the underlying idea.

In concluding this essay I shall attempt a brief summary of the leading features of Hauptmann's works. He possesses in



the first place little dramatic talent, the lyrical completely predominates in his makeup. Since, despite this fact, he has devoted himself almost exclusively to the drama, the general estimate of his work must needs suffer thereby. Very impressive by nature he has been deeply stirred by the struggles of our time; too deep and too honest to fabricate for himself a shallow and partial view of the world, too weak to conquer his doubts, he has not been able, as far as his plays show, to attain to a consistent philosophy of life. He is seeking, striving, but has not yet found a solution, and this also holds true of the characters which he represents. His dramas therefore bewilder and torment, unless one looks upon them with the superior disdain of the *superman*. As a thinker Hauptmann fails completely, and takes recourse to obscure symbolism, mysticism, affected profoundness, and paradoxes, when he tries to cope with ideas. Nor does he possess a creative imagination. He is very skilful in portraying a given character, and in laying bare its psychological life, but he depends on nature, on reality for his models, and is most successful when he selects these models from the common people. The plots of all his plays are simple, and the interest centres therefore chiefly in the characters. As in German literature of this period in general, the women characters of Hauptmann are superior to the men. In developing and perfecting the naturalistic method Hauptmann has rendered an important service to dramatic art. But the naturalistic drama is not the fulfilment, and Hauptmann will hardly be the one who will give to us the new drama for which the German people are longing and striving, without yet knowing what it will be.

JOSEF WIEHR.

## CIRCUMFLEX AND ACUTE IN GERMAN AND ENGLISH.

IN several of the Indo-European languages a distinction is found between two different kinds of accent similar to the ones familiar to students of Greek grammar by the terms of 'circumflex' and 'acute.' We would refer especially to the Lithuanian (or Lettic) language, because the Lithuanian (or Lettic) accent has been investigated by means of experimental phonetics in various articles by Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg, viz.: 'Zur Physiologie des litauischen Akzentes : ' *Indog. Forsch.* VII, 1897, p. 211 *seq.*—'Phonetische Untersuchungen zum lettischen Akzent,' *ibid.*, x, p. 117 *seq.*—'Further Contributions to the Lithuanian Accent Question : ' *Proceedings of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.* Vol. XXXII, p. xxiv, 1900. For a similar distinction in several of the Slavic languages (and in Lettic), we may refer to Hirt's book, *Der Indogermanische Akzent* (Strassburg, 1895), p. 54 *seq.* In Hirt's opinion, whose views probably are shared by most comparative philologists of the present day, the distinction between circumflex (*geschliffener Ton*) and acute (*gestossener Ton*) may be traced back to the Indo-European parent language and has therefore at one time, *i. e.*, in a pre-historic period, existed also in the Germanic languages.

Neither Hirt nor Schmidt-Wartenberg refer to the fact that a similar distinction is still found at present in both German and English. To be sure, the Modern German and Modern English circumflex cannot be traced back to the Indo-European parent speech, but has developed under entirely different conditions at a comparatively recent period. Moreover: both these languages have developed a new circumflex independently of each other and, as a rule, not in the same words. The fact,

however, that the circumflex exists in English and German alongside of the acute, is worthy of more careful attention than it has found so far: not only because it offers an interesting parallel to the Greek and Lithuanian accent from a phonetic point of view, but also because modern German and modern English accentuation cannot be thoroughly studied without paying due attention to this important distinction.

In emphasizing the fact that the circumflex is known in German and in English, we do not claim to advance an entirely new idea. Due attention has been given to the various modes of accentuation in several treatises on German dialects, *e. g.*: Müllenhoff in his introduction to the glossary of the earlier editions of Groth's *Quickborn* (*e. g.*, 3. edition, Hamburg, 1854, p. 264–275) takes New High German into consideration; but his remarks refer to Low German primarily where similar accent-laws exist.—K. Nörrenberg ('Ein niederrheinisches Accentgesetz:' *P. B. B.* IX, p. 402–412, 1883) bases his instructive and scientific investigation on the Low Rhenish or Middle Franconian dialect.—A. Diederich's detailed book (*Unsere selbst- und schmelzlaute [auch die englischen] in neuem lichte, oder dehnung und brechung als solche und letztere als verräterin alltäglicher, vorzeitlicher und vorgeschichtlicher wortwandlungen.* Strassburg, 1886) offers much that is noteworthy, also for New High German accentuation; yet, as the author is always influenced by his own dialect, he does not succeed in solving satisfactorily the problem as a whole. Further treatises on the subject are given by Nörrenberg, in the investigation mentioned above as well as in his critique of Diederich's book in the *Anzeiger für DA. und DL.*, 1887, p. 376 *seq.*

In sporadic cases the difference has also been traced in the literary languages, *e. g.*, P. E. Goddard's treatise, 'The Duration of English Vowels in Monosyllabic Words:'<sup>1</sup> *American Philological Association, Proceedings*, Vol. 35, pp. xc and xci.

<sup>1</sup> Goddard examines the length of vowels before voiceless and voiced consonants in English monosyllables, *i. e.*, in those where vowels and initial conso-

On the other hand the fact remains that in such excellent and detailed treatises on the German accent as *e. g.*, the one in Behaghel's 'Die deutsche Sprache' (Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. I.) no reference is made to the circumflex, and that, furthermore, the whole subject has, as regards the written language, not yet found a systematic representation.

It may be worth while under these circumstances to take up the problem anew in considering the question of accentuation strictly from the standpoint of the Modern German literary language, and comparing the corresponding conditions in English.

In order to represent the subject as clearly as possible, we shall arrange the material so as to give on the one hand the forms with 'straight' accent and on the other hand, those with 'wound' accent. As regards the terms 'straight' and 'wound' accents, they are meant to indicate the two forms of accentuation which are generally distinguished by German phoneticians as *gestossener* and *geschliffener Accent*, but might perhaps be called more simply *gerade* and *gewunden*.<sup>1</sup> These expressions, of course, refer to the same distinction for which others (*e. g.*, Sievers' *Phonetik*, § 29) use the terms *eingipflig* and *zweigipflig*, and which is perhaps more familiar to most of our readers from the distinction in Greek grammar of 'acute' and 'circumflex.' The phonetic side of the question has only been considered in so far as it appeared indispensable for grammatical purposes. We think that everybody who carefully pronounces the words in our lists, will notice for himself a difference between those with 'straight' and those with 'wound' accent. It consists chiefly of a weak *Nachklang* (= secondary *Gipfel*) which is audible in words with 'wound' accent when the stem-vowel is pronounced. This second *Gipfel* is distinct from the first,

nants are alike, but final consonants, different. He arrives at the conclusion that the length of the respective vowels before voiceless and voiced consonants stands in the proportion of 100 to 140; *cp. bait: bayed; boat: bode; meat: mead*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Or *einfach* (simple) and *kompliziert* (complicated).

not only regarding *Tonstärke* (stress), but also regarding *Tonhöhe* (pitch) and *Tonfarbe* (timbre). It is a reduced deeper sound which receives its particular coloring partly from the preceding accented vowel and partly from the one in the following syllable. As regards this latter vowel, we do not think of the *e* treated by K. v. Bahder ('Die *e*- Abtossung bei dem neuhochdeutschen Nomen : ' *Ig. Forschungen*, IV, 1894), but of an *e* which had not yet died out a century and more after Luther, and even occurs in isolated cases, in the present day.

'Wound' accent is found in 'German' in words whose stem syllable ends in a diphthong or long vowel, before *d*, *t*, *s* and *g*.<sup>1</sup> If the stem-syllable contains short vowel + liq. or nas., we likewise have 'wound' accent when a following *e* has been lost.<sup>2</sup>

In English, the 'wound' accent is noticeable before voiced consonants in words whose stem syllable ends in a diphthong or long vowel. If the stem syllable contains a short vowel + liq. or nasal, we find 'wound' accent when liq. or nas. are followed by a voiced consonant ; if a voiceless consonant follows, 'straight' accent is the rule. Such *e*'s as we still find written in words like *pinned*, *employed*, *bowed*, etc., need of course not be considered here as they are no longer pronounced.

We do not, of course, wish to maintain that the separation between 'wound' and 'straight' accent is everywhere the same, and hence that our own pronunciation must be regarded as authoritative in every instance. We believe, however, that on the whole, it agrees with the one generally adopted by the educated classes both in Germany and England.

The examples given in the following lists have been selected so as to contrast whenever possible words identical in pronunciation but for the accent, our intention being to select in this

<sup>1</sup> Before voiceless *h* (written *ch*) the accent is always straight.

<sup>2</sup> Before gemination we have in this case as a rule, 'wound' accent, but 'straight' accent does occur before double liq. or double nas., as : *fällst*, *fällt*, (*fallen*) ; *willst* ; *sollt*, *wollt*, *sollte*, *wollte*, *sollten*, *wollten* ; *nimmt*, *nimmt* ; *kommt*, *kommt* ; *kannst* ; *brannte*, *kannte*, *nannte*, *rannte*, etc.

way the most characteristic examples illustrating the difference between the two kinds of accentuation. A complete collection of words exhibiting these two kinds has not been aimed at.

We use the sign " to indicate the 'wound' accent. Obsolete forms have been marked with an asterisk. Proper names are quoted only in exceptional cases.

## A. EXAMPLES FROM GERMAN.

### 1. Diphthongs.

#### ai.

*Eid, breit, Kleid, Leid, Ge-leit, Maid, Neid, be-reit, Be-scheid, ge-scheit, seit, Streit, weit, Zeit.*—*ge-dei''ht, frei''t, be-frei''t, lei''ht, rei''ht, schnei''t, schrei''t, sei''ht, spei''t, wei''ht, zei''ht, ver-zei''ht.*

*Breite, Seite, Weite.*—*frei''te, be-frei''te, rei''hte, schnei''te, sei''hte, wei''hte.*

*Breiten, aus-breiten, be-gleiten, leiten, reiten, be-reiten, schreiten, Seiten, streiten, Zeiten.*—*frei''ten, be-frei''ten, rei''hten, sei''hten, wei''hten.*

*Eid's, Greiz (n. pr.), Kleid's, Leid's, Ge-leit's, Neid's,<sup>1</sup> be-reits, Reiz, Schweiz (n. pr.).*—*ge-dei''ht's, be-frei''t's, lei''ht's, rei''ht's, schnei''t's, sei''ht's, spei''t's, zei''ht's, ver-zei''ht's.*

*Eis, Fleiss, heiss, Kreis, Mais, Reis, Ge-schmeiss, Schweiss, Steiss, (er)weiss, weiss (adj.).*—*Brei''s, ge-dei''h's, Ei''s, be-frei''s, lei''h's, Mai''s, rei''h's, Ge-schrei''s, sei''s, sei''h's, spei''s, wei''h's, ver-zei''h's.*

*beisst, dreist, feist, Geist, heisst, meist, reisst.<sup>2</sup>*—*ge-dei''hst, be-frei''st, ent-glei''st, krei''st, lei''hst, prei''st, rei''hst, rei''st (reisen), schrei''st, sei''st, sei''hst, spei''st (speien), spei''st (speisen), ver-wai''st, wei''hst, wei''st, ver-wei''st, zei''hst.*

<sup>1</sup> In *Eid's, Kleid's, Leid's, Ge-leit's, Neid's* we apparently have 'straight' accent after the analogy of such forms where 'straight' accent is regular, as nom. acc. sing. *Eid, Kleid, Leid, Ge-leit, Neid*.

<sup>2</sup> *reisst*. In this case the *e* had already been dropped in Luther; cp. *zu-reysst*, Marc. 2, 47.

*Leiste*, (das) *meiste*.—*frei''ste*, *ent-glei''ste*, *krei''ste*, *rei''ste*, *spei''ste*, *ver-wai''ste*.

*Leisten*, (die) *meisten*.—*ent-glei''sten*, *krei''sten*, *rei''sten*, *spei''sten*, *ver-wai''sten*.

*ge-acht*, *bleicht*, *gleicht*, *leicht*, *reicht*, *seicht*, *weicht*.—*gei''gt*, *nei''gt*, *schwei''gt*, *er-stei''gt*, *zei''gt*.

*bleichte*, *reichte*.—*gei''gte*, *nei''gte*, *zei''gte*.

*bleichten*, *reichten*.—*gei''gten*, *nei''gten*, *zei''gten*.

*bleichst*, *gleichst*, *reichst*, *weichst*.—*gei''gst*, *nei''gst*, *schwei''gst*, *er-stei''gst*, *zei''gst*.

au.

*Brant*, *Haut*, *Kraut*, *Laut*, *laut*, *traut* (adj.).—*bau''t*, *brau''t*, *ver-dau''t*, *grau''t*, *er-grau''t*, *hau''t*, *kau''t*, *krau''t*, *miau''t*, *schau''t*, *tau''t*, *trau''t* (trauen).

*Laute*, (der, die) *Traute*.—*bau''te*, *brau''te*, *hau''te*, *kau''te*, *krau''te*, *miau''te*, *schau''te*, *tau''te*, *trau''te* (trauen).

*Bauten*, *Lauten*, *lauten*, (Argo)*nauten*.—*bau''ten*, *brau''ten*, *hau''ten*, *kau''ten*, *krau''ten*, *miau''ten*, *schau''ten*, *tau''ten* (auf), *trau''ten*.

*Kauz*.—*bau''t's*, *brau''t's*, *hau''t's*, *kau''t's*, *miau''t's*, *schau''t's*, *tau''t's*.

*aue*, *Braus*, *Flaus*, *Graus*, *Haus*, *Laus*, *Maus*, *Saus*, *Schmaus*, *Strauss*.—*Bau''s*, *Brau''s*, *Ge-hau''s*, *kau''s*, *Pfau''s*, *Tau''s*.

*Faust*.—*bau''st*, *brau''st* (brauen), *brau''st* (brausen), *grau''st* (grausen), *hau''st* (hauen), *hau''st* (hausen), *kau''st*, *krau''st*, *schau''st*, *tau''st* (auf).

*brau''ste*, *ge-nau''(e)ste*, *grau''ste* (grausen), *rau''h(e)ste*.

*braucht*, *haucht*, *er-laucht*, *raucht*, *ver-staucht*, *taucht*.<sup>1</sup>—*ge-lau''gt*, *sau''gt*, *tau''gt*.

*brauchte*, *hauchte*, *rauchte*, *ver-stauchte*, *tauchte*.—*sau''gte*, *tau''gte*.

*brauchten*, *hauchten*, *rauchten*, *verstauchten*, *tauchten*.—*sau''gten*, *tau''gten*.

*brauchst*, *hauchst*, *rauchst*, *verstauchst*, *tauchst*.—*sau''gst*, *tau''gst*.

<sup>1</sup> Luther has *tauchelt* Marc. 14, 40.

eu.

*Deut.* — *beu''t* (*bieten*), *ge-beu''t*,<sup>1</sup> *bläu''t*, *bleu''t* (*bleuen*; M.H.G. *bliuven*), *freu''t*, *er-freu''t*, *käu''t*, *er-neu''t*, *be-reu''t*, *scheu''t*, *streu''t*, *verun-treu''t*.

*Beute*, *Häute*, *heute*, *Ge-läute*, *Leute*, *Meute*. — *bläu''te*, *bleu''te*, *er-freu''te*, *er-neu''te*, *be-reu''te*, *scheu''te*, *streu''te*, *verun-treu''te*.

*Beuten*, *er-beuten*, *häuten*, *läuten*, *Meuten*, *reuten*. — *bläu''ten*, *bleu''ten*, *er-freu''ten*, *er-neu''ten*, *be-reu''ten*, *scheu''ten*, *streu''ten*, *verun-treu''ten*.

*Kreuz*, *Deutz* (n. pr.). — *bläu''t's*, (*mich*) *freu''t's*, *er-neu''t's*, *be-reu''t's*, *scheu''t's*, *streu''t's*, *verun-treu''t's*.

*Neuss* ((n. pr.), *Reuss* (n. pr.)). — *Bräu''s*, *Ge-bräu''s*, *Heu''s*, (*was*) *Neu''(e)s*.

*Beust* (n. pr.), *\*fleusst*.<sup>2</sup> — *freu''st*, *er-freu''st*, *ge-kräu''st*, *er-neu''st*, *be-reu''st*, *scheu''st*, *streu''st*, *verun-treu''st*.

*Füuste*. — *neu''(e)ste*, *treu''ste*.

*däucht* (*dünken*), *feucht*, *\*fleucht* (*fliehen*), *keucht*, *scheucht*, *\*zeucht*. — *äu''gt*, *beu''gt*, *säu''gt*, *er-zeu''gt*.

*\*fleuchst* (*fliehen*), *keuchst*, *scheuchst*, *zeuchst*.<sup>3</sup> — *beu''g'st*, *säu''gst*, *er-zeu''gst*.

## 2. Long Vowels.

ä.

*bat*, *Draht*, *Naht*, *Pfad*, *Rat*, *Saat*, *Tat*, *tat*. — *be-ja''ht*, *na''ht*, *sa''ht*.

*Rate*, *rate*. — *be-ja''hte*, *na''hte*.

*baten*, *raten*, *Raten*, *Saaten*, *Spaten*, *Taten*, *taten*. — *be-ja''hten*, *na''hten*.

*bat's*, *Draht's*,<sup>4</sup> *Graz* (n. pr.), *Kratz* (n. pr.), *Pfad's*, *Rat's*, *rat's*, *tat's*. — *be-ja''ht's*, *na''ht's*, *sa''ht's*.

<sup>1</sup> *ge-beut* Luther's Bible, Deut. 26, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *fleusst* Luther's Bible, Exod. 3, 8. 13, 5. Deut. 27, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *ein-zeuchst* Luther's Bible, Deut. 30, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *bat's*, *rat's*, *tat's*; *Draht's*, *Pfad's*, *Rat's* have 'straight' accent and seem influenced by related forms, as f. i. 1. sing. pret. *ich bat*, *tat*; inf. *raten*; nom. sing. *Draht*, *Pfad*, *Rat*.



*ass, frass, Mass, sass, Spass.*<sup>1</sup>—*be-ja''h's, sa''h's, ge-scha''h's.*

*asst, frasst, sasst, spasst.*—*gra''st, na''hst, ra''st, sa''hst.*

*-masste (an-massen), spasste.*—*gra''ste, ra''ste.*

*bracht* (2. plur. pret. of *brechen*), *Magd,*<sup>2</sup> *sagt, ge-sagt.*<sup>3</sup>—*fra''gt, be-ha''gt, ja''gt, kla''gt, la''gt, na''gt, ra''gt (hervor), ta''gt, wa''gt, za''gt, ver-za''gt.*

*sagte.*—*fra''gte, be-ha''gte, ja''gte, kla''gte, na''gte, ra''gte (hervor), ta''gte, wa''gte, za''gte.*

*sagten.*—*fra''gten, be-ha''gten, ja''gten, kla''gten, na''gten, ra''gten (hervor), ta''gten, wa''gten, za''gten.*

*brachst, sagst.*—*fra''gst, be-ha''gst, ja''gst, kla''gst, la''gst, na''gst, ra''gst, wa''gst, za''gst.*

ä

*lädt, Majestät, rät, spät.*—*bä''ht, blä''ht, Krä''ht, mä''ht, nä''ht, sä''ht, sä''t, verschmä''ht, spä''ht.*

*bäte, Gräte, Näkte, Räte, täte.*—*bä''hte, blä''hte, Krä''hte, mä''hte, nä''hte, sä''te, verschmä''hte, spä''hte.*

*bäten, Gräten, jäten, täten.*—*bä''hten, blä''hten, Krä''hten, mä''hten, nä''hten, sä''ten, verschmä''hten, spä''hten.*

*Grätz* (n. pr.), *Ge-räts,*<sup>4</sup> *ge-räts, tät's.*—*blä''ht's, mä''ht's, nä''ht's, sä''t's, ver-schmä''ht's, spä''ht's.*

*Ge-fäss, ge-mäss, Ge-säss.*—*mä''h's nä''h's sä''s, sä''h's, ge-schä''h's, ver-schmä''h's.*

*ässt, frässt, sässt.*—*ä''st, bä''hst, blä''hst, blä''st, Krä''hst, mä''hst, nä''hst, sä''st, sä''hst,*<sup>5</sup> *ver-schmä''hst, spä''hst.*

*lägt* (2. plur. pret. conj.), *schlägt, trägt.*—*sä''gt, wä''gt.*

*nächst, schlägst, trägst.*—*sä''gst, wä''gst.*

<sup>1</sup> The stem-vowel in *Spass, spasst, spasste* is generally pronounced long; in some districts however, f. i. on the Rhine, the pronunciation of the vowel is short.

<sup>2</sup> In *Magd* we have 'straight' accent in spite of the *g*; this *g* is however pronounced like voiceless *ch* in Lower Germany.

<sup>3</sup> Luther has (er) *sagt* Marc. 2, 5. *ge-sagt* Ex. 3, 16, 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ge-rät's*: 'straight' accent after the analogy of related forms, as f. i. nom. sing. *Ge-rät.*

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Goethe's *Faust I*, 386 "O sä''hst du, voller Mondenschein."

## ē

*Beet, Ge-bet, geht, steht,*<sup>1</sup> *be-redt.*<sup>2</sup>—*dre''ht, fle''ht, se''ht* (2. plur. pret.), *we''ht*.

*Be(e)te, bete, Ge-bete, Grete* (n. pr.), *Lethe* (n. pr.).—*dre''hte, fle''hte, we''hte*.

*beten.*—*dre''hten, fle''hten, we''hten*.

(*wie*) *geht's, steht's, stets.*—*dre''ht's, fle''ht's, we''ht's*.

Cp. *Dres(den)* (n. pr.).—*dre''h's, Klee''s, Re''h's, ge-sche''h's, See''s, (ich) se''h's, Tee''s, We''h's, Ze''h's*.

*Geest, gehst, stehst.*—*dre''hst, (am) e''hsten, fle''hst*.

*fe''gt, he''gt, le''gt,*<sup>3</sup> *pfle''gt, re''gt, be-we''gt*.

*fe''gst, he''gst, le''gst, pfl''gst, re''gst, be-we''gst*.

## ī

*Lied, mied, Niet, Ried, riet, schied, sieht,*<sup>4</sup> *zieht.*<sup>5</sup>—*flie''ht, knie''t, lie''ht, schrie''t*.

*biete, Miete, Niete, riete.*—*knie''te*.

*bieten, Mieten, mieten, Nieten.*—*knie''ten*.

*blies, Fries, Gries, Kies, lies, liess, Ries, Spiess, Vliess, wies.*—*flie''h's, schrie''s, sie''h's, spie''s, Vie''h's, wie''s* (= *wie es*).

*fließt, giesst, liest,*<sup>6</sup> *ge-niesst, schiesst, siehst, spiesst, ziehst.*—*flie''hst, nie''st, schrie''st, spie''st, ver-zie''hst*.

*krieche, ver-krieche, liegt,*<sup>7</sup> *rieche, sieche.*—*bie''gt, flie''gt, be-krie''gt, sie''gt, wie''gt*.

<sup>1</sup> *geht, steht, gehst, stehst* (cp. M. H. G. *gēt, stēt*); here the 'straight' accent is explained by the older forms. Yet in Luther there are isolated cases of the longer forms, as *auff-stehest* Ex. 35. *stehet* Marc. 9, 23. *eyn-gehist* Marc. 9, 87.

<sup>2</sup> Luther has *ge-redt* Gen. 21, 1, 2. Ex. 4, 10, 30.

<sup>3</sup> In Luther's Bible we find: *legt's* Gen. 21, 14. *legten* Marc. 8, 12, 11, 14. Deut. 16, 6. *gelegt* Marc. 6, 37. *eyn-legt* Marc. 12, 85. *eynge-legt* Marc. 12, 92.

<sup>4</sup> *sieht, siehst* with 'straight' accent after MHG. 1. pres. sing. *sihe* OHG. *sihu*. Cp. Luther's Bible: *ver-sihet* Lev. 14, 22. *sihet* Ex. 4, 14. *sihe (zu)* Ex. 4, 21. *sihest* Deut. 12, 4. *sihe* Marc. 13, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *zieht, ziehst* with 'straight' accent after MHG. 1. pres. sing. *zihe*; etymologically correct forms are *zeucht, zeuchst*, which have now become obsolete. Cp. *aus-ziehet* Ex. 3, 21 (Luther).

<sup>6</sup> *liest*. Cp. note 1 and 2 concerning *sieht, zieht*.

<sup>7</sup> *liegt, liegst*. Here the unaccented *e* had already disappeared before Luther's time. Cp. Gen. 21, 17: (*er*)*ligt*.

*kriechst, ver-kriechst, liegst, riechst, siechst.—bie''gst, flie''gst, be-krie''gst, sie''gst, wie''gst.*

ö

*Boot, bot, Ge-bot, Brod, Kot, Lot, Not, rot, Tod, tot.—dro''ht, flo''ht, lo''ht, ver-ro''ht.*

*Bote, Ge-bote, Pfote, (der, die) Tote.—dro''hte, lo''hte, ver-ro''hte.*

*Boten, boten, ge-boten, Pfoten, Schoten, (die) Toten.—dro''hten, lo''hten, ver-ro''hten.*

*Boot's<sup>1</sup> bot's,<sup>2</sup> Ge-bot's ge-bot's, Brot's, Kot's, Lot's, (Abend)-rot's.—dro''ht's, lo''ht's.*

*Floss, los, Los, Moos, Schooss.—flo''h's, Flo''h's, Stro''h's, wo''s (= wo es).*

*Ost,<sup>3</sup> Toast, Trost.—ge-lo''st, be-moo''st, to''st.*

*Toaste.—lo''ste, be-moo''ste, to''ste.*

*bo''gt, flo''gt, lo''gt, so''gt, be-tro''gt, Vo''gt, wo''gt, zo''gt.*

*bo''gst, flo''gst, lo''gst, so''gst, be-tro''gst, wo''gst (2. pret. sing. of wiegen), zo''gst.<sup>4</sup>*

ö

*Cp. Bröt(chen).—er-hö''ht.*

*böte, Flöte, Kröte, Nöte, Röte, töte.—er-hö''hte.*

*böten, Flöten, flöten, Kröten, löten, er-röten, töten.—er-hö''hten.*

*bös, Er-lös.—er-lö''s (uns), Ge-tö''s.*

*einge-flösst, stösst.—ge-lö''st, er-lö''st.*

*flösste(ein).—lö''ste, er-lö''ste.*

*lö''gt, ver-mö''gt, zö''gt.*

*höchst.<sup>5</sup>—zö''gst.<sup>6</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> *Boot's, Ge-bot's, Kot's, Lot's, (Abend)rot's, Tod's* with 'straight' accent after the analogy of nom. and accus. sing. Cp. Luther: *tods* Gen. 20, 3, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *bot's, ge-bot's.* Cp. note to *bat's, rat's, tal's*, p. 582.

<sup>3</sup> The *o* in *Ost* is pronounced short in Western Germany.

<sup>4</sup> Luther has *zogest* Deut. 16, 6.

<sup>5</sup> In Luther we already find *höchsten* Marc. 5, 12 by the side of *höheste*.

<sup>6</sup> The difference between 'straight' and 'wound' accent is not always distinctly audible before *r*. Luther has *hortten* Marc. 3, 2 by the side of *horet* Marc. 4, 6, 46. *ge-höret* (part.) Marc. 4, 27. *ange-horet* Gen. 19, 12. *er-horet* Gen. 21, 17. *ge-höret, höret* Deut. 5, 28.

## ü

*Blut, gut, Gut, Mut, tut, Wut.*—*ru''ht*,<sup>1</sup> *ge-ru''ht*, *be-schu''ht*.  
(*der, die, das*) *Gute, Rute, Tute.*—*ru''hte, ge-ru''hte, be-schu''hte*.

*Blut's, Mut's*,<sup>2</sup> *Gut's, (was) tut's.*—*ru''ht's, ge-ru''ht's*.

*Fuss, Mus.*—*ge-ru''h's, Schu''h's, tu''s*.

*fusst, tust*,<sup>3</sup> *Wust.*—*ru''hst, ge-ru''hst, be-schu''hst*.

*ge-bucht, flucht, sucht, ge-sucht*.<sup>4</sup>—*lu''gt, schlu''gt, tru''gt*.

*buchst, fluchst, suchst.*—*lu''gst, schlu''gst, tru''gst*.

## ü

*Ge-blüt, Ge-müt, Ge-stüt.*—*blü''ht, brü''ht, ver-frü''ht, be-mü''ht, sprü''ht*.

*Blüte, brüte, Güte, Hüte, hüte, (zu) Gemüte (führen), Tüte, wüte.*—*blü''hte, brü''hte, ver-frü''hte, be-mü''hte, sprü''hte*.

*süss.*—*blü''h's, brü''h's, sprü''h's*.

*büsst, ver-süsst, wüst.*—*blü''hst, be-mü''hst, sprü''hst*.

*büsst, ver-süsst, Wüste.*—*frü''h(e)ste*.

*lügt.*—*fü''gt, ge-nü''gt*.

*lügst.*—*fü''gst, ge-nü''gst*.

## 3. Short Vowel + Liq. or Nas.

## I. Short Vowel + l.

## a + l.

*alt, bald, halt, kalt, Schalt(jahr), schalt, Ge-stalt, Wald.*—*ball''t, hall''t, knall''t, krall''t, lall''t, prall''t, schall''t, schnall''t, be-stall''t, wall''t*.

(*der, die*) *Alte, halte, ge-stalte, walte.*—*ball''te, hall''te, knall''te, krall''te, lall''te, prall''te, schall''te, schnall''te, be-stall''te, wall''te*.

<sup>1</sup> Luther has still *ruget (ruht)* Marc. 6, 64.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Bluts* in Luther, Deut. 15, 23 and *guts* Ex. 1, 20 as well as note to *Draht's, Pfad's, Rat's*, p. 582.

<sup>3</sup> In Luther we find *thust* Deut. 24, 8. *thu* Marc. 10, 71. *thut* Marc. 11, 71 bes. *thuest* Marc. 10, 70.

<sup>4</sup> Luther has *ver-sucht* Deut. 14, 22. *heimge-sucht* Ex. 3, 17. 4, 31 etc.

(die) *Alten, halten, ge-stalten, walten*.—*ball''ten, hall''ten, knall''ten, krall''ten, lall''ten, prall''ten, schall''ten, schnall''ten, be-stall''ten, wall''ten*.

(da) *galt's, (Fröhlich) Pfalz, (Gott)er-halt's, Malz, Salz, Schmalz*.—*hall''t's, knall''t's, lall''t's, prall''t's, schall''t's, schnall''t's, wall''t's*.

*Hals*.—*All's, Ball's, Fall's*,<sup>1</sup> *Wall's, (Welt)all's*.

*ball''st, hall''st, um-hal''st, knall''st, krall''st, lall''st, prall''st, schnall''st, be-stall''st, wall''st*.

*e + l.*

*Beit, fällt*<sup>2</sup> (*fallen*), *Feld, Geld, hält, Held, Welt*.—*bell''t, fällt''t (fällen), ge-fällt''t (füllen), ver-gällt''t, gell''t, er-hell''t, prell''t, schell''t, zer-schell''t, schnell''t, stell''t, darge-stell''t*.<sup>3</sup>

*Gelte, Kälte, Schelte*.—*bell''te, fällt''te, ver-gällt''te, gell''te, er-hell''te, prell''te, zer-schell''te, schnell''te, stell''te*.

*gelten, schelten, Welten*.—*bell''ten, fällt''ten, ver-gällt''ten, gell''ten, er-hell''ten, prell''ten, zer-schell''ten, schnell''ten, stell''ten*.

*gelt's, Pelz, Schmelz, Selz* (n. pr.).—*fällt''t's, ver-gällt''t's, gell''t's, er-hell''t's, zer-schell''t's, stell''t's*.

*Fels*.—*fällt''s, gell''s, er-hell''s, zer-schell''s, stell''s*.

*fälltst (fallen)*.—*fällt''st, ver-gällt''st, gell''st, er-hell''st, prell''st, zer-schell''st, schnell''st, stell''st*.

*i + l.*

*Bild, gilt, mild, Schild, schilt*.—*Ge-bil''d*,<sup>4</sup> *be-brill''t, drill''t, quill''t, schwill''t, still''t, ge-will''t*.

*be-brill''te, drill''te, schrill''te, still''te*.

*Filz, gilt's*,<sup>5</sup> *Milz, Pilz*.—*schwill''t's, still''t's*.

*willst*.<sup>6</sup>—*drill''st, schwill''st, still''st*.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the conjunction *falls* fr. *Falles*, gen. sing. of *Fall*. In particles, shortening took place; hence 'straight' accent here in spite of the original *e*.

<sup>2</sup> *Fällt, fälltst* from *fallen* with 'straight' accent, but *fällt''t* fr. *füllen*, as well as *ge-fällt''t* fr. *füllen*. Luther has (*was euch*) *gefället* Gen. 19, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Luther, Marc. 6, 40: *stellet*. Gen. 21, 29: *darge-stellet*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. "*wie ein Gebild aus Himmelshöhen*" (Schiller's *Glocke*).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Luther, Marc. 6, 12: *gillt*. <sup>6</sup> Cp. Luther, Ex. 4, 13: (*du*) *wilt*.

## o + l.

*Gold, hold, Sold, sollt,*<sup>1</sup> *wollt.*—*roll''t, schmoll''t, toll''t, troll''t, ver-zoll''t.*

*sollte, wollte.*—*roll''te, schmoll''te, toll''te, troll''te, zoll''te, ver-zoll''te.*

*ge-golten, sollten, wollten.*—*roll''ten, schmoll''ten, toll''ten, troll''ten, zoll''ten, ver-zoll''ten.*

*Bolz, Goltz* (n. pr.), *schmolz.*—*roll''t's, schmoll''t's, toll''t's, troll''t's, ver-zoll''t's.*

*sollst.*—*roll''st, schmoll''st, toll''st, troll''st, zoll''st, ver-zoll''st.*

*Holste* (n. pr.).—*toll''ste, voll''ste.*

## u + l.

*Ge-duld, Dult, Huld, Kult, Pult, Schuld.*—*lull''t, strull''t.*

*Dulte, Kulte, Pulte, Schulte* (n. pr.).—*lull''te, strull''te.*

*Schulz, Kult's, Pult's.*<sup>2</sup>—*dul''d's.*

*Hulst, Schwulst, Wulst.*—*lull''st, strull''st.*

## ü + l.

*Cp. gült*(ig), *Sylt* (n. pr.).—*brüll''t, füll''t,*<sup>3</sup> *hüll''t, knüll''t.*

*Cp. schwülst*(ig).—*brüll''st, füll''st, hüll''st, knüll''st.*

## II. Short Vowel + r.

## a + r.

*hart, ward.*—*harr''t, karr''t, knarr''t, ver-narr''t, scharr''t,*<sup>4</sup> *schnarr''t, er-starr''t.*

*Karte, Quart, Warte, warte.*—*harr''te, karr''te, knarr''te, ver-narr''te, scharr''te, schnarr''te, er-starr''te.*

*Karten, Quart, Warten, warten.*—*harr''ten, karr''ten, knarr''ten, ver-narr''ten, scharr''ten, schnarr''ten, er-starr''ten.*

*Harz, Quarz.*—*karr''t's, knarr''t's, scharr''t's.*

*barst, Karst.*—*harr''st, karr''st, knarr''st, ver-narr''st, scharr''st, schnarr''st, starr''st.*

<sup>1</sup> *Sollt, wollt, sollst*, etc., Cp. Luther: *solt* (du) Ex. 3, 18. 4, 12, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning *Kult's, Pult's* etc., cp. note to *Draht's*, etc., p. 582.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Luther, Ex. 2, 16 *füllen*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Luther, Marc. 6, 101 *ver-starrt*. Ex. 2, 12 *be-scharret*.

e + r.

*Gerte, Härte.*—plärr''te, sperr''te, zerr''te.*Gärten, Gerten.*—plärr''ten, sperr''ten, zerr''ten.*Erz, Herz, März, Scherz, Schmerz.*—plärr''t's, sperr''t's, zerr''t's.*Werst* (Russian measure).—plärr''st, sperr''st, zerr''st.

i + r.

*Hirt, wird, Wirt.*—irr''t, flirr''t, girr''t, kirr''t, klirr''t, schwirr''t, ver-wirr''t.*Hirte, Wirte.*—irr''te, flirr''te, girr''te, kirr''te, klirr''te, schwirr''te, ver-wirr''te.*Hirten, be-wirten.*—irr''ten, flirr''ten, girr''ten, kirr''ten, klirr''ten, schwirr''ten, ver-wirr''ten.*Hirt's, wird's, Wirt's.*<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Wirts(haus).*—irr''t's, flirr''t's, girr''t's, kirr''t's, klirr''t's, schwirr''t's, ver-wirr''t's.*First, wirst.*—irr''st, ver-irr''st, kirr''st, klirr''st, schwirr''st, ver-wirr''st.

o + r

*Ort, Bord, Bort, fort, Hort, Mord, Port, Tort, Wort.*—ver-dorr''t.*Orte, Borte, Horte, Porte, Pforte, Torte, Worte.*—ver-dorr''te.<sup>2</sup>*Borten, Pforten, Torten.*—ver-dorr''ten.*Ort's.*<sup>3</sup>—ver-dorr''t's.*Borste, Forst, Horst.*—ver-dorr''st.

ö + r.

Cp. *Ört(er), Wört(er).*—ge-dörr''t.Cp. *Först(er).*—dörr''st.

u + r.

*Furt, Gurt, Kurt* (n. pr.).—gurr''t, knurr''t, murr''t, gemurr''t,<sup>4</sup> purr''t, schnurr''t, schurr''t.<sup>1</sup> *Hirt's, Wirt's* with 'straight' accent after the analogy of related forms. Cp. Note to *Drahts*, etc., p. 582.<sup>2</sup> *ver-dorrete* in Luther, Marc. 3, 3. <sup>3</sup> *Ort's*. Cp. note to *Draht's*, etc., p. 582.<sup>4</sup> Cp. Luther, Deut. 14, 29: *ge-murret*.

*Gurte*.—*gurr''te*, *knurr''te*, *murr''te*, *purrr''te*, *schnurr''te*, *schurr''te*.

*Furten*.—*gurr''ten*, *knurr''ten*, *murr''ten*, *purrr''ten*, *schnurr''ten*, *schurr''ten*.

*Schurz*, *Sturz*, *Wurz*.—*knurr''t's*, *murr''t's*, *schnurr''t's*.

*Durst*, *Wurst*.—*knurr''st*, *murr''st*, *schnurr''st*.

ü + r.

*Fürth* (n. pr.). *Cp. Gürt*(el).—*ver-dürr''t*.

*gürte*.—*ver-dürr''te*.

*gürten*.—*ver-dürr''ten*.

*Fürst*.—*ver-dürr''st*,

*dürste*, *Würste*.—*dürr''ste* (supve).

*dürsten*, *Fürsten*.—(am) *dürr''sten*.

### III. Short Vowel + m.

a + m.

*Amt*, *ver-dammt* (adj.), *samt*, *allesamt*.—*ver-damm''t* (vb.), *flamm''t*, *ramm''t*, *schwamm''t*, *stamm''t*.

*ver-dammte* (adj.).—*ver-damm''te* (vb.), *flamm''te*, *ramm''te*, *stamm''te*.

*ver-dammten* (adj.).—*ver-damm''ten*<sup>1</sup> (vb.), *flamm''ten*, *ramm''ten*, *stamm''ten*.

*stamm''ten*.

*Amt's*.<sup>2</sup>—*ver-damm''t's*, *flamm''t's*, *ramm''t's*.

*Wams*.—*ver-damm''s*, *Schlamm''s*, *Schwamm''s*.

*Cp. Hamst(er)*.—*ver-damm''st*, *flamm''st*, *ramm''st*, *stamm''st*.

e + m.

*fremd*, *Hemd*.—*aufge-dämm''t*, *hemm''t*, *kämm''t*, *klemm''t*, *schlemm''t*, *stemm''t*, *über-schwemm''t*.

*Fremde*, *Hemde*.—*dämm''te*, *hemm''te*, *kämm''te*, *klemm''te*, *schlemm''te*, *stemm''te*, *über-schwemm''te*.

<sup>1</sup> *ver-damm''ten*, although the *e* was already dropped in Luther's Bible. *Cp. Marc. 14, 119: ver-dampfen.*

<sup>2</sup> *Amt's*; *cp. note 4, p. 582.*



(die) *Fremden*, *be-*, *ent-fremden*, *Hemden*.—*dämm''ten*, *hemm''ten*, *kämm''ten*, *klemm''ten*, *schlemm''ten*, *stemm''ten*, *über-schwemm''ten*.

*Hemd's*.<sup>1</sup>—*dämm''t's*, *hemm''t's*, *kämm''t's*, *klemm''t's*, *verschlemm''t's*, *stemm''t's*, *über-schwemm''t's*.

*Ems* (n. pr.).—*dämm''s*, *hemm''s*, *kämm''s*, *klemm''s*, *verschlemm''s*, *stemm''s*.

*brem''st*, *dämm''st*, *hemm''st*, *kämm''st*, *klemm''st*, *verschlemm''st*, *stemm''st*, *schwemm''st*.

i + m.

*nimmt*.<sup>2</sup>—*glimm''t*, *klimm''t*, *schwimm''t*, *stimm''t*.

*Hinten* (n.).—*stimm''ten*.

*nimmt's*.—*stimm''t's*.

*nimm's*, *Ge-sims*.—*klimm''s*, *stimm''s*.

*nimmst*.—*glimm''st*, *klimm''st*, *schwimm''st*, *stimm''st*.

o + m.

*kommt*.<sup>3</sup>—*fromm''t*.

*kommst*.—*fromm''st*, *klomm''st* (pret.).

*fromm''te*; *fromm''t's*; *fromm''ste* (supve), etc.

ö + m.

*kömm't*; <sup>4</sup> *kömmst*.—*frömm''ste*.

u + m.

Cp. *zer-lumpt*.—*brumm''t*, *ver-dumm''t*, *Kum(me)''t*, *ver-mumm''t*, *ver-stumm''t*, *summ''t*.

*brumm''te*, *ver-dumm''te*, *ver-mumm''te*, *ver-stumm''te*, *summ''te*.

*brumm''ten*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Hemd's*; cp. note 1, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Luther, Marc. 4, 28. 9, 66, 67: *nimpt*. Deut. 26, 1: (*du*) *nimpsts*.

<sup>3</sup> *kommt*, *kommst* with 'straight' accent. Luther has *kompt* Marc. 4, 27. *kompst* Deut. 26, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *kömm't*, *kömmst*. Cp. the preceding note.

*bums* !—*brumm*''s, etc.

*brumm*''st, etc.

*dumm*''ste (supve), *krumm*''ste (supve).

ü + m.

*krümm*''t; *krümm*''te; *krümm*''ten; *krümm*''t's, etc.; *dümm*''ste (supve.).

#### IV. Kurzer Vokal + n.

a + n.

*Elephant*, *fand*, *be-kannt*, *er-kannt*,<sup>1</sup> *Land*, *ge-nannt*, *Rand*, *ge-raunt*, *Sand*, *ge-sandt*,<sup>2</sup> *Tand*.—*bann*''t, *be-mann*''t, *sann*''t, *spann*''t.

*brannte*,<sup>3</sup> *Brannt*(wein),<sup>4</sup> *kannte*, *Kante*, *nannte*, *rannte*, *sandte*, *Tante*, *wandte*.—*ver-bann*''te, *be-mann*''te, *spann*''te.

*brannten*, *kannten*, *Kanten*, *nannten*, *rannten*, *sandten*, *Tanten*, *wandten*.—*ver-bann*''ten, *be-mann*''ten, *spann*''ten.

*Franz* (n. pr.), *Glanz*, *Kranz*, *Land*'s,<sup>5</sup> *Schwanz*.—*bann*''t's, *be-mann*''t's, *spann*''t's.

*Hans* (n. pr.).—*kann*''s, *be-mann*''s, *sann*''s, *spann*''s.

*kannst*, *Wanst*.—*bann*''st, *be-mann*''st, *sann*''st, *spann*''st.

e + n.

*Kent* (n. pr.), *Trent* (n. pr.).—*brenn*''t,<sup>6</sup> *flenn*''t, *kenn*''t, *nenn*''t, *renn*''t, *trenn*''t.

*Ente*, *Rente*.—*kenn*''te (conjve), *nenn*''te (conjve), *trenn*''te.

*Enten*, *Renten*.—*kenn*''ten (conjve), *nenn*''ten (conjve), *trenn*''ten.

*Lenz*, *Renz* (n. pr.).—*brenn*''t's, *flenn*''t's, *kenn*''t's, *nenn*''t's, *renn*''t's, *trenn*''t's.

<sup>1</sup> Luther has *er-kand* (perf. part.) Ex. 3, 7. *kanst*(u) Marc. 9, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *ge-sand* (perf. part.) Luther, Ex. 3, 12, 14, 15. 4, 28. *sand* (= *sandte*) Ex. 2, 5. *auszge-sandt* Marc. 6, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Luther, Ex. 3, 2: *brandte*. Cp. *kannte*, *nannte*, *rannte*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Branntwein* has 'straight' accent in spite of double n.

<sup>5</sup> *lands* in Luther's Bible, Lev. 18, 17.

<sup>6</sup> Luther, Ex. 3, 3: *ver-brennet*. Marc. 2, 14: *er-kennet*. Gen. 1, 9: *nennet*. Gen. 21, 12: *ge-nennet*.

*Ens* (n. pr.)—*brenn''s, kenn''s, nenn''s, trenn''s.*

*Ge-spenst.*—*brenn''st, flenn''st, kenn''st, nenn''st, renn''st, trenn''st.*

*i + n.*

*Kind, Rind, sind, Wind.*—*minn''t, rinn''t, sinn''t, ge-winn''t, ver-zinn''t.*

*Finte, Flinte, Tinte.*—*minn''te, ver-zinn''te.*

*Finten, Flinten, Tinten.*—*minn''ten, ver-zinn''ten.*

*Binz* (n. pr.), *Hinz, sind's.*—*rinnt's, ge-winnt's.*

*Zins, Zins(es)-Zins.*—*bin''s, Ge-winn''s, ge-winn''s, Zinn''s. ver-zinn''s.*

*Ge-spinst, Ge-winst.*—*minn''st, sinn''st, spinn''st, ge-winn''st. ver-zinn''st, ver-zin''st.*

*o + n.*

*Front, ge-konnt.*<sup>1</sup>—*be-, ge-sonn''t.*

*konnte, Ponte.*—*sonn''te.*

*Fronten, konnten, Ponten.*—*sonn''ten.*

*Ge-spons.*—*sonn''s.*

*sonst.*—*sonn''st.*

*ö + n.*

*(ihr) könnt.*<sup>2</sup>—*gönn''t, ver-gönn''t.*

*könnte.*—*gönn''te.*

*könnten.*—*gönn''ten.*

*(ihr) könnt's.*—*gönn''t's; gönn''st, etc.*

*u + n.*

*Bund, bunt, Fund, Grund, Hund, kund, Mund, Pfund, rund, Schund, Spund, Sund.*—dial. *enge-spunn''t* (—*enge-spundet*).

*Lunte, Luntten.*

*Kunz* (n. pr.)—*Bun''d's, etc.*

<sup>1</sup> *ge-konnt, konnte, konnten, etc.*, have 'straight' accent. Cp. MHG. *kanst, kunde, kunden*; Luther, Marc. 2, 40: *kunden*.

<sup>2</sup> For *könnt, könnte, etc.*, with 'straight' accent, cp. preceding note.

ü + n.

Cp. Bünd(nis), Sünd(flut).—*ver-dünn''t*; *ver-dünn''te*; *ver-dünn''ten*.

Cp. Münz(fuss).—*ver-dünn''t's*.

Brünste, Dünste, Künste.—*dünn''ste* (supve).

## B. EXAMPLES FROM ENGLISH.

### 1. Diphthongs and Long Vowels.

ei

*bite* (vb. and n.), *blight* (vb. and n.), *bright*, *cite*, *fight* (vb. and n.), *flight*, *fright*, *height*, *kite*, *knight* (vb. and n.), *light* (vb. and n.), *de-light* (vb. and n.), *might* (vb. and n.), *night*, *right*, *rite*, *sight* (vb. and n.), *site*, *slight* (vb. and n.), *tight*, (cart-, wheel-) *wright*.—*a-bi''de*, *bri''de*, *di''ed*, *dy''ed*, *fri''ed*, *gui''de* (vb. and n.), *hi''de* (vb. and n.), *li''ed*, *de-ni''ed*, *ap-pli''ed*, *ri''de* (vb. and n.), *si''de* (vb. and n.), *si''ghed*, *sli''de* (vb. and n.), *stri''de* (vb. and n.), *ti''de*, *\*be-ti''de*, *ti''ed*.

(he) *bites*, *bites* (pl.), (he) *blights*, *blights* (pl.), *cites*, (he) *fight*s, *fight*s (pl.), *flight*s, *height*s, *kites*, (he) *knights*, *knights* (pl.), (he) *lights*, *lights* (pl.), (he) *de-lights*, *de-lights* (pl.), *nights*, (he) *rights*, *rights* (pl.), (he) *sights*, *sights* (pl.), *sites*, (he) *slights*, *slights* (pl.), *tights*, (cart-, wheel-) *wrights*.—*a-bi''des*, *bri''des*, (he) *gui''des*, *gui''des* (pl.), (he) *hi''des*, *hi''des* (pl.), (he) *ri''des*, *ri''des* (pl.), (he) *si''des*, *si''des* (pl.), (he) *sli''des*, *sli''des* (pl.), (he) *stri''des*, *stri''des* (pl.) *ti''des*, *\*be-ti''des*.

*ice*, *dice*, *lice*, *mice*, *nice*, *price*, *rice*, *entice*, *thrice*, *twice*, *vice*, *ad-vice*.—(he) *ey''es*, *ey''es* (pl.), *buy''s*, *re-cogni''ze*, *di''es*, (he) *dy''es*, *dy''es* (pl.), (forti-) *fi''es*, (fruti-) *fi''es*, (he) *fli''es*, *fli''es* (pl.), *fri''es*, *dis-gui''se* (vb. and n.), *Guy''s* (n. pr.), *hi''es*, (he) *li''es*, *li''es* (pl.), *sur-mi''se* (vb. and n.), *de-ni''es*, *ap-pli''es*, *im-pli''es*, *pri''ze* (vb. and n.), *ri''se* (vb. and n.), (he) *si''ghs*, *si''ghs* (pl.), *si''ze*, (he) *ti''es*, *ti''es* (pl.), *ad-vi''se*, *re-vi''se wi''se*.

*iced, (high)priced, en-ticed.—re-cogni''zed, dis-gui''sed, sur-mi''sed, pri''zed, (good)si''zed, ad-vi''sed.*

*fife, knife, life, rife, strife, wife.—chi''ve, di''ve (vb. and n.), dri''ve (vb. and n.), fi''ve, hi''ve (vb. and n.), a-li''ve, de-pri''ve, ar-ri''ve, shri''ve, stri''ve, thri''ve, re-vi''ve.*

*flfes, strifes.—(St.) Y''ves (n. pr.), chi''ves, (he) di''ves, di''ves (pl.) (he) dri''ves, dri''ves (pl.), fi''ves, (he) hi''ves, hi''ves (pl.), kni''ves, li''ves (pl.), de-pri''ves, shri''ves, con-tri''ves, thri''ves, re-vi''ves, wi''ves.*

*pipe (vb. and n.), ripe, tripe, type, wipe.—bri''be (vb. and n.), a-scri''be, tri''be.*

*ti''the (vb. and n.), wri''the (vb. and n.).*

# au

*out, bout, a-bout, doubt (vb. and n.), gout, grout (vb. and n.), lout, pout (vb. and n.), rout (vb. and n.), scout (vb. and n.), shout (vb. and n.), spout (vb. and n.), trout, de-vout.—bow''ed, cow''ed, crow''d, en-dow''ed, lou''d, a-lou''d, al-low''ed, plow''ghed, prow''d, row''ed (= made a row), vow''ed, a-vow''ed.*

*(ins and) outs, bouts, (he) doubts, doubts (pl.), (he) grouts, grouts (pl.), (he) pouts, pouts (pl.), (he) routs, routs (pl.), (he) scouts, scouts (pl.), (he) shouts, shouts (pl.), (he) spouts, spouts (pl.).—crow''ds (vb. and n.).*

*grouse, house (n.), louse, mouse.—bou''se<sup>1</sup> (vb. and n.), (he) bow''s, bow''s (pl.), (he) cow''s, cow''s (pl.), drow''se, hou''se (vb.), al-low''s, (he) plow''ghs, plow''ghs (pl.), prow''s, rou''se, (he) row''s (= makes a row), row''s (pl.), spou''se (vb. and n.), e-spou''se, a-vow''s, vow''s.*

*oust.—drow''sed, hou''sed, a-rou''sed, spou''sed, e-spou''sed.*

# oi.

*doit, a-droit, \*hoit, quoit.—buoy''ed, Lloy''d (n. pr.), an-noy''ed, em-ploy''ed, voi''d, a-voi''d.*

*doits, quoits.—voi''ds, a-voi''ds.*

*choice, voice (vb. and n.).—boy''s, (he) buoy''s, buoy''s (pl.),*

<sup>1</sup> *bouse* is pronounced *būz* or *bauz*.

\**choi'se*, *noi'se* (vb. and n.), *an-noy's*, *poi'se* (vb. and n.),  
(*he*) *toy's*, *toy's* (pl.).

(*he*) *voices*, *voices* (pl.).—\**choi'ses*, (*he*) *noi'ses*, *noi'ses*  
(pl.), (*he*) *poi'ses*, *poi'ses* (pl.).

*foist*, *hoist* (vb. and n.), *moist*.—*noi'sed*, *poi'sed*.

ä

*bought*, *brought*, *caught*, *fought*, *fraught*, *naught*, *nought*,  
*sought*, *taught*, *wrought*.—*over-aw'ed*, *broa'd*, *frau'd*, *gnaw'ed*,  
*haw'ed*, *lau'd*, *Mau'd* (n. pr.), *saw'ed*, *thaw'ed*, *taw'ed*.

*naughts*.—(Norfolk) *Broa'ds* (n. pr.), *frau'ds*, *de-frau'ds*,  
*lau'ds*.

*sauce*.—*over-aw'es*, *cause* (vb. and n.), (*jack-*) *daw's*, *gnaw's*,  
*haw's*, *jaw's*, *law's*, *pau'se* (vb. and n.), (*he*) *paw's*, *paw's*  
(pl.), (*he*) *saw's*, *saw's* (pl.), *thaw's*, (*he*) *taw's*, *taw's* (pl.).

*cau'sed*, *pau'sed*.

ē

*ate*,<sup>1</sup> *eight*, *bait* (vb. and n.), *a-bate*, *de-bate* (vb. and n.),  
*date* (vb. and n.), *fate* (vb. and n.), *freight* (vb. and n.), *gait*,  
*gate*, *hate* (vb. and n.), *late*, *mate* (vb. and n.), *rate* (vb. and  
n.), *state* (vb. and n.), *straight* (\**strait*, \**streight*), *anno-tate*,  
*wait* (vb. and n.), *weight* (vb. and n.).—*ai'd* (vb. and n.),  
*bay'ed*, *o-bey'ed*, *bla'de*, *brai'd* (vb. and n.), *fa'de*, *a-frai'd*,  
*af-fray'ed*, \**ha'de*, *hay'ed*, *ja'de* (vb. and n.), *la'de*, *lai'd*,  
*al-lay'ed*, *de-lay'ed*, *ma'de*, *mai'd*, *para'de*, *rai'd* (vb. and n.),  
*sai'd*, *sha'de* (vb. and n.), *stai'd*, *stay'ed*, *tourney'ed*, *wa'de*  
(vb. and n.), *wei'ghed*.

*eights*, (*he*) *baits*, *baits* (pl.), *a-bates*, (*he*) *de-bates*, *de-*  
*bates* (pl.), (*he*) *dates*, *dates* (pl.), \**fates*, (*he*) *freights*, *freights*  
(pl.), *gaits*, *gates*, *hates*, (*he*) *mates*, *mates* (pl.), (*he*) *rates*,  
*rates* (pl.), (*he*) *states*, *states* (pl.), *straits* (\**straights*,  
\**streights*), *anno-tates*, *waits*, *weights*.—(*he*) *ai'ds*, *ai'ds* (pl.),  
*bla'des*, (*he*) *brai'ds*, *brai'ds* (pl.), *fa'des*, (*he*) *ja'des*, *ja'des*  
(pl.), *la'des*, *mai'ds*, *pa-ra'des*, (*he*) *rai'ds*, *rai'ds* (pl.), (*he*)  
*sha'des*, *sha'des* (pl.), *wa'des*.

<sup>1</sup> *ate* is pronounced *ēt* or *ēit*.

*ace*, *base* (vb. and n.), *brace* (vb. and n.), *case* (vb. and n.), *chase* (vb. and n.), *face* (vb. and n.), *ef-face*, *grace* (vb. and n.), *lace* (vb. and n.), *mace*, *pace* (vb. and n.), *race* (vb. and n.).—*da''ze*, *ga''ze* (vb. and n.), *gla''ze* (vb. and n.), *gra''ze*, *ha''ze* (vb. and n.), (*he*) *de-lay''s*, *de-lay''s* (pl.), *ma''ze*, *a-ma''ze*, *phra''se* (vb. and n.), *prai''se* (vb. and n.), *rai''se*, *e-ra''se*, *ray''s*, *ra''ze*, (*he*) *stay''s*, *stay''s* (pl.), *be-tray''s*, *tray''s*.

*based*, *braced*, *cased*, *chased*, *faced*, *ef-faced*, *graced*, *haste*, *laced*, *paced*, *paste*, *waist*, *waste* (vb. and n.), *raced*.—*da''zed*, *ga''zed*, *gla''zed*, *gra''zed*, *ha''zed*, *a-ma''zed*, *phra''sed*, *prai''sed*, *ap-prai''sed*, *rai''sed*, *e-ra''sed*, *ra''zed*.

*safe*, *waif*.—*bra''ve* (vb. and adj.), *ca''ve*, *cra''ve*, *gra''ve* (vb. and n. and adj.), *en-gra''ve*, *na''ve*, *pa''ve* (vb. and n.), *ra''ve*, *sa''ve*, *sha''ve*, *sta''ve* (vb. and n.), *wai''ve*, *wa''ve* (vb. and n.).

*bra''ves*, *cra''ves*, (*he*) *gra''ves*, *gra''ves* (pl.), *en-gra''ves*, *be-ha''ves*, *na''ves*, (*he*) *pa''ves*, *pa''ves* (pl.), *ra''ves*, *sa''ves*, *sha''ves*, (*he*) *sta''ves*, *sta''ves* (pl.), *wai''ves*, (*he*) *wa''ves*, *wa''ves* (pl.).

*ape*, *cape*, *crape* (Fr. *crêpe*; vb. and n.), *drape*, *gape* (vb. and n.), *grape*, *rape* (vb. and n.), *scrape* (vb. and n.), *shape* (vb. and n.), *tape* (vb. and n.).—*ba''be*, *McCa''be* (n. pr.).

## i

*eat*, *beat* (vb. and n.), *cleat*, *feat*, *feet*, *fleet* (vb. and n.), *gleet* (vb. and n.), *greet*, *heat* (vb. and n.), *meat*, *meet* (vb. and n.), *mete*, *neat*, *peat*, *com-pete*, *seat* (vb. and n.), *sheet* (vb. and n.), *sweet*, *treat* (vb. and n.).—*bea''d* (vb. and n.), *blee''d*, *ce''de*, *ex-cee''d*, *glee''d*, *gree''d*, *a-gree''d*, *pre-ce''de*, *pro-ce''de*, *suc-cee''d*, *dee''d*, *fee''d* (to fee), *fee''d*, *free''d*, *hee''d*, (vb. and n.), *mee''d* (vb. and n.), *nee''d* (vb. and n.), *rea''d*, *ree''d*, *sece''de*, *see''d*, *stampe''de* (vb. and n.), *twee''d*, *wee''d*.

*eats*, (*he*) *beats*, *beats* (pl.), *feats*, *greet*s, (*he*) *heats*, (*he*) *meets*, *meets* (pl.), *metes*, *peats*, *com-petes*, (*he*) *seats*, *seats* (pl.) (*he*) *sheets*, *sheets* (pl.), *sweets*, (*he*) *treats*, *treats* (pl.).—(*he*) *bea''ds*, *bea''ds* (pl.), *blee''ds*, *ce''des*, *ex-cee''ds*, *pre-ce''des*, *pro-ce''des*, *pro-cee''ds*, *suc-cee''ds*, *dee''ds*, *hee''ds*, *mee''ds*, (*he*) *nee''ds*, *nee''ds* (pl.), *rea''ds*, *ree''ds*, *sece''des*, *see''ds*, (*he*) *stampe''des*, *stampe''des* (pl.), *twee''ds*, (*he*) *wee''ds*, *wee''ds* (pl.).

*cease, crease* (vb. and n.), *increase* (vb. and n.), *fleece* (vb. and n.), *geese, grease* (vb. and n.), *lease* (vb. and n.), *niece, peace, pease, piece* (vb. and n.), *a-piece*.—*ea''se* (vb. and n.), *bee''s, bree''ze* (vb. and n.), *(he) fee''s, fee''s* (pl.), *flea''s, flee''s, free''ze, frie''ze* (vb. and n.), *pea''s, ap-pea''se, sea''s, (he) see''s, see''s* (pl.), *sei''ze, squee''ze, tea''s, tea''ze, tree''s*.

*east, beast, ceased, creased, in-creased, feast, fleeced, greased, leased, least, pieced, priest, yeast*.—*ea''sed, bree''zed, frie''zed, ap-pea''sed, sei''zed, squee''zed, tea''zed*.

*beef, chief, grief, (hand)kerchief, leaf, lief, be-lief, re-lief, reef* (vb. and n.), *sheaf, thief*.—*e''ve, a-chie''ve, be-lie''ve, de-cei''ve, clea''ve, grie''ve, hea''ve, kee''ve* (vb. and n.), *lea''ve* (vb. and n.), *re-lie''ve, re-prie''ve* (vb. and n.), *shea''ve* (vb. and n.), *sie''ve* (vb. and n.).

*chiefs, fiefs, griefs, (hand)kerchiefs, beliefs, (he) reefs, reefs* (pl.).—*Ea''ves* (n. pr.), *bee''ves* (pl. of beef-cattle), *a-chie''ves, (he) kee''ves, kee''ves* (pl.), *(he) lea''ves, lea''ves* (pl.), *re-prie''ves, Ree''ves* (n. pr.), *(he) shea''ves, shea''ves* (pl.), *(he) sie''ves, sie''ves* (pl.), *thie''ves*.

*heath, sheath, teeth, wreath*.—*brea''the, see''the, shea''the, tee''the, wrea''th* (e).

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*oat, boat* (vb. and n.), *coat, dote, float, gloat, goat, groat, lote, moat* (vb. and n.), *note* (vb. and n.), *quote, rote, vote* (vb. and n.).—*o''de, ow''ed, bo''de, a-bo''de, co''de, crow''ed, flow''ed, goa''d* (vb. and n.), *loa''d* (vb. and n.), *low''ed, mo''de, mow''ed, anti-po''de, roa''d, row''ed, sow''ed, stow''ed, be-stow''ed, toa''d, tow''ed, woo''ed, e-xo''de*.

*oats, (he) boats, boats* (pl.), *(he) coats, coats* (pl.), *dotes, groats, lotes, (he) moats, moats* (pl.), *(he) notes, notes* (pl.), *quotes, (he) votes, votes* (pl.).—*o''des, bo''des, a-bo''des, (he) loa''ds, loa''ds* (pl.), *roa''ds, toa''ds*.

*close* (adj.).—*ow''es, bow''s, el-bow''s, (he) cho''se, cho''se* (n.), *clo''se* (vb. and n.), *crow''s* (vb.), *crow''s* (pl.), *do''se* (vb. and n.), *do''ze* (vb. and n.), *foe''s, fro''ze, ho''se, no''se, po''se* (vb. and n.), *(he) ro''se, ro''se* (n.), *a-ro''se, (he) row''s, row''s* (pl.), *sew''s* (\**sow''s*), *(he) show''s, show''s* (pl.), *be-stow''s, toe''s, throe''s*.



*boast, coast* (vb. and n.), *ghost, host, most, post, roast, toast*.—*ow''est, clo''sed, do''sed, do''zed, po''sed, dis-po''sed, ex-po''sed, sup-po''sed*.

*loaf* (vb. and n.).—*co''ve* (vb. and n.), *clo''ve, gro''ve, ro''ve* (vb. and n.), *Shro''ve* (*Tuesday*), *sto''ve* (vb. and n.), *sto''ve* (to stave), *stro''ve, wo''ve*.

(*he*) *loafs*.—*co''ves, co''ves* (pl.), *clo''ves, gro''ves, (he) ro''ves, ro''ves* (pl.), (*he*) *sto''ves, sto''ves* (pl.).

*cope* (vb. and n.), *hope* (vb. and n.), *e-lope, mope, pope, rope*, (vb. and n.), *soap* (vb. and n.), *trope*.—*mi-cro''be, glo''be, pro''be, ro''be*.

*both, loath, quoth* (*he*).—*loa''the*.

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*boot* (vb. and n.), *brute, flute* (vb. and n.), *fruit, hoot* (vb. and n.), *loot* (vb. and n.), *moot* (vb. and n.), *root*<sup>1</sup> (vb. and n.), *soot*,<sup>1</sup> *shoot, toot* (vb. and n.).—*brew''ed, broo''d* (vb. and n.), *coo''ed, cru''de, ac-cru''ed* (part. and adj.), *foo''d, glu''ed, moo''ed, moo''d, ru''de, ru''ed, shoe''d*,<sup>2</sup> *shrew''d, in-tru''de, pro-tru''de, woo''ed*.

(*he*) *boots, boots* (pl.), *boots* (n. sing.), *brutes, (he) flutes, flutes* (pl.), *fruits, (he) hoots, hoots* (pl.), (*he*) *loots, loots* (pl.), *shoots, (he) toots, toots* (pl.).—(*he*) *broo''ds, broo''ds* (pl.), *moo''ds, in-tru''des, pro-tru''des*.

*goose, juice* (vb. and n.).—*oo''ze* (*\*ou''ze, \*ou''se*), *brui''se* (vb. and n.), *ca-boo''se, choo''se, coo''s, crew''s, cru''se* (vb. and n.), *jew''s, lo''se, loo''se* (vb. and adj.), *noo''se* (*\*noo''ze; vb. and n.*), *rue''s, shoe''s, shrew''s*.

*juiced*.—*oo''zed, brui''sed, caboo''sed, cru''sed, loo''sed, noo''sed*.

*hoof, be-hoof, loof* (vb. and n.), *a-loof, proof, roof* (vb. and n.), *woof*.—*hoo''ve, be-hoo''ve, mo''ve* (vb. and n.), *pro''ve*.

*hoofs, (he) loofs, proofs, (he) roofs, roofs* (pl.), *woofs*.—*be-hoo''ves, (he) mo''ves, mo''ves* (pl.), *pro''ves*.

*booth, un-couth, (for)sooth, tooth*.—*soo''the*.

<sup>1</sup> *oo* in *root, soot* is pronounced *û*; the pronunciation with short *u* is dialectical.

<sup>2</sup> *shoe''d*, pret. part. of *to shoe*; pret. part: *shod* occurs more often.

$$\bar{u} = j\bar{u}$$

*Bute* (n. pr.), *cute*, *re-fute*, *lute*<sup>1</sup> (vb. and n.), *mute*, *suit* (vb. and n.).—*im-bu''ed*, *feu''d*, *hew''ed*, *nu''de*, *stew''ed*, *su''ed*, *view''ed*.

*re-futes*, (*he*) *lutes*, *lutes* (pl.), *mutes*, (*it*) *suits*, *suits* (pl.).—*feu''ds*, *nu''des*.

*a-buse* (n.), *deuce*, *con-duce*, *in-duce*, *intro-duce*, *pro-duce*, *re-duce*, *se-duce*.—*ew''es*, *a-bu''se* (vb.), *bou''se* (vb. and n.), *cu''es*, *ac-cu''se*, *ex-cu''se* (vb. and n.), *fu''se* (vb. and n.), *hew''s*, *Mew''s*, *mu''se* (vb. and n.), *new''s*, *re-new''s*, *pew''s*, *ob-tu''se*, (*he*) *re-view''s*, *re-view''s* (pl.), (*he*) *stew''s*, *stew''s* (pl.), (*he*) *view''s*, *view''s* (pl.), *yew''s*.

*con-duced*, *in-duced*, *intro-duced*, *pro-duced*, *re-duced*.—*a-bu''sed*, *bou''sed*, *ac-cu''sed*, *ex-cu''sed*, *fu''sed*, *mu''sed*.

*dupe*.—*cu''be* (vb. and n.), *tu''be*.

## 2. Short Vowel + Liq. or Nas.

### Vowel + l.

*belt*, *dealt*, (*he*) *felt*, *felt* (n.), *knelt*, *melt*, *pelt*, *smelt* (vb. and n.), *spelt* (vb. and n.).—*ex-cell''ed*, *fell''ed*, *hel''d*, *quell''ed*, *shell''ed*, *smell''ed*, *spell''ed*, *wel''d* (vb. and n.), *well''ed*, *yell''ed*.

*else*.—*ex-cell''s*, *fell''s*, *quell''s*, *sell''s*, (*he*) *shell''s*, *shell''s* (pl.), *tell''s*, (*it*) *well''s*, *well''s*, (*he*) *yell''s*, *yell''s* (pl.).

*belts*, *Celts*, *felts*, *melts*, *smelts*, *spelts*.—(*he*) *wel''ds*, *wel''ds* (pl.).

*elf*, *self*, *shelf*.—*shel''ve* (vb. and n.), *twel''ve*.

*el''ves*, *sel''ves*, *shel''ves*, (*by*) *twel''ves*.

*built*, *gilt*, *guilt*, *hilt*, *kilt*,<sup>1</sup> *quilt* (vb. and n.), *spilt*, *tilt* (vb. and n.).—*bill''ed*, *buil''d* (vb. and n.), *chill''ed*, *fill''ed*, *gil''d*, *guil''d*, *kill''ed*,<sup>2</sup> *quill''ed*,<sup>2</sup> *spill''ed*, *till''ed*.

*hilts*, *kilts*, *quilts*, *tilts*.—(*he*) *build''s*, *buil''ds* (pl.), *gil''ds*, *guild''s*.

<sup>1</sup> The *u* in *lute* is pronounced *jū* or *ū*.

<sup>2</sup> Noteworthy are doublets like *kilt*: *kill''ed*; *quilt*: *quill''ed*; *spilt*: *spill''ed*; *tilt*: *till''ed*, where both 'straight' and 'round' accent are represented.

*golf, Rolf* (< *Rudolf*).—*sol''ve, e-vol''ve, de-vol''ve, dis-sol''ve, in-vol''ve.*

Cp. *gulf, gulfs, wolf, wol''ves, etc.*

### Vowel + *m*.

*un-kempt, con-tempt, e-xempt. — cram''ed, dam''ed, dam''ed, hem''ed, jam''ed, ram''ed, con-tem''ed.*

*cramp* (vb. and n), *damp* (vb. and adj.), *hemp, lamp. — lam''b.*

(*he*) *cramps, cramps* (pl.), *damps, lamps. — cram''s, (he) jam''s, jam''s* (pl.).—*lam''bs.*

*imps, (he) crimps, crimps* (pl.), *limps, (he) shrimps, shrimps* (pl.).—*lim''bs.*

*pomp, romp. — bom''b* (vb. and n.), *suc-com''b.*

*pomps, (he) romps, romps* (pl.).—(*he*) *bom''bs, bom''bs* (pl.), *suc-com''bs.*

*bump, crump, hump, jump, lump* (vb. and n.), *mump, plump* (vb. and adj.), *pump* (vb. and n.).—*crum''b* (vb. and n.), *dum''b* (vb. and adj.), *be-num''b, plum''b* (vb. and n.).

(*he*) *bumps, bumps* (pl.), *crumps, humps, (he) lumps* (it), *lumps* (pl.), (*he*) *plumps, plumps* (pl.), (*he*) *pumps, pumps* (pl.).—*dum''bs, (he) crum''bs, crum''bs* (pl.), (*he*) *gum''s, gum''s* (pl.), *be-num''bs, (he) plum''bs, plum''s* (pl.).

### Vowel + *n*.

*bent, lent, pent* (up), *rent, sent tent, in-vent, went. — en''d* (vb. and n.), *ben''d, (vb. and n.), han''d* (vb. and n.), *len''d, men''d, ren''d, sen''d, ap-pen''d, spen''d, stran''d, ten''d, at-ten''d, wen''d.*

*in-cense* (vb.), *dense, con-dense, fence* (vb. and n.), *hence, ex-pence, sense, whence. — clean''se, den''s, hen''s, len''s, pen''s, wren''s.*

*in-censed, con-densed, fenced. — clean''sed.*

(by) *dint* (of), *hint, (vb. and n.), lint, mint, tint* (vb. and n.), *wind. — dinn''ed, grinn''ed, pinn''ed, sinn''ed, tinn''ed.*

*mince, prince, quince, rinse, since, con-vince, wince. — inn''s, (he) bin''s, bin''s* (pl.), *chin''s, (he) din''s, din''s* (pl.), *fin''s, Finn''s, (he) pin''s, pin''s* (pl.), (*he*) *sin''s, sin''s* (pl.), *tin''s, win''s.*

*bunt* (vb. and n.), *hunt* (vb. and n.), *punt* (vb. and n.).—*gunn*’ed, *punn*’ed, *stunn*’ed, *sun*’ed (himself).

once, *dunce*.—*bun*’s, *fun*’ds, (he) *gun*’s, *gun*’s (pl.), *Hun*’s, *nun*’s, (he) *pun*’s, *pun*’s (pl.), (he) *run*’s, *run*’s (pl.), (he) *sun*’s (himself), *tun*’s.

*nonce*, *sconce* (vb. and n.).—*con*’s, (he) *don*’s, *don*’s (pl.).

*font*, *want*, *wont* (adj. and \*n.).—*bon*’d, *conn*’ed, *donn*’ed, *fon*’d, *be-yon*’d.

*fonts*, *wants*.—*bon*’ds.

As already mentioned above, the *e* which is the cause of the ‘wound’ accent was still in existence in Luther’s time and also, to a certain extent, in the following centuries :

In *Luther’s bible*<sup>1</sup> we find f. i. : *neigeten* Ex. 4, 31. *preiset* Deut. 26, 19. *preiseten* Marc. 2, 23. *ge-feyet* Marc. 6, 39. *bawete* (*baute*) Ex. 1, 11. *be-draweten* (*bedrohten*) Marc. 10, 94. *schawet* (*schaut*) Marc. 8, 24 ; 12, 85. *zu-blaweten* (*-bleuten*) Marc. 12, 9. *seuget* Gen. 21, 7. *bleset* (*bläst*) Joh. 3, 8. *ge-ehret* Deut. 26, 19. *keret* Gen. 18, 33. *mehreten* Ex. 1, 11. *ver-zeret* Ex. 3, 2. etc.

I. G. Schottel has in his treatise *Teutsche Sprach Kunst* (Braunschweig, 1651) forms like : *lieset*, p. 197, 229. *angestimmt*, *nennet*, p. 229. *ge-lehret*, p. 315. *hörete*, p. 709. In his *Teutsche Haubt-Sprache* (Braunschweig, 1663) we find : *ange-führet*, p. 57 ; 97 ; 118. *vorge-zeiget*, p. 62. *zer-trennet*, p. 63. *be-mühet*, p. 97 ; 1183. *ver-zehret*, *ge-höret*, p. 574. *er-kläret*, p. 1185, etc. Whilst the shorter forms occur rarely in Luther, we find them occasionally in Schottel. He has f. i. always : *sagt*. In the *Teutsche Sprach Kunst* we meet with forms like : *be-kommt*, *be-trift*, p. 229 ; *ver-nimmt*, p. 709. *ge-glaubt*, p. 853. The *Teutsche Haubt-Sprache* contains the words *pflegt*, p. 61. *be-rührt*, p. 62. *ge-nant*, p. 1183, etc. Besides *trennet*, *gerant*, *brent* and *trent* are mentioned.

*Stieler* in his *Teutscher Sprachschatz* (Nürnberg, 1691) mentions forms like : *Stabs*, *Bauchs*, *Breys*, *Eids* for *Stabes*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Martin Luther’s *Bibelübersetzung*, kritisch bearbeitet von H. E. Bindseil und H. A. Niemeyer, Halle, 1850.—*Marcus Evangelion* Mart. Luthers, hrsg. v. A. Reifferscheid. Heilbronn, 1889.

In conjugation, he mostly gives the shorter by the side of the longer forms ; e. g., p. 134 *seq* : Imper. *sag* beside *ssage*. Impf. *sagte* besides *sagete*. Pret. part. *gesagt* besides *gesaget*. In pres. indic. and impf. conjve, the longer forms predominate, as : *sagest* . . . *sagete*, *sagetest*, etc. No shorter forms are given for the verb *schreiben*. Only the shorter form *schilt* is mentioned as imper. from *schelten*. Longer forms of this verb are rare, as : pres. indic. sing. *du schiltest* oder *schiltst*, *er schilt*. *Befehlen* has longer and shorter forms. We have *seufest*, *seufet* ; *be-treugest*, but (er) *be-treugt* ; *iszeit*, *aszeit* ; but (er) *iszt* besides *iszet* ; (ich) *beuge*, -est, -et, or (ich) *biege*, *biegest*, *bieget* ; (ich) *beugete*, *beugetest*, (ich) *biegete*, etc. ; but *kannte* besides *kennete*, *kannten*, besides *kenneten*, *sant*, *sante*, besides *sendete* ; *bündest*, *bliebest* ; but *birgst*, besides *birgest* ; *jagen* has only the shorter forms.

In *Steinbach's Vollständiges Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Breslau, 1734) we find I, p. 186 : *ver-braut*, (er) *braut* (unter) besides *ge-bräuet*, *abge-bräuet*, *ausge-bräuet*, etc., p. 288 : *ge-dreht*, *angedreht*, *zer-dreht*, *zuge-dreht*, besides *ange-drehet*, *einge-drehet*, etc., p. 924 : *kräht*, besides *krähet*, *ge-krähet*, p. 930 : *kraut*, *abge-kraut*, besides *ge-krauet*, p. 959 : (er) *lädt*, besides (du) *lädest*, p. 992 : *läufst*, *läuft*, p. 1007 : *be-lebt*, *er-lebt*, *abge-lebt*, *ausge-lebt*, *über-lebt*, besides *ge-lebet*, p. 1009 : *liegst*, *liegt*, p. 1018 : *be-legt*, *beyge-legt*, *dargc-legt*, *einge-legt*, *aufge-legt*, *vorge-legt*, besides *er-leget*, p. 1040/41 : *ge-lehrt*, *einge-lehrt*, *wohlge-lehrt*, etc., besides *be-lehret*, p. 1062/63 : *ge-lobt*, *ver-lobt*, besides *ge-lobet*, *ange-lobet*, *be-lobet*, p. 1077 : *ge-löst*, *abge-löst*, *aufge-löst*, *unge-löst*, etc., besides *ge-löset*, *ge-loset*, *er-löset*, II, p. 11 : *Magt Mägte*, p. 49 : *mehrt*, *ver-mehrt*, *unvermehrt*, besides *ge-mehret*, p. 56 : (er) *maszt* (sich an), besides *ange-maszet*, *unange-maszet*, p. 80/81 : *ver-mummt*, besides *ge-mummet*, p. 103 : *naht*, *unge-näht*, *zusammenge-näht*, besides *ge-nähet*, *ange-nähet*, *ver-nähet*, etc., p. 103 : *nächster*, p. 109 : *ge-nährt*, *er-nährt*, *nährt*, besides *ge-nähret*, p. 111 : *ver-narrt*, *ge-narrt*, besides *ge-narret*, p. 128 : *nimmt*, p. 137 : *unter-nimmt*, p. 166 : *ge-paart*, *unge-paart*, p. 200 : *preist*, besides *ge-preiset*, p. 252 : *reist*, *ver-reist*, besides *ge-reiset*, *unge-*

*reiset, abge-reiset, ausge-reiset, fortge-reiset, etc.*, p. 258/259 : *reut*, besides *reuet, ge-reuet, be-reuet, etc.*, p. 312 : *ausge-ruht*, besides *ausge-ruhet, ge-ruhet, be-ruhet*, p. 319/320 : *be-rührt, ge-rührt, abge-rührt, rührt, ange-rührt, aufge-rührt, unge-rührt*, besides *ge-rühret, be-rühret, unge-rühret*, p. 331 *seq.* : *be-sagt, ausge-sagt, aufge-sagt, ge-sagt, sagt, abge-sagt, ange-sagt, ent-sagt, unange-sagt, etc.*, besides *ge-saget, be-saget, ent-saget, etc.*, p. 338 : *saltzt, einge-saltzt, ver-saltzt*, besides *ge-saltzet*, p. 342/43 : *ge-sammt, alle-samt, mit-samt, zu-samt*, p. 344/45 : *ge-sandt, abge-sandt, ver-sandt, hinge-sandt, zuge-sandt*, p. 494/95 : *ge-scharrt, zusammenge-scharrt, abge-scharrt, aufge-scharrt, etc.*, besides *gescharret*, p. 496 : *einge-schirrt*, besides *abge-schirret, ausge-schirret, zuge-schirret, etc.*

Whilst *J. C. Gottsched*, in the first edition of his *Grundlegung einer Deutschen Sprachkunst* (Leipzig, 1748), has in most cases preserved the *e*, we find it, on the whole, dropped in the strong conjugation and written in the weak conjugation in his sixth edition (Leipzig, 1776). There we have *f. i.*, p. 339 *seq.*, *beginnst, beginnt; besinnst, besinnt; empfindst, empfindt, findst, findt, etc.*, but *fragest, fragete, gefraget, klagest, klagete, geklaget, etc.* This arbitrary omitting and writing of the *e* according to a rule laid down by the author points to the fact that at this period it either had been dropped or was dying out in every-day language, and had to be artificially preserved by grammarians and in literary productions.

Hence, we may infer that from the middle of the eighteenth century the *e* was practically lost in pronunciation, and if it is found in classical writers (Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, etc.) later on, it must be contributed to the force of tradition rather than to the current pronunciation of that period.

The above remarks are by no means intended to give an exhaustive account of the syncope of unaccented *e* found after an accented syllable. In order to do this, it would be necessary to take into account not only the statements of grammarians, but also the usage of individual authors from Luther's time to the end of the eighteenth century, and, what is more difficult,

to determine as far as possible to what extent the written language is influenced, regarding the preservation of the *e*, by artificial tendencies. It may be hoped that the future author of a comprehensive historic German grammar will give his attention to the subject. This much, we think, is clear from our observations, that in not a few instances the unaccented *e* has left its traces in the modern pronunciation.

KLARA HECHTENBERG COLLITZ.

BRYN MAWR, PA.

DER JUNGE HERDER UND HAMANN.<sup>1</sup>

ES ist ein charakteristischer Zug der deutschen klassischen Literaturepoche, dass die Errungenschaften der älteren Generationen durch das Medium der Freundschaft auf die jüngeren fortgeleitet und auf diese Weise lebendig erhalten und gesteigert werden. Der Bund zwischen Schiller und dem um zehn Jahre älteren Goethe bezeichnet den Höhepunkt der Entwicklung. Goethe hat zu seinen epochemachenden Jugendwerken den entscheidenden Antrieb durch den Umgang mit Herder empfangen, der ihm zwar nur fünf Jahre an Alter voraus, an Lebenserfahrung und Reife aber um das Doppelte überlegen war. Herder wiederum verdankt einen nicht geringen Teil der Anregungen, die für seine Richtung und Bedeutung entscheidend geworden sind, der Freundschaft mit dem vierzehn Jahre älteren Hamann.

Vom Anfang von Herders Studentenzeit (1764) bis zu Hamanns Tode (1788), vierundzwanzig Jahre hindurch, besteht diese Freundschaft zwischen den beiden an Alter so ungleichen Männern, kaum je vorübergehend durch leichte Missverständnisse oder sachliche Differenzen getrübt, niemals ernstlich gefährdet oder gar unterbrochen. Herder hat bei seinem eigenartigen, empfindlich-reizbaren Temperamente in diesem ganzen Zeitraum—von seiner Gattin abgesehen—keinen Menschen gehabt, dem er sich mit gleicher Rückhaltlosigkeit

<sup>1</sup> In diesem Aufsatz möchte ich eine Sammlung von Lese Früchten bieten, um dadurch die Abhängigkeit des jungen Herder von Hamann in ein schärferes Licht zu rücken, als das bei Haym und andern soweit geschehen ist. Ich beschränke mich hier zunächst auf die kleineren Abhandlungen, mit denen Herder seine schriftstellerische Tätigkeit eröffnet, und auf das erste grössere Werk, das seinen literarischen Ruhm begründet hat, die "Fragmente."



erschlossen, mit gleicher Liebe hingegen hätte, wie diesem "einzigsten und ältesten" seiner Freunde. Wie schnell und innig Herder sich an ihn angeschlossen, das zeigt unter Anderm ein Abschiedsbillet, das er an Hamann richtete, als dieser im Juni 1764 eine längere Reise antrat. Der Brief enthält Zeilen zärtlicher Anhänglichkeit und schliesst mit den Worten: "Der Himmel führe Sie, den besten, den ich kannte, glücklich."<sup>1</sup> Der junge Herder fand in Hamann seinen Mentor, dem bei zärtlicher Liebe er dennoch sich unterzuordnen genötigt war. Zu keinem Genius hat er mit grösserer Bewunderung aufgeschaut, als zu dem "Magus des Nordens." Das rastlose Bedürfnis des Kritisierens, Tadelns und Bessermachens, dem er bisweilen in verletzender Schärfe fröhnte,<sup>2</sup> ging hier in dem Gefühl tiefwurzelnder Verehrung beinahe völlig unter. Herder konnte dasselbe und mehr von Hamann bekennen, was Lessing von Diderot sagte: dass er ihm einen grossen Teil seiner Bildung schulde (Lachmann-Muncker, *Lessings sämtliche Schriften*. Bd. 8, 288). Denn neben Kant und Winckelmann war Hamann der bedeutendste Lehrer seiner Jugend.

Beide waren verwandte Naturen. Als Söhne des gestaltlosen Nordens waren beide mit der Gabe der inneren Anschauung verschwenderisch ausgestattet; beide in kleinen Verhältnissen aufgewachsen, von der geistigen Abhängigkeit und Pedanterie ihrer Umgebung beengt, dennoch von ungebeugtem Selbstgefühl und voll Sehnsucht nach Wirkungen auf die Menschheit; beide niemals fertige, unklare, unharmonische Charaktere; spöttisch witzig und gutmütig humoristisch; rastlos und grüblerisch eindringend, unvernünftig, eine reiche Phantasie in plastischer Gestaltung zur Ruhe zu bringen. Bei beiden jene Folgerichtigkeit der Entwicklung, deren Keime schon in der Erstlingschrift beinahe vollzählig enthalten sind; beide sind Autodidakten, "Wühler in den Schätzen sowohl wie im Schutt der

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Otto Hoffmann, *Herders Briefe an Joh. Georg Hamann*. Berlin, 1889. S. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. hierzu den sehr bezeichnenden Brief Mendelssohns an Herder vom September 1781. (*Aus Herders Nachlass* II, 226).

Literatur, kreuz- und quergebende Philologen, unersättliche Bücherverschlinger." <sup>1</sup> Beide gehen in ihren Schriften von der Sprache aus mit liebevollem Verständnis für das Dialektische und Provinzielle als das Eigentümliche, Individuelle und Ursprüngliche in der Sprache eines Schriftstellers oder Volkes, die "lebenströmenden Quellen der Natur;" bei beiden der Trieb zu historischer Auffassung, die geniale Intuition bei umfangreicher Belesenheit, die Verachtung von "System und Regelkram," eine wunderbare Gabe des Aneignens, Nachlebens und Charakterisierens und die stets festgehaltene Beziehung zwischen Kunst und Leben; bei beiden der Glaube an die "niederen Seelenkräfte," die alsbald als die höhern, als die eigentlich lebenzeugenden erkannt werden sollten. "Hamanns Schriften durchweht das Morgengefühl eines siegreich aufsteigenden Tages; stürmischer noch, erwartungsvoller und atemloser lebt das gleiche Gefühl in seinem entdeckungsfrohen Schüler. Beide verschmähen es darum, mit Winckelmann in der Anschauung antiker Kunstoffbarungen beseligt auszu-ruhen; sie drängen ungeduldig vorwärts; nicht Kopisten, sondern Originale heisst ihre Losung, und was sie erwecken wollen, das sind—*deutsche Klassiker*." <sup>2</sup>

In der ersten selbständigen Abhandlung, die Herder veröffentlichte: "Über den Fleiss in mehreren gelehrten Sprachen" (*SWS.* 1, 1 ff., vgl. 30, 7 ff.), <sup>3</sup> erklärt er mit Anlehnung an Winckelmanns "Erläuterungen der Gedanken von der Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst" (*WW.* 1, 129 ff.), <sup>4</sup> die Verschiedenheiten der Sprachen aus dem Einfluss des Klimas. "Es schufen sich

<sup>1</sup> Rudolf Haym, *Herder* I, S. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Arnold E. Berger, *Der junge Herder und Winckelmann*. Halle a. S. 1903. S. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Mit dieser Abkürzung ist Suphans Herderausgabe bezeichnet, nach der alle Citate gegeben sind.

<sup>4</sup> Ich citiere nach der Gesamtausgabe der Winckelmannschen Werke, die von C. L. Ferdow begonnen, von Heinrich Meyer und Johann Schulze fortgesetzt, in 8 Bänden (Dresden, 1808–20) erschienen ist. Ich bezeichne diese Ausgabe mit *WW*.

tausend Sprachen nach dem Klima und den Sitten von tausend Nationen. Wenn hier der Morgenländer unter einem heissen Scheitelpunkt glühet: so strömt auch sein brausender Mund eine hitzige und affektvolle Sprache fort. Dort blüht der Grieche in dem wollüstigsten und mildesten Himmelsstrich auf (vgl. *WW.* 1, 134 und 140): sein Leib ist, nach Pindars Ausdruck, mit der Gratie übergossen: seine Adern fliessen von sanftem Feuer, seine Glieder sind ganz Nerve, seine Sprachwerkzeuge fein, und unter ihnen entstand also jene feine attische Sprache, die Gratie unter ihren Schwestern.<sup>1</sup> (Zu der Pindarstelle vgl. *WW.* 5, 247). Die Römer, die Söhne des Mars, sprachen stärker und holten erst aus Griechenland Blumen, ihre Mundart zu verschönern. Noch männlicher redet der kriegerische Deutsche; der muntere Gallier erfindet eine hüpfende und weichere Sprache; der Spanier giebt seiner ein gravitätisches Ansehen, sollte es auch bloss durch Schälle sein" (*SWS.* 1, 1 f.). Nun nimmt aber der Schüler Hamanns das Wort und erklärt fremde Sprachen für unentberlich. "Wie wenig Fortschritte würden wir gethan haben, wenn jede Nation in die enge Sphäre ihrer Sprache eingeschlossen, für die Gelehrsamkeit allein arbeitete? Ein Newton unseres Landes würde sich mit einer Entdeckung martern, die dem englischen Newton lange ein entsiegeltes Geheimnis war. . . . Welch ein Schatz von Entdeckungen ist jede Sprache der Gelehrsamkeit! Geheimnisse, die die mitternächtliche Lampe der Alten erfand, siehet jetzt die Sonne des Mittags. Schätze, die der Schweiss einer fremden Nation aus den Adern der Tiefe grub, teilt ihre Sprache unter andre Völker als Beuten aus" (*SWS.* 1, 3 f., vgl. *Hamann: R.* 2, 152).<sup>2</sup> Wir sollen unsern Geist bereichern und beweglich erhalten an dem Studium fremder Sprachen, aber der Leitfaden durch ihr Labyrinth sei unsere Mutter-

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. dazu aus Herders erster Königsberger Schulrede: "Est totum corpus nervus, est tota anima ignis ac flamma" etc. (*SWS.* 30, 4). Herder bringt das in den *Fragmenten* wieder (1, 138 und 144).

<sup>2</sup> Hamanns Schriften, hrsg. von Fr. Roth (Berlin, 1821-25). Nach dieser Ausgabe ist auch weiterhin citiert.

sprache (1, 5). "Wenn wir unsere Muttersprache auf der Zunge behalten, so werden wir desto tiefer in den Unterschied jeder Sprache eindringen" (1, 6). Dasselbe hatte auch Hamann betont: "So sollte die Erlernung der fremden Sprachen als ein Hilfsmittel, die Muttersprache besser zu verstehen, an Gedanken fruchtbar zu werden, selbige zu zergliedern, die Zeichen derselben gegeneinander zu halten, den Unterschied derselben zu bemerken, kurz, was ein blosses Gedächtniswerk zu sein scheint, als eine Vorbereitung und Übung aller Seelenkräfte und höherer, wichtigerer, schwererer, ja geistlicher Dinge gebraucht werden" (*R.* 1, 159). Nach Herder ist "der Gelehrte in fremden Sprachen, der in seiner eignen ein Barbar bleibt, nichts als ein lächerlicher Allwissener" (1, 7). Mit Hilfe unserer Muttersprache werden wir in andern Sprachen "hier Lücken, dort Überfluss, hier Reichthum, dort eine Wüste erblicken, und die Armut der einen mit den Schätzen der andern bereichern können. Denn in welchem genauen Bande steht Sprache und Denkart?" (1, 6). Damit vergleiche man Hamanns Ausführungen: "Die Lineamente der Sprache werden mit der Richtung ihrer Denkungsart correspondieren; und jedes Volk offenbart selbige durch die Natur, Form, Gesetze und Sitten ihrer Rede ebensogut als durch ihre äusserliche Bildung und durch ein Schauspiel öffentlicher Handlungen. . . . Aus der Richtung der Denkungsart entsteht der vergleichungsweise Reichthum in einigen und die damit parallel laufende Armut in andern Fällen eben derselben Sprache" (*R.* 2, 123; vgl. noch 2, 16). Hamann und Herder sind also eins in der Ansicht, dass Denkart und Sprache in ihren Wechselbeziehungen den Charakter eines Volkes im Gegensatz zu andern kennzeichnen.<sup>1</sup> Die in dieser Abhandlung flüchtig hingeworfenen Gedanken über die Sprache hat Herder dann in der ersten Sammlung der *Fragmente* weiter entwickelt.

<sup>1</sup> Bei Winckelmann erscheint allerdings die Beschaffenheit der Sprache und ihrer Werkzeuge durch den "Einfluss des Himmels" bedingt und die menschliche Gestalt wie die besondere Denkart durch die Natur des jeweiligen Landes, während "die tiefere psychologische Verknüpfung von Sprache und Denkart bei ihm noch nicht vollzogen ist" (vgl. Berger *a. a. O.*, S. 13).

Nicht nur inhaltlich erinnert der Aufsatz an Hamannsche Gedankengänge, auch Ausdruck und Satzbau zeigen Hamanns Weise. Entlehnungen im einzelnen sind z. B.: "So weinte Alexander am Grabe Achills nach dem Ruhm des Überwinders, an Alexanders Bild schuf sich Cäsar zum Helden und Peter an der Säule des Richelieu zum Schöpfer von Russland" (*SWS.* 1, 5; ähnlich 1, 25: "War Peter der Grosse nicht ein wahrer Patriot, da er der Schöpfer eines neuen Vaterlandes wurde? . . . was war's, dass seine Hände um die Säule des Richelieu schlug?"), womit zu vergleichen ist bei Hamann: "Wenn Cäsar Thränen vergiesst bei der Säule des macedonischen Jünglings, und dieser bei dem Grabe Achills mit Eifersucht an einen Herold des Ruhms denkt. . ." (*R.* 2, 17; vgl. auch 4, 270). Das Bild von Alexander und Cäsar auch *SWS.* 2, 266. Der Ausdruck: "die Wärterinnen sind unsre ersten Lehrer" (*SWS.* 1, 6) erinnert an Hamann 4, 30, wo von dem "Einfluss der Wärter und Vormünder" die Rede ist.

Die fragmentarische "Abhandlung über die Ode" (*SWS.* 32, 61 ff.) knüpft an die nämlichen Ausführungen Winckelmanns an (vgl. Berger *a. a. O.*, S. 17). Herder nennt die Ode einen "Proteus unter den Nationen," wie Kant den Geschmack in seiner Wandelbarkeit einen "Proteus" genannt hatte.<sup>1</sup> Dies Schlagwort Herders kehrt auch bei Hamann öfters wieder (vgl. *R.* 1, 415; 2, 98; 3, 278). Wenn Herder behauptet, "das erstgeborne Kind der Empfindung, der Ursprung der Dichtkunst und der Keim ihres Lebens ist die Ode" (*SWS.* 32, 62), so stimmt das überein mit den ihm von Hamann eingepprägten Grundanschauungen von dem Wesen aller Poesie. "Poesie ist die Muttersprache des menschlichen Geschlechts, und die Muttersprache ist das Lied" (*R.* 2, 258). Der Hamannsche Standpunkt tritt noch entschiedener hervor in den Worten: "*Unsere* Gegenstände soll die Ode bearbeiten. Lasst uns *unsere* Menschen nach unserm Gesicht malen, ohne poetische Farben aus einem fremden Himmelsstrich zu holen"

<sup>1</sup> Kants Werke, hrsg. von Hartenstein, 8 Bde. (Leipzig, 1867-68), 2, 279.

(SWS. 32, 69). Dadurch allein könnten es die Deutschen zu "Originalstücken von Oden" bringen. Hamann wundert sich, dass wir Kopisten werden sollen, da wir doch Originale sein können, "Bürger eines freien Staates," denen kein "ästhetischer Moses dürftige Satzungen vorschreiben darf" (R. 2, 196 f.). Von Winckelmann hat Herder gelernt, Stilepochen abzugrenzen (vgl. Berger *a. a. O.*, S. 18 f.). "Die erste Ode, das nächste Kind der Natur," war unmittelbar ausbrechender subjektiver Affekt; später wurde sie mehr objektiv, das verminderte Gefühl wurde durch die Phantasie ersetzt; "doch noch stets sang sie einen individuellen Fall." Es folgte die rührende Ode "voll Bewunderung, die immer kälter, betrachtender, allgemeiner wurde, bis sie den Schein der Empfindung verlor und eine moralische Predigt über einen allgemeinen Satz wurde" (SWS. 32, 72 f.). Ebenso Hamann, R. 2, 280. In einem Brief hatte Hamann an Herder geschrieben: "Den Ursprung der Dichtkunst in der Ode zu suchen, geht insofern an, als man unter ersterer eine *φιλοσοφία μουσική* versteht" (R. 3, 333). Herder greift den Ausdruck auf und bezeichnet demnächst die Ode als Lied, "dessen Instrument die Pfeife oder Trompete ist."

Auch in dem "Versuch einer Geschichte der lyrischen Dichtkunst" (SWS. 32, 85 ff.) sucht Herder die Frage nach dem Ursprung der Poesie zu lösen. Die Dichtkunst ist nicht auf einmal entstanden; sie fing an mit elenden Versuchen, schlechten Spielen, aus denen ziemlich spät Handgriffe wurden, noch langsamer Künste, sehr spät Regeln und noch später Wissenschaft. "Die Poetiken grosser kritischer Schriftsteller führen gemeiniglich eine Stelle der Alten, wie ein Orakel, an, um den Ursprung der Dichtkunst zu zeigen, bei dem sie sich genügen lassen. Nun sind diese Nachrichten so kurz, dass sie einem vorbeistreichenden Blitz gleichen; sie gewähren uns einen kurzen Anblick, nie aber ein vollkommenes Anschauen. Und es ist also dieser Teil der Geschichte meistens ein Feld tochter Gebeine geblieben, die man gesammelt, ohne sie zu einem Körper zu beleben" (SWS. 32, 89). Dieser Vergleich stammt

aus dem zweiten der "Hellenistischen Briefe" Hamanns. Dort äussert sich Hamann, der einen lebendigen Sinn für Geschichte besass, wenn er denselben auch schriftstellerisch wenig betätigt hat, folgendermassen: "Das Feld der Geschichte ist mir immer wie jenes weite Feld vorgekommen, das voller Beine lag, — — und siehe! sie waren sehr verdorret. Niemand als ein Prophet kann von diesen Beinen weissagen, dass Adern und Fleisch darauf wachsen und Haut sie überziehe. — — Noch ist kein Odem in ihnen" (*R.* 2, 218).

Mit Entschiedenheit wendet sich Herder gegen die Ansicht vom göttlichen Ursprung der Poesie, wie gegen die andere, dass alle Nationen sie von einem Volke entwandt hätten. "Notwendigkeit und Bedürfnis ist die Mutter der Dichtkunst, und die Religion ist eine von den ersten Bedürfnissen, die ihre Erfindung notwendig machte" (*SWS.* 32, 105).<sup>1</sup> Auch Hamann spricht einen ähnlichen Gedanken aus (vgl. *R.* 2, 260 f.).

Aus der Furcht leitet Herder mit Hume die Religion her: Gebete, Opfer und Gebräuche waren das Mittel, die zürnende Gottheit zu gewinnen. Da solche Gebete aber nicht Einzelnen überlassen blieben, sondern vom ganzen Volk ausgingen, so mussten sie notwendig Gesänge mit rythmischen Massen sein (*SWS.* 32, 107). An den sinnlichen Fall einer Gefahr z. B. knüpften sie an, sie waren also voll lebendiger Handlung. Orpheus malte in seinen Hymnen die Nacht nicht "mit aller ihrer dunklen Tracht" (vgl. die Darstellung der Nacht bei Winckelmann 2, 549), sondern er besang sie als "Gebälerin der Götter und Menschen, als den Ursprung aller Dinge, die Hervorführerin der Sterne" u. s. w. Die Gratien zeigt er "als Mütter der Freude, als vergnügte Tänzerinnen," nicht wie die späteren Dichter "bis auf den Nagel am Fuss." "Alles lebt und thut Thaten;" "Leidenschaft und Handlung ist die Seele der Dichtkunst" (*SWS.* 32, 112 und 122). Herder fusst hier auf Hamann, der diesen Standpunkt in seinen ersten Schriften

<sup>1</sup> So hatte auch Winckelmann behauptet (vgl. *WW.* 3, 6).

so energisch geltend zu machen versucht. "Die Natur wirkt durch Sinne und Leidenschaften" (*R.* 2, 208); "Handlung ist die Seele der Beredtsamkeit und auch der Schreibart" (*R.* 2, 111; vgl. noch: 2, 287 und 402). Die nun folgende Darstellung der religiösen Poesie der alten Hebräer erinnert überall an Hamannsche Gedankengänge.

In dem schwungvollen Aufsatz "Der Redner Gottes" (*SWS.* 32, 3 ff.), der Herders Ideal eines Kanzelredners zeichnet, ist die Winckelmannsche Sprachfärbung deutlich zu spüren (vgl. Berger *a. a. O.*, S. 22). Unmittelbare Beziehungen auf Hamann sind wenig zu erkennen. "Redner Gottes! gross im Stillen, ohne poetische Pracht feierlich, ohne ciceronische Perioden beredt." "Meine ganze Seele ist Auge,<sup>1</sup> dieser stille Ton der Seele . . . gleich einem stillen See, der auf einen belebenden sanften Hauch des Abendzephyrs wartet" (*SWS.* 32, 7). Vgl. Hamann: "Herz! sei wie ein stilles Meer! — — Höre den Rath" (*R.* 2, 264). Der Prediger nach dem Herzen Herders legt "einige Erfahrungen, eine Beobachtung, einen Vorfall aus dem menschlichen Leben zum Grunde" (*SWS.* 32, 6). So hatte auch Hamann von den alten Rednern gesagt (vgl. *R.* 2, 218 f.). "Ja freilich, wenn ich, statt des Bildes, todte Buchstaben sehe, trockene allgemeine Sittenlehren, so fühle ich nichts von der Wollust der Anschauung, denn das trockene Allgemeine gibt kein Bild.—Hier lebt alles. . . . Der Mann zeigt mir nicht, dass er studiert hat; aber nie habe ich es gemisst, dass er's nicht hat" (*SWS.* 32, 9). "Rede, dass ich dich sehe!" ruft Hamann aus (*R.* 2, 261); ferner: "Wenn du eine Rede (oder Predigt) zu halten hast, so rede so, dass dich die *Kinder* verstehen können, und sich mehr auf den Eindruck, den du ihnen mittheilen kannst, als auf den Beifall gelehrter und witziger Maulaffen" (*R.* 1, 383).

Der etwas verworrene Entwurf über das Problem "wie die Philosophie zum besten des Volkes allgemeiner und nützlicher

<sup>1</sup> Diesen Ausdruck will Berger (S. 22) für Winckelmann in Anspruch nehmen; vgl. indessen Suphans Bemerkung zu "ganz Ohr, ganz Seele" u. s. w. *SWS.* 4, 508 f.



werden kann" (SWS. 32, 31 ff.) ist in seinem Grundgedanken Kantisch; doch enthält er auch manche Spuren der Abhängigkeit von Hamann, auch Anklänge an Rousseau und Abbt finden sich darin. Die äusserliche Anregung zu der Abhandlung "fiel mitten in die Gedankengährung hinein, in die Herder durch die Deklamationen Rousseaus gegen die Eitelkeit und Verderblichkeit der Wissenschaften, durch Kants und in anderer Weise durch Hamanns Äusserungen über alles leere Metaphysiciren ohne Sokratische Bescheidung und Richtung auf das dem Menschengeschlecht wahrhaft Frommende, endlich durch die eine und andere Auslassung Abbts gestürzt worden war" (Haym *a. a. O.*, S. 94). Hamann hatte in der Einleitung zu den "Sokratischen Denkwürdigkeiten" erklärt, "dass unsere Philosophie eine andere Gestalt notwendig haben müsste, wenn man die Schicksale dieses Namens oder Wortes Philosophie nach den Schattierungen der Zeiten, Köpfe, Geschlechter und Völker, nicht wie ein Gelehrter oder Weltweiser selbst, sondern als ein müssiger Zuschauer ihrer olympischen Spiele studiert hätte oder zu studieren wüsste" (*R.* 2, 15 f., vgl. 2, 80). Herder sagt: "Wenn irgend eine Muse die Ruhe liebt, so ist's die Göttin der Philosophie" (SWS. 32, 40). Nach Herder hat die Philosophie "zu einer Zeit, unter einem Volke, ja oft in verschiedenen Zeitpunkten eines und desselben Menschen die Metamorphose des Urteils ausstehen müssen: sie ist ein Proteus unter den Nationen geworden" (SWS. 32, 31; damit vgl. Hamann, *R.* 1, 415; 2, 98.) Der Geist der Philosophie hat selbst in einzelnen Männern nie zusammenbestehen können. In Spinoza und Cartesius ward die Philosophie "ein Gewebe unglücklicher Hypothesen; Leibniz dichtete glücklich, und Wolf—der grosse Sprecher seines Erfinders, gab ihr die mathematische Schlachtordnung und Lösungswörter, mit welchem Glück!" (SWS. 32, 32). Vgl. das Urteil Hamanns über diese beiden letztgenannten Philosophen: *R.* 2, 215 f. Es ist eine eben so fruchtlose Arbeit, sich mit "Knüpfung und Auflösung philosophischer Knoten zu beschäftigen, als Linsen durch ein Nadelöhr zu werfen" (SWS. 32,

38, ein Lieblingsausdruck Herders, der auch in Hamanns Schriften oft wiederkehrt; vgl. *R.* 1, 495; 2, 18). Die Philosophie muss die Psychologie voraussetzen, "wenn man sie nicht als zerstückte Glieder unserer Seele und als ein Feld voll Leichname betrachten will: denn wer wird von den Fähigkeiten eines Dinges reden, dessen Kräfte ich noch nicht kenne . . . ich habe es versucht, ihre Glieder in den Körper zurückzupflanzen, und ich habe gesehen, wie alsdann alles lebt; es kommt ein Geist in diese Gebeine: sie sind voll Leben" (*SWS.* 32, 38 f.) Dasselbe Bild bei Hamann, *R.* 2, 218. "Unsere Philosophiehistorie ist Fabel: höchstens höre ich etwas, was ihn, den Menschen, angeht und vorbei gelassen werden könnte: ich höre ihn, den Narren in Apophtegmen und Handlungen oder wenn ich ihn den Philosophen zu sehen bekomme: so ist's sein Brustbild, verstümmelt wie Dagon und Hände und Kopf sind von Wohlthaten der Neueren darzugesetzt" (*SWS.* 32, 47). Ein beliebtes Bild bei Hamann: vgl. *R.* 7, 62; 2, 16. Ganz aus Hamanns Seele geschöpft muten uns die Worte an, mit denen Herder eingedenk seines Amtes als Lehrer und Prediger die Lehrer der Tugend und der Religion auffordert: "O Lehrer der Religion! wie viel vergebliche Seelenängste habt ihr durch willkürliche Einteilungen und Schilderungen der Tugend erregt; wie viel junge Seelen habt ihr verwüstet durch Worte, die sie nicht verstanden. . . . O legt die Methoden ab, werdet Kinder; sonst wäre es besser, ihr hättet geschwiegen" (*SWS.* 32, 55). Auch Hamann hatte klar erkannt, weshalb der Unterricht in den Schulen statt Lust zum Lernen zu erwecken, gerade das Gegenteil bewirkte. Daher seine Mahnung: "Kinder müssen wir werden u. s. w." (*R.* 2, 271). Vgl. noch: "Das grösste Gesetz für Kinder besteht darin, sich zu ihrer Schwäche herunterzulassen, ihre Diener zu werden, wenn man ihr Meister sein will, ihnen zu folgen, wenn man sie regieren will u. s. w." (*R.* 2, 447, ebenso: 2, 432). Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit von sich und dem Urteil andrer ist das Hauptgesetz eines Philosophen. Daher sind diejenigen, "welche der Natur am

nächsten sind, die einfältigen Landbewohner," nach Herder wahre Philosophen. Denn sie sind die grössten Beobachter der Natur (vgl. Hamann: *R.* 2, 192), in ihrer Knechtschaft die freiesten Leute. . . . "Kurz, o Philosoph, gehe auf das Land und lerne die Weise der Ackerleute" (*SWS.* 32, 53). Die 32, 60, angezogene Behauptung Longius, dass "Poesie älter sei als Prosa," hatte auch Hamann als seine Meinung bezeichnet (vgl. *R.* 2, 258).

Die Rigaer Einführungsrede: "Von der Gratie in der Schule" (*SWS.* 30, 14 ff.) ist im wesentlichen vom Geiste Shaftesburys beherrscht,<sup>1</sup> und ihr pädagogisches Ideal deckt sich mit der "moral grace" des englischen Philosophen. In die Fassung des Begriffs sind auch Winckelmannsche Anschauungen eingeschlossen (vgl. Berger *a. a. O.*, S. 23 ff.). Die Schilderung des Lehrers, wie sie Herder entwirft, ist ganz in Übereinstimmung mit den Ansichten Hamanns. Nicht Zwang und Strafen, nicht trockene Vorhaltungen des künftigen Nutzens, sondern der "Reiz ist das Leitband, das die Jugend fesselt" (*SWS.* 30, 21). Wissenschaft und Tugend soll dem Knaben angenehm gemacht werden; Zutrauen muss der Lehrer in dem Schüler erwecken. Dieser wird den lebenswürdigen Lehrer schätzen und achten und sich ihm überlassen. "Er muss auf seiner Stirn gleichsam die einfältige und erhabene Wahrheit eines Vaters lesen können, der nichts spricht, was er nicht denkt, er muss das lebenswürdige und muntere Herz eines Freundes sehen" (*SWS.* 30, 23). Hamann verlangt vom Lehrer, dass er "ein väterliches Herz gegen Kinder habe" (*R.* 1, 570); er betont die "Menschenliebe eines Lehrers, der sich auch den schlechtesten Grund bei seinem Schüler gefallen lässt und ihn durch das, was er schon weiss, aufmuntert, mehr und weiter und besser zu lernen" (*R.* 1, 506). Herder wünscht sich das Verhältnis zwischen Lehrer und Schüler, wie es zwischen Sokrates und Alcibiades bestand.

<sup>1</sup> Hatch, 'Shaftesburys Einfluss auf Herder.' *Studien zur vgl. Litt. G.* 1, (1901), S. 112 f.

Dann ist die Schule ein "angenehmer Pflanzgarten; der Lehrer wandelt mit heiterer Stirn zwischen Freunden, die ihre Seele ihm geben. Er wird mit ihnen Jüngling, ihr Mitarbeiter, arbeitet vor und muntert sie mit seinem Feuer auf, wie eine Kohle die andere anglüht; von seinen Lippen voll Snada (vgl. *R.* 2, 180; 3, 409) entwenden sie die Worte u. s. w." (*SWS.* 30, 23). Alles in Hamannschem Sinne.

In der Festschrift: "Haben wir noch jetzt das Publicum und Vaterland der Alten" (*SWS.* 1, 13 ff.) erinnert die Bemerkung über den Ursprung der bildenden Kunst an das erste Kapitel der Winckelmannschen Kunstgeschichte: "Jenes Mädchen, das den Schatten ihres Liebhabers an der Wand mit einer Kohle umriss, um sein Bild zu haben, war ohne ihren Willen die Erfinderin<sup>1</sup> der Malerei. Jener Grieche, der einen Stamm behieb, oben rot färbte und ihn statt der Füße unten von einander sägte, schnitzte die erste Statue" (*SWS.* 1, 15). Herder fährt fort mit einem originellen Nachklang eines berühmten Rousseauschen Schlagwortes:<sup>2</sup> "Und jener Hausvater, der seine Familie in einen Kreis von Zelten sammelte und einen Zaun umherzog, war der erste König, der ein Publicum stiftete." Die erste der beiden im Thema gestellten Fragen verneint Herder; er kommt zu dem Schlusse, dass das Publicum der Alten ausgestorben sei sowohl in Absicht der Regierung wie in Absicht der Redner und Schriftsteller. Hamann hatte von den alten Rednern gesagt: "Sie legten Begebenheiten zum Grunde, machten eine Kette von Schlüssen, die in ihren Zuhörern Entschlüsse und Leidenschaften wurden" (*R.* 2, 218 f.). Dem setzt Herder entgegen: "Der Zweck des geistlichen Redners ist "nicht bloss zu gefallen, sondern zu erbauen, und dann soll er ja nicht nur auf drei Viertelstunden rühren, sondern auf eine ganze Lebenszeit heilige Entschlüsse zu erregen suchen: Entschlüsse, die nicht im Tausel der Leidenschaft, sondern in einer heitern stillen Seele (das Winckelmannsche Schlagwort)

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. *SWS.* 8, 41, und Herders anmutiges Gedicht: "Die Erfinderin der Künste," *SWS.* 29, 123; sowie die Anmerkung dazu *ebd.* S. 726.

<sup>2</sup> "Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité."

aufblühen müssen" (*SWS.* 1, 19). Herder möchte nun zeigen, "dass auch das Theaterpublicum sehr geschwächt und beinahe verschwunden am Werthe sei: dass selbst das Parisische und Londonische Parterre kaum ein Schatten des Griechischen sein könne; allein hier verirre ich mich in die weiten Felder der Ästhetik, aus denen der Rückweg schwer wird, und vielleicht sagen schon einige Leser: obe jam satis! hoc sane leve et non dignum" (*SWS.* 1, 20); ein Lieblingscitat Herders, das auch Hamann häufig verwendet: vgl. *R.* 2, 188; 3, 45. Bejahend fällt die Antwort auf die zweite Frage aus. Trotz der veränderten politischen Anschauungen, trotz des veränderten Verhältnisses der Religion zum Staate haben wir noch, wie die Alten, ein Vaterland, dem wir unsere Hingebung und Liebe widmen können. Auch hier arbeitet Herder im wesentlichen mit Gedanken Shaftesburys (vgl. Hatch *a. a. O.*, S. 91 ff.). Herder wiederholt, was Abbt in seiner Schrift "Vom Tode fürs Vaterland" ausgeführt hatte: auch in einer Monarchie ist es "süss und ehrenvoll fürs Vaterland zu sterben." Uneigennützigte Aufopferung fürs Vaterland, wenn auch nicht die blinde und phantastische früherer Zeiten, kennen auch wir noch. Ein leuchtendes Beispiel dafür ist Peter der Grosse. "War er nicht ein wahrer Patriot, da er als der Name und das Wunder unseres Jahrhunderts der Vater seines alten und der Schöpfer eines neuen Vaterlandes wurde?" (*SWS.* 1, 25). Damit vergleiche man bei Hamann: "Der Geschichte der Philosophie ist es wie der Bildsäule des französischen Staatsministers ergangen . . . ein Monarch, der Name eines ganzen Jahrhunderts, gab die Unkosten zum Denkmal. . . . Ein Schöpfer seines Volkes" (*R.* 2, 13 f.).

Die Skizze: "Parallele zwischen den griechischen und französischen Tragödienschreibern" (*SWS.* 32, 140 ff.) sollte eine Übersetzung mit Anmerkungen des 1760 in Lille erschienenen Werks: "Parallèle des tragiques grecs et français" werden; aber nur eine unvollendete Vorrede und Anmerkungen zum ersten Kapitel kamen zu Stande. Herder war ohne Zweifel durch Hamann auf das französische Werk aufmerksam gemacht

worden, der auch seinen Freund Lindner darauf verwiesen hatte (vgl. *R.* 2, 426). Gleich der Anfang des Vorberichtes bringt den Hamann entlehnten und von Herder schon früher gebrauchten Ausdruck: "Name eines Jahrhunderts" (*SWS.* 32, 140). Den Schüler Hamanns hören wir klar aus den Worten: "Die Franzosen gegen die Griechen zu halten, ist insonderheit vor ein Volk nötig, das so sehr von den Brosamen der Franzosen lebt, und sich sehr oft auf diese Kunst zu betiteln etwas einbildet. Eben daher suche ich beständig den Gesichtskreis zu erweitern und nebst die handelnden Griechen und die sentimentsvollen Franzosen den malenden Britten zu setzen; wollten die Musen, wir hätten von allen drei gleichviel gelernt" (*SWS.* 32, 141). Damit vergleiche man bei Hamann: *R.* 2, 126, 210; 3, 76.

Vergleiche noch die Ansichten Herders über die Entwicklung der Geschichte (*SWS.* 32, 141 ff.) mit denen Hamanns. (*R.* 1, 10 f.).

Der Begriff der Schönheit, den Herder schon in den fragmentarischen "Betrachtungen über das verschiedene Urteil von der menschlichen Schönheit" (*SWS.* 32, 15 ff.) entwickelt hatte, wird weiter ausgeführt in der geistreichen Abhandlung: "Ist die Schönheit des Körpers ein Bote von der Schönheit der Seele?" (*SWS.* 1, 43 ff.). Dieselbe ist in der Hauptsache von Kants "Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen" abhängig (Hartenstein, Bd. II, 277 ff.)<sup>1</sup> Haym (I, 40) sagt: "Fast sieht es aus, als ob Herder das Kantsche Werkchen aufgeschlagen neben sich liegen gehabt, als er diese Abhandlung schrieb. Denn nicht nur eine Menge Einzelheiten entnimmt er demselben,<sup>2</sup> sondern auf Kant ruht die ganze Ein-

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. C. Jaskulski, 'Über den Einfluss der vorkritischen Ästhetik Kants auf Herder' (*Ztschr. f. d. aesterr. Gymn.* 51, 1900, S. 193 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. die Anführung des Humeschen Urteils über die geistige Inferiorität der Neger (S. 48) mit Kant VII, 435; die Bemerkung über den Ursprung der Männerurteile über weibliche Schönheiten (S. 50) mit Kant VII, 416; das Wort von den Lilien, die nicht spinnen (S. 52) mit Kant VII, 429; endlich die ganze Partie (S. 50-53) mit Kant VII, 414 ff. Vgl. ausserdem Suphan,

teilung des Schönen in mehrere Arten oder Stufen, durch die er die Beantwortung jener Frage hindurch verfolgt." Auch Anregungen von Shaftesburys Moralphilosophie (vgl. Hatch *a. a. O.*, S. 105) und Winckelmann finden sich verarbeitet (vgl. Berger *a. a. O.*, S. 27). Anklänge an Hamann sind nur wenige zu spüren. Ein Winckelmannscher Satz in Hamannscher Prägung eröffnet die Betrachtung: "Die Alten, insonderheit die alten Griechen, hielten so viel auf die edle Bildung des Körpers, dass ihre Weisen . . . dieselbe für ein Sinnbild göttlicher Eigenschaften und für Fussstapfen von der Gegenwart der Götter erklärten" (*SWS.* 1, 44). Hamann bezeichnet in den "Sokratischen Denkwürdigkeiten" im Anschluss an Winckelmann die Schönheit als höchstes Kunstprinzip des Altertums, stellt aber zugleich die Gegenwart in einen entschiedenen Gegensatz dazu: "Bei der Kunst, in welcher Sokrates erzogen worden, war sein Auge an der Schönheit und ihren Verhältnissen so gewohnt und geübt, dass sein Geschmack an wohlgebildeten Jünglingen uns nicht befremden darf. . . . Überdies wurden Schönheit, Stärke des Leibes und Geistes nebst dem Reichthum an Kindern und Gütern in dem jugendlichen Alter der Welt für Sinnbilder göttlicher Eigenschaften und Fussstapfen göttlicher Gegenwart erklärt" (*R.* 2, 24 f., vgl. dazu *WW.* 1, 9–18).<sup>1</sup> Auf Hamann weist folgende Stelle hin: "Sokrates hatte eine Bildung des Körpers, die einem Physiognomisten Gelegenheit gab, ihn vor den Lasterhaftesten auszusprechen. Sokrates Zuhörer piffen ihn aus, aber ihr Lehrer gab ihm Recht: das alles wäre ich geworden, wenn mich nicht die Weisheit gebessert hätte. Und freilich hat man zwar Kraft und Gelegenheit genug seine Seele, nicht aber seinen Körper

Die Rigischen Gelehrten Beiträge etc., (*Zeitsch. f. d. Phil.* VI, 80 f.) und dessen Aufsatz "Herder als Schüler Kants" (*Zeitschr. f. d. Phil.* IV, 233 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Ähnlich hat dann Klopstock das Recht und die Würde der christlichen Kunst gegenüber Winckelmanns Griechenvergötterung betont. Seine Kritik der "Gedanken über die Nachahmung" im 3. Bande des "Nordischen Aufsehers" (vgl. dazu *SWS.* 3, 249 ff.) ist am bequemsten zugänglich bei Back und Spindler: *Klopstocks sämtliche sprachwissenschaftliche und ästhetische Schriften* (Bd. 4, S. 125 ff., Leipzig, 1830).

umzubilden" (*SWS.* 1, 54). Vgl. bei Hamann: "Wenn man die Zeiten des Heidenthums kennt, in denen Sokrates lebte, so ist es eine thörichte Mühe, ihn von einem Laster weiss zu brennen, das unsere Christenheit an Sokrates übersehen sollte, wie die artige Welt an einem Toussaint die kleinen Romane seiner Leidenschaften, als Schönfleckchen seiner Sitten. Sokrates scheint ein aufrichtiger Mann gewesen zu sein, dessen Handlungen von dem Grund seines Herzens und nicht von dem Eindruck, den andere davon haben, bestimmt worden. Er leugnete nicht, dass seine verborgenen Neigungen mit den Entdeckungen des Gesichtdeuters einträfen; er gestand, dass dessen Brille recht gesehen hätte: dass er das ihm beschuldete Laster gehasst, wissen wir aus seinem Eifer gegen dasselbe" (*R.* 2, 24 f.). Eines Hamannschen Bildes bedient sich Herder in dem Satz: "Ein Betrüger und eine Betrügerin kann so sehr den Reizen der Natur durch lange Übung und Mühe nachäffen, dass endlich der Trugschluss entsteht: dieser Pfau ist so schön, wie schön wird er singen? Diese Nachtigall singt so schön, wie schön wird sie schmecken?" (*S.* 54). Vgl. damit bei Hamann: *R.* 4, 252.

Herders 'Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Litteratur' (*SWS.* 1, 131 ff.) knüpfen bekanntlich an die Literaturbriefe an. Im Ganzen und Grossen ist deren Standpunkt auch der seinige, wie verschieden er sich auch zu den einzelnen Verfassern derselben verhielt. Hamann war bei der Aus- und Umarbeitung Herders "erstgeborener Kunstrichter, der Schutzgeist seiner Autorschaft" (Hoffmann *a. a. O.*, S. 23). Kein Wunder, dass dieselben von Nachklängen Hamanns erfüllt sind. Auch mündliche Äusserungen Hamanns dürften Herder in Erinnerung geblieben sein (vgl. Haym I, 190).

Gleich die Einleitung zu den *Fragmenten* kündigt mit deutlichem Anklang an eine Stelle der Hamannschen *Wolken* eine "pantomimische" Sprache nach Art des "delphischen Orakels" an. "Ich vermeide den Ton eines Tadlers und Lobredners, und spreche mit einigen Verfassern pantomimisch: wie es dort von jenem griechischen Orakel hiess: οὔτε λέγει,



οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει" (SWS. 1, 147; vgl. damit Herders Rechtfertigung seines Stils der *Fragmente*, SWS. 1, 528). Hamann sagt: "Gewisse Schriftsteller müssen während der Zeit sich nicht schämen, die Dichtersprache so gut sie können nachzulallen, die am Hofe des Gottes zu Delphos eingeführt war, nach dem bekannten Sprüchwort: οὔτε λέγει, οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει" (R. 2, 74). Winckelmann hatte sein Hauptwerk mit der Bemerkung eingeleitet, seine Geschichte der Kunst sei keine blosse Erzählung der Zeitfolge und der Veränderungen in derselben, seine Absicht sei zugleich "einen Versuch eines Lehrgebäudes zu liefern." Herder erklärt im Gegenteil: "Die Briefe über die N. Litteratur haben kein Lehrgebäude liefern wollen, doch aber nennen sie es ein Gemälde der Litteratur in den letzten Jahren" (SWS. 1, 144). Ein vollständigeres Gemälde ist es, das ihm selbst vorschwebt. Diesem pragmatischen Gemälde müsste eine Geschichte der Literatur zugrunde liegen, auf die es sich stützte. "Auf welcher Stufe befindet sich diese Nation? und zu welcher könnte und sollte sie kommen? Was sind ihre Talente, und wie ist ihr Geschmack? Wie ihr äusserer Zustand in den Wissenschaften und Künsten? Warum sind sie bisher noch nicht höher gekommen, und wodurch könnte ihr Geist zum Aufschwunge Freiheit und Begeisterung erhalten? Alsdenn rufe der Geschichtsschreiber der Litteratur aus: Wohlan, Landesleute, diese Bahn lauft und jene Abwege und Steine vermeidet; so weit habt ihr noch, um hierin den Kranz des Zieles zu erreichen! Man stelle ihnen die Alten als Vorläufer, die Nachbarn als Nebenbuhler vor und suche die Triebfeder des Nationalstolzes so rege zu machen, als man das Nationalgenie untersucht hat" (SWS. 1, 140 f.). Also was Herder sich zur Ergänzung der Litteraturbriefe wünscht, ist in der Tat ein "Lehrgebäude" der deutschen Literatur, aber nicht im Winckelmannschen, sondern im Hamannschen Sinne, zur Erziehung *deutscher Klassiker* (vgl. R. 2, 129, 288 f.). In der "Abhandlung über die Ode" hatte Herder nach Winckelmanns Methode in der Geschichte der Dichtkunst vier Stil-

epochen unterschieden, so sucht er jetzt mit der gleichen Methode in Probleme der Sprachgeschichte einzudringen und schreibt ein Kapitel "Von den Lebensaltern einer Sprache" (*SWS.* 1, 151 ff.). Die Gesetze der Veränderung sind überall die gleichen: bei dem einzelnen Menschen, bei dem ganzen Menschengeschlecht, in jeder Nation, in jeder Familie, sogar in der toten Welt: "vom Schlechten zum Guten, vom Guten zum Vortrefflichen, vom Vortrefflichen zum Schlechten und zum Schlechten: dieses ist der Kreislauf der Dinge. So ist's mit jeder Kunst und Wissenschaft: sie keimt, trägt Knospen, blüht auf und verblüht" (*SWS.* 1, 151 f.).

Schon die Literaturbriefe hatten sich mit Reflexionen über das Verhältnis der Sprache zur Literatur, insbesondere über die Eigentümlichkeiten der deutschen Sprache und deren Qualifikation zum dichterischen und prosaischen Gebrauche vernehmen lassen. Auch Hamann hatte in den "Kreuzzügen des Philologen" manche bedeutsame Bemerkungen vorgetragen. Herder geht in den Fragmenten den Erörterungen der Verfasser der Literaturbriefe, vor allem Abbt's nach und berücksichtigt im Vorbeigehen auch Äusserungen der Klopstock'schen Abhandlung von der poetischen Sprache. "Das Licht aber, dem er dabei folgt, sind die Gedankenblitze Hamann's, so zwar, dass dieselben zu einer, breite Strecken der Literatur beleuchtenden Lichtmasse sich erst in seinem Kopfe verdichten" (Haym I, 137).

Beide, Hamann und Herder, legen zuerst bei der Sprachphilosophie Hand ans Werk. Hamann sagt: "Man müsse wissen nicht nur was die Wohlredenheit eines klassischen Schriftstellers, sondern was Schreiben überhaupt ist; über beide Dinge habe man noch so wenig philosophische Einsichten" (*R.* 2, 204). Schon frühe sammelt er allgemeine Betrachtungen über die menschliche Sprache (vgl. *R.* 1, 345, 390; 3, 105). Ohne Zweifel sind Herders Gedanken über den Ursprung der Sprache von Hamann angeregt worden. Hamann hatte in der ersten Abhandlung der *Kreuzzüge*: "Versuch über eine akademische Frage" gesagt: "Das Gebiet der

Sprache erstreckt sich vom Buchstabieren bis auf die Meisterstücke der Dichtkunst und feinsten Philosophie, des Geschmacks und der Kritik" (*R.* 2, 128). Herder umschreibt diesen Satz in der Einleitung zur ersten Fragmentensammlung, um den Umfang der Literatur zu bestimmen, mit folgenden Worten: "Ein grosser Teil der Wissenschaften macht einen Körper, wo man kein einzelnes Glied nach blossem Gutdünken pflegen kann, ohne dem Ganzen zu schaden; und dieser Teil trägt den Namen Litteratur. Ein weiter Name, dessen Gebiet sich von den ersten Buchstabenversuchen erstreckt bis auf die schönste Blumenlese der Dichtkunst: von der Züchtigung elender Übersetzer nach der Grammatik und dem Wörterbuch bis zu den tiefsten Bemerkungen über die Sprache: von der Tropologie bis zu den Höhen, die nur das Sonnenpferd der Einbildungskraft auf den Flügeln der Aurore erreicht:<sup>1</sup> von den Handwerkssystemen bis zu den Ideen des Plato und Leibniz, deren jede, wie ein Sonnenstrahl siebenfarbichtes Licht enthält. Sprache, Geschmackswissenschaften, Geschichte und Weltweisheit sind die vier Ländereien der Litteratur, die gemeinschaftlich zur Stärke dienen und beinahe unzertrennlich sind" (*SWS.* 1, 142).

Der oben (*S.* 30) angeführte Hamannsche Satz bildet für Herder den Text zu dem Thema, das als Grundlage der ganzen folgenden kritischen Umschau über die zeitgenössische Literatur gelten kann: "Der Genius der Sprache ist auch der Genius der Litteratur einer Nation" (1, 148). Die Bemerkung Herders: "Unsere Wärterinnen, die unsere Zunge bilden, sind unsre erste Lehrer der Logik" (1, 147),<sup>2</sup> erinnert an Hamann,

<sup>1</sup> Ein gesuchtes Bild, charakteristisch für den Stil der Fragmente, der von denselben wimmelt. Auch in seiner schriftstellerischen Manier erscheint Herder hier abhängig von Hamann, dessen Schriften von einem grossen Reichtum oft weithergeholter Bilder zeugen. Hier nur ein Beispiel: "Der Klagdichter nimmt so viele historische Züge zusammen, als das holländische Wappen Pfeile in seiner Tatze, oder der Vogel Jupiters Strahlen in seiner Klaue trägt" (*R.* 2, 170). Vgl. übrigens meine Arbeit: *Untersuchungen über Sprache und Stil des jungen Herder.* S. 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. *SWS.* 1, 6: "Die ersten Wörter, die wir lallen, sind die Grundsteine unsrer Erkenntnis und die Wärterinnen unsre ersten Lehrer der Logik."

der von einer ursprünglich in uns angelegten "Übereinstimmung der Werkzeuge der Gefühle mit den Springfedern der menschlichen Rede" (*R.* 2; 124) gesprochen hatte. Herder berührt dies grosse Thema hier nur kurz; in der dritten Sammlung kommt er auf dasselbe zurück, um es weiter auszuführen, und in der zweiten Auflage der ersten Sammlung entfaltet sich der Satz zu einer langen Abhandlung (vgl. *SW.* 2, 8–29). "Halb wie ein Historiker, halb wie ein Naturforscher, halb als Dichter, halb als Philosoph" skizziert Herder die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Sprache und schreibt, wie gesagt, das Kapitel von den Lebensaltern der Sprache, deren Ausgangspunkt der Hamannsche Satz ist: "Poesie ist die Muttersprache des menschlichen Geschlechts" (*R.* 2, 258).

Die Sprache einer noch im Kindesalter befindlichen Nation sind Töne und Geberden, unmittelbar ausbrechende Leidenschaften. Während Winckelmann die Verschiedenheit der Sprachen und Mundarten aus der Verschiedenheit des Klimas erklärt (*WW.* 1, 135 f.; 3, 47 ff.), charakterisiert zwar Herder, mit den Anschauungen Blackwells<sup>1</sup> und Hamanns vertraut, die älteste Sprache auch als "einsilbig, rau und hoch," aber er schreibt das nicht den ungeübten Redewerkzeugen zu, sondern den stärkeren Leidenschaften, die im Naturzustande unmittelbar hervorbrechen. Wie Hume die Furcht an den Anfang der Religionsentwicklung gestellt hatte, so stellt Herder sie auch an den Anfang der Sprachentwicklung. Mit der zunehmenden Vertrautheit mit den Gegenständen schwanden Entsetzen, Furcht und Verwunderung; mit der weiteren Ausbildung der Sprachwerkzeuge begann man zu singen und nahm Geberden zu Hülfe. Das ganze Wörterbuch "war noch sinnlich." Die Sprache trat ins poetische, ins Jünglingsalter. "Die Wildheit senkte sich, Lebens- und Denkart legte ihr rauschendes Feuer ab . . . man sang im gemeinen Leben, und

<sup>1</sup> Blackwell, *Untersuchung über das Leben und die Schriften Homers*. London, 1757. Wie hoch Herder das Buch schätzte und wie viel er demselben verdankte, zeigen eine ganze Reihe von Stellen in seinen Schriften, wo er daraus citiert. (Vgl. übrigens Haym I, 139, Anm.).

der Dichter erhöhte nur seine Accente in einem für das Ohr gewählten Rhythmus.”<sup>1</sup> Auch unsinnliche Begriffe nahm man auf, die man aber “mit bekannten sinnlichen Namen nannte.” Man redete in Bildern und Metaphern. Nicht nur Blackwell und Winckelmann (*WW.* 1, 168 f.; 4, 31), sondern auch Hamann hatte hervorgehoben, was Klopstock<sup>2</sup> bestritten hatte, dass die Poesie älter als die Prosa sei und früher zur Vollkommenheit gelangte. “Poesie ist die Muttersprache des menschlichen Geschlechts; wie der Gartenbau älter als der Acker: Malerei als Schrift, Gesang als Declamation, Gleichnisse als Schlüsse, Tausch als Handel. Ein tieferer Schlaf war die Ruhe unserer Urahnen, und ihre Bewegung war ein taumelnder Tanz. Sieben Tage im Stillschweigen des Nachsinnens oder Erstaunens sassen sie . . . und thaten ihren Mund auf—zu geflügelten Sprüchen” (*R.* 2, 258).<sup>3</sup> Es folgt das männliche Alter, das Zeitalter der schönen Prosa. Alle poetischen Freiheiten werden gemässigt und der Rhythmus der Poesie zur wohlklingenden Periode heruntergestimmt. Das hohe Alter endlich “weiss statt Schönheit blos von Richtigkeit. Diese entzieht ihrem Reichthum, wie die Lacedämonische Diät die attische Wollust verbannet” (1, 155). Vgl. hierzu Hamanns bekanntes Wort: “Die Reinigkeit einer Sprache *entzieht ihrem Reichthum*, eine gar zu gefesselte *Richtigkeit* ihrer Stärke und Mannheit” (*R.* 2, 151). Der Unterschied zwischen Poesie und Prosa ist also kein willkürlich gemachter (so Klopstock), sondern ein historisch, ein natürlich gewordener.

Wir stehen gegenwärtig im Zeitalter der Prosa, also in der Mitte zwischen dem Schönen und dem Vollkommenen, eine allergünstige Lage, “weil man von da aus auf beide Seiten

<sup>1</sup> Hier berührt sich diese Ausführung mit dem Aufsatz “Abhandlung über die Ode” (*SWS.* 32, 62).

<sup>2</sup> Im 26. Stück des *Nordischen Aufsehers*. Back und Spindler. Bd. 4, S. 13ff.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. den Brief Herders an Hamann (August 1764): “Meine poetische Ader versiegt: die Schwalbe, die nicht mehr singen konnte, lernte bauen. Mir fehlen Musen äusserlich, die mich begeistern, und schon 7 Tage sitze ich im Stillschweigen der Väter, wenn fahren Worte geflügelt heraus?” (*Hoffmann a. a. O.*, S. 7).

auslenken kann," sowohl nach der dichterischen wie nach der philosophischen, nach der Seite des Sinnlichen wie nach der des Unsinnlichen. Herder entwickelt nun in beredter Weise, wie wir die Gunst dieser Stellung nützen müssen.<sup>1</sup> Überall hört man hier den Schüler Hamanns sprechen.

Mit Nachdruck tritt Herder für die Idiotismen ein. Was er über diese in lebendiger und eingehender Weise ausführt, hatte bereits Hamann rhapsodisch bemerkt in dem "Versuch über eine akademische Frage." Dort heisst es unter Anderm: "Jedes Volk offenbart die Richtung seiner Denkungsart durch die Natur, Form, Gesetze und Sitten seiner Rede ebenso gut als durch ihre äusserliche Bildung und durch ein Schauspiel öffentlicher Handlungen" (*R.* 2, 123). Er schützt den "in den Idiotismen wahrgenommenen Eigensinn" der Sprache und des Schriftstellers und "alles dasjenige, was man unter dem Genie einer Sprache versteht" (*R.* 2, 123), gegen die strenge Regel. Alle grammatikalischen Regeln eines Gottsched ist nichts gegen das geniale Verständnis einer Sprache. "Ein Kopf, der auf seine eigenen Kosten denkt, wird immer Eingriffe in die Sprache thun" (*R.* 2, 131). Ebenso Herder: "Idiotismen sind patronymische Schönheiten, die uns kein Nachbar durch eine Übersetzung entwenden kann und die der Schutzgöttin der Sprache heilig sind: Schönheiten in das Genie der Sprache eingewebt, die man zerstört, wenn man sie austrennt" (1, 162). Sie sind der Boden, auf dem der humoristische Stil gedeiht (Shakespeare, Swift, Fielding), wenn sich der "Eigensinn der Sprache mit dem Eigensinn des Witzes des Dichters paart" (1, 163). Über das Verhältnis des Humoristischen zum Wunderbaren hatte Hamann gesagt: "Wenn Diderot das Burleske und Wunderbare als Schlacken verwirft, so verlieren göttliche und menschliche Dinge ihren

<sup>1</sup> Lenzens Abhandlungen 'Über die Bearbeitung der deutschen Sprache im Elsass' (*Schriften*, hrsg. v. Tieck 2, 318 ff.), und 'Über die Vorzüge der deutschen Sprache' (*ebd.* 2, 326 ff.) sind, oft bis auf den Wortlaut, von diesen Ausführungen Herders abhängig. Letztere Schrift ist auch von Hamann beeinflusst. In einem demnächst im *Euphoriion* erscheinenden Artikel habe ich diese Abhängigkeit nachgewiesen.

wesentlichen Charakter. Brüste und Lenden der Dichtkunst verdorren. . . . Das Burleske verhält sich zum Wunderbaren, das Gemeine zum Heiligen wie oben und unten, hinten und vorn, die hohle zur gewölbten Hand" (*R.* 2, 440 f.). Herder empfiehlt das Studium der älteren Dichter und Schriftsteller (Opitz, Logan, Luther) "voll idiotistischer Stärke" und macht auf die sprachschöpferische Genialität Klopstocks aufmerksam. Wichtig sind die Idiotismen vor allem für den "Sprachweisen." "Sie eröffnen ihm die Schachten, um das Genie der Sprache zu untersuchen und dasselbe zuerst mit dem Genie der Nation zusammen zu halten" (*SWS.* 1, 165). Die "Kühnheit in Idiotismen" bei einem Schriftsteller zeigt sein Genie. "Das kühne Genie durchstösst das so beschwerliche Ceremoniell, findet und sucht sich Idiotismen, gräbt in die Eingeweide der Sprache, wie in die Bergklüfte, um Gold zu finden" (*SWS.* 1, 166).<sup>1</sup> Auch für Hamann sind Regeln verwerfliche Einschränkungen. "Ein Engel fuhr herab zu seiner Zeit und bewegte den Teich Bethesda, in dessen fünf Hallen viel Kranke, Blinde, Lahme, Dürre lagen und warteten, wenn sich das Wasser bewegte. Ebenso muss ein Genie sich herablassen, Regeln zu erschüttern, sonst bleiben sie Wasser, und—man muss der erste sein, hineinzusteigen, nachdem das Wasser bewegt wird, wenn man die Wirkung und Kraft der Regeln selbst erleben will" (*R.* 2, 430). Was nach Hamann das Genie erleuchtet, ist "etwas ganz anders, das weit unmittelbarer, weit inniger, weit dunkler und weit gewisser als Regeln uns führen und erleuchten muss" (*R.* 2, 430; vgl. 3, 81)—(ein Diderotsches Wort übrigens, das Hamann schon 1761 sich angeeignet hatte, als er dessen "Theater" studierte, wovon seine Schriften manche bisher nicht beachtete Spuren aufweisen). Vgl. noch: "Einmal in Jahrhunderten geschieht es, dass ein Geschenk des Pallas, ein Menschenbild vom Himmel fällt, bevollmächtigt, den öffentlichen Schatz<sup>1</sup> einer Sprache

<sup>1</sup> Herder liebt Bilder aus dem Bergmannsleben. Die Sprache wird bei ihm gerne als vergrabener Schatz gedacht; auch Hamann verwendet gern den Vergleich der Sprache mit einem öffentlichen Schatz (vgl. meine Arbeit: *Untersuchungen über Sprache und Stil des jungen Herder.* S. 85).

mit Weisheit . . . zu vermehren" (*R.* 2, 151 f.).<sup>1</sup> So stösst auch Herder die Regelschmiede bei Seite und gesteht einem Muster durch sein königliches Beispiel mehr Entscheidung zu als zehn Wortgrüblern.

Das Vernünfteln und das kurzsichtige Streben nach grammatischer Richtigkeit ist auch dem Reichtum der Sprache zu nahe getreten. Herder wiederholt das schon oben angezogene Citat Hamanns (*R.* 2, 151), knüpft direkt an den Satz an und entwickelt mit einem Blick auf den Wörterreichtum der morgenländischen Sprachen den Wert und Sinn der Synonymen. "Die Alten sprachen durch Bilder, wir höchstens mit Bildern, und die bildervolle Sprache unsrer schildernden Dichter verhält sich zu den ältesten Poeten, wie ein Exempel zur Allegorie, wie eine Allegorie zum Bilde in einem Zuge" (1, 167).<sup>2</sup> Die Bibel, die älteste Dichtung, ist für Hamann eine "Allegorie wichtiger und prophetischer Wahrheiten, in einfache, lebhaft und erstaunend ähnliche Bilder eingekleidet." Und an Herder schreibt er am 29. August 1765: "Die höchste poetische Kunst ist, die Allegorie in seiner Gewalt zu haben" (vgl. 2, 259).

In der weiteren Erörterung der *Fragmente* sucht Herder den Rat der *Literaturbriefe* zu prüfen, die Sprache durch Übersetzungen zu bilden. Auch hier wieder leiten ihm die Grundanschauungen vom Werden und Wandel der Sprache. Aus den ältesten Dichtern ist "durch Übersetzungen wenig für unsere Sprache zu rauben," weil sie in einer ganz anderen Sprachperiode lebten als wir. Sie gehörten dem Jünglingsalter der Poesie an, welches wir längst überschritten haben (vgl. *R.* 3, 397; 2, 289).

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. noch: "O ihr Herolde allgemeiner Regeln! wie wenig versteht ihr die Kunst und wie wenig besitzt ihr von dem Genie, das die Muster hervor gebracht hat, auf welche ihr sie baut, und das sie übertreten kann, so oft es ihm beliebt" (*R.* 2, 431).

<sup>2</sup> Fast wörtlich kommt Herder im "Torso" darauf zurück. "Freilich ist die Einfalt der Alten der erste Vorzug ihres Stils, dass sie nicht in Bildern reden, sondern Bilder geben" (*SWS.* 2, 278).



Am längsten verweilt Herder bei der Frage vom Versmaas; er kehrt ausführlich darauf zurück auf Veranlassung der zahlreichen Bemerkungen der *Literaturbriefe* über Geschichte und Natur des Hexameters. Die Syllbenmasse der Alten entsprangen in jenem jugendlichen Alter, "da man auch im gemeinen Leben die Wörter in hohem Tone aussprach und hohe und niedrige Accente deutlich hören liess" (*SWS.* 1, 174). Damals war der Hexameter ein natürliches Versmaas, "das die meiste Harmonie in sich schloss, das ihrem Ohr und ihrer Kehle am gemässesten war, weil ihre Melodie im Gesang und Deklamation des gemeinen Lebens eine höhere Tonleiter auf und nieder stieg, als unsere" (1, 174). "Wir—im Sprachalter der Prosa—reden mit wenigeren Accenten monotonischer." Unsere Sprache ist, wie Herder sich ausdrückt, "volltönig," nicht "hohtönend." "Höret den Cadencen bei dem Gesange der Kinder und der Narren zu; sie sind nie polymetrisch; oder wenn ihr darüber lacht, so geht unter die Bauern, gebt auf die ältesten Kirchenlieder Acht, ihre Falltöne sind kürzer und ihr Rhythmus einförmig" (1, 175).<sup>1</sup> Herder lag bei der Niederschrift dieses Satzes eine Hamannsche Stelle im Sinn, in welcher Hamann dem ungebundenen Versmaas "des deutschen Pindar" (Klopstock) das monotonische Metrum des Homer entgegensetzt, dessen Erklärung er auf einer Reise durch Kurland und Lievland gefunden haben will. 'Es gibt in angeführten Gegenden gewisse Striche, wo man das lettische oder undeutsche Volk bei aller ihrer Arbeit singen hört, aber nichts als eine Cadenz von wenig Tönen, die mit einem Metro viel Ähnlichkeit hat. Sollte ein Dichter unter ihnen aufstehen: so wäre es ganz natürlich, dass alle seine Verse nach diesem eingeführten Maasstab ihrer Stimmen zugeschnitten sein würden' (*R.* 2, 306). Hamann will damit freilich gerade das "Monotonische" des Hexameters verständlich machen; aber

<sup>1</sup> Fast dieselben Worte gebraucht Herder in der "Abhandlung über die Ode." Die Kadenzen unserer Kinder- und Bauerlieder sind einfältig und einschmeichelnd monotonisch" (*SWS.* 32, 71).

der Grundgedanke, die Erklärung des dichterischen Rhythmus aus dem in einem Volk und einer Sprache natürlich vorhandenen rhythmischen Gefühl ist doch der nämliche.

Der eingehende Vergleich der beiden deutschen Dichter Bodmer und Klopstock mit Homer ist gewiss von Hamann angeregt worden. Er spricht direkt aus, was man bei Hamann über das Klopstocksche Versmass nur zwischen den Zeilen liest. "Ich wusste nicht, ob diese neue glückliche Versart nicht die natürlichste und ursprünglichste Poesie genannt werden könnte, statt dass ihn die Litteraturbriefe eine künstliche Prosa nannten" (SWS. 1, 208). Hier geht Herder den wegweisenden Schritten Hamanns nach, der mit offener Ironie die Ansicht der Litteraturbriefe über das freie Sylbenmass Klopstocks behandelt und auf die Ähnlichkeit desselben mit dem Unnerus der hebräischen Poesie hingewiesen hatte. "Das freie Gebäude, welches sich Klopstock, dieser grosse Wiederhersteller des lyrischen Gesanges, erlaubt, ist vermutlich ein Archaismus, welcher die rätselhafte Mechanik der heiligen Poesie bei den Hebräern glücklich nachahmt" (R. 2, 303 f.). Er beruft sich auf dieselbe Stelle der *Litteraturbriefe* (51. Brief, Bemerkungen Lessings),<sup>1</sup> an welche auch Herder angeknüpft hatte. Und um die Nachahmung aus dem Hebräischen zu zeigen, stellt Hamann eine Anmerkung Michaelis' zu Lowths *Vorlesungen über die heilige Poesie der Hebräer* (ed. Rosenmüller, Lips. 1835), wo es von dem Versmass dieser ältesten Dichtkunst heisst. 'Die Betrachtungen oder Empfindungen der ältesten und heiligsten Dichter scheinen sich von selbst in symmetrische Zeilen geordnet zu haben, die voller Wohlklang sind, ob sie schon kein (vorgemaltes noch gesetzkräftiges) Sylbenmass haben' (R. 2, 304). In der Anmerkung zu dieser

<sup>1</sup>Überhaupt scheint sich die Kälte oder Opposition gegen Lessing in den *Fragmenten* von Hamann auf Herder vererbt zu haben. Hamann sagt: 'Wer Lessing mit Nutzen lesen und von ihm lernen will, der muss ihn mit mehr Gleichgültigkeit ansehen, als er den Breitinger. Wehe dem, der solche Köpfe nachahmen will! Wehe dem, der sich untersteht, sie anzugreifen, ohne sich einer Überlegenheit mit Recht anmassen zu können!' (R. 3, 20).

Stelle findet er, dass Klopstocks "musikalisches Sylbenmass einem Sänger, der nicht allgemein sein will, zum Feierkleide der lyrischen Dichtkunst am angemessensten zu sein scheine" (*R.* 2, 205). Herders Gedanken über das Sylbenmass sind nur eine Umschreibung und Weiterführung der Gedanken Hamanns. "Hätten wir einen dithyrambischen Dichter, der wirklich von dem Blitzstrale des Bacchus getroffen, trunken und begeistert tönen würde:—natürlich wäre kein gefesseltes Sylbenmass für ihn; er zerreist es, wie Simson die Bastseile (*R.* 4, 279; 7, 96 und öfters) als Zwirnfäden. Allein diese Verse sind Pindarische Pfeile in der Hand des Starken: die, mit Pindar zu reden, blos für die Mitverständigen klingen, dem grossen Haufen der Ausleger aber wie eine dunkle Wolke erscheinen" (*SWS.* 1, 208). Der Vergleich von den "Pindarischen Pfeilen in der Hand des Starken," den Herder mit Vorliebe gebraucht, hat er Hamann entlehnt. "Daher kommt es, dass die lüsterne Costume und Sultanin des herrschenden Geschmacks mit chineschen Augen jeden hagn Kunstrichter ansieht, dessen Seufzer wie die Pfeile in der Hand eines Starken gerathen" (*R.* 2, 406).<sup>1</sup> Das freie Sylbenmass empfiehlt Herder vor allem für die Ode. Er meint: 'Wie wäre es nun, wenn ein Dithyrambendichter, ein Pindar, ein Barde unter uns in diesem Feierkleide (das Hamannsche Schlagwort) sich sehen liesse' (*SWS.* 1, 210).<sup>2</sup>

Die Erörterungen über die Natur der Inversionen, eine der geistvollsten und einschneidendsten Partien der *Fragmente*, entlehnen das Grundmotiv und einzelne skizzenhafte Linien ebenfalls Hamann. Dieser hatte in dem Aufsätze 'Vermischte Anmerkungen über die Wortfügung in der französischen Sprache' (*R.* 2, 133 ff.) dasselbe Thema behandelt. Seine Bemerkungen verlieren sich jedoch sehr bald ins rein Grammatische. Herder dringt auf historische Erklärung; er denkt

<sup>1</sup> Goethe hat das Lieblingscitat Hamanns durch Herder kennen gelernt.

<sup>2</sup> Goethe ist bekanntlich den Aufforderungen Herders nachgekommen in den bekannten Oden in freien Rhythmen. (Vgl. übrigens J. Minor, *J. G. Hamann*, Frankfurt a. M., 1881, S. 44).

sich die Sprache als *werdende*. Er teilt nicht die Meinung, "als wären die ältesten Sprachen von Gott oder von einem Philosophen erfunden und wären aus seinem Gehirn mit aller Rüstung gesprungen, wie Pallas aus dem Gehirn des Jupiters" (*SWS.* 1, 192; vgl. *R.* 2, 151, 509). Wäre die Sprache von einem Philosophen "erdacht, so hübe sie alle Inversionen auf, so wäre bei ihren Zeichen nothwendig jeder Platz und jede Ordnung so bestimmt, als in unserer Dekadik" (1, 191). Da wir sinnliche Geschöpfe sind, so rückt die sinnliche Aufmerksamkeit des Redenden, seine Empfindung sein Affekt bald diesen, bald jenen Gesichtspunkt in den Vordergrund, und so entsteht die Inversion (1, 191). Das Beispiel, das Herder nun giebt, ist dem von Hamann angeführten ähnlich (vgl. *R.* 2, 139). Die Sprachen der Wilden sind voll Inversionen, ohne jegliche "grammatikalische Konstruktion," ein "unordentliches Chaos von Worten," welches nur mit Hilfe von Geberden und Accenten verständlich gemacht werden kann. Mit dem Aufkommen der Büchersprache näherte sich die Gewohnheit der "Konstruktionsordnung dem Ansehen eines Gesetzes," bis endlich die prosaische Periodologie eine noch bestimmtere Ordnung festsetzte. "Man bestimmte die Ordnung der Worte so lange, bis man endlich den prosaischen Perioden herausdrechselte, der der Ordnung der Ideen, so wie sie sich der Verstand bildet, folgte und doch auch das Ohr und das Auge zu Rathe zog. Und er ward also in seiner Struktur eine Anordnung von Bildern, so wie sie sich dem Auge darstellen würden, von Ideen, wie sie sich der Verstand denkt, von Tönen, wie sie das Ohr fordert, dass es mit Wollust erfüllet werde. Der bloße Verstand, der nichts mit Auge und Ohr zu thun hat, folgt bloß der Ordnung der Ideen und hat also keine Inversionen; so ist der logische Periode" (*SWS.* 1, 193). Diese Charakteristik ist ganz von dem Hamannschen Prinzip beherrscht: 'Alles, was der Mensch zu leisten unternimmt, muss aus sämtlichen vereinigten Kräften entspringen.'

Das von Herder entwickelte Prinzip läuft darauf hinaus, dass die französische Sprache infolge ihrer "metaphysischen

Kultur und ihrer geringen Konstruktionsfreiheit" im Nachteil steht gegen die deutsche, die räumiger "aufgeschürzt" ist<sup>1</sup> und auf dem "Punkte der Behaglichkeit" steht. Hamann hatte ausgeführt: "Die deutsche Sprache ist ihrer Natur nach vor andern der Inversion fähig. . . . Je charakteristischer die Beschaffenheit einer Sprache ist, desto mehr Inversionen finden in der Wortfügung statt. Je mannigfaltiger und je sinnlicher die Veränderungen der beweglichen Redeteile, nämlich der Nenn- und Zeitwörter, durch die Etymologie der Sprachkunst bezeichnet werden, desto ungebundener kann ihre syntaktische Zusammensetzung sein. Die Etymologie der französischen Sprachkunst hat aber theils nicht so viele, theils nicht so kenntliche Merkmale; daher verbietet sich der Gebrauch der Inversion in ihrer Wortfügung von selbst" (*R.* 2, 139 f.).<sup>2</sup>

Wie die Literaturbriefe klagt auch Herder über die Geistlosigkeit der unzähligen "deutschen Monats- und Wochen-, Lehr- und Trost- und Erbauungs- und lustreichen Schriften, die für die lange Weile des Publikums geschrieben werden." Auch hier wieder ein Anklang an Hamann: "Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten für die lange Weile des Publikums" (*R.* 2, 1); "Liebhaber der langen Weile" (*R.* 2, 86; vgl. noch 1, 415; 2, 58). Bei der Besprechung der Schrift Wezelins "Religiöse Gespräche der Todten" (Lindau 1763)<sup>3</sup> spottet Herder über die "Dunkelheit" des Verfassers. "Man sieht den Geist des Verfassers, in dem wie im Chaos des Ovids noch die Elemente der Ideen in einer harmonischen Uneinigkeit schlummern und in einer uneinigen Harmonie sich zur Bildung drängen. Ist ein solcher Schriftsteller noch ein junger Genie, so ist es nicht zu verwundern. Er ist ein Blinder, der noch Menschen als Bäume sieht" (1, 214). Diese auf *Mark.* 8, 24,

<sup>1</sup> Dieser Ausdruck stammt von Abbt und der folgende von Mendelssohn.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. noch, was Hamann (*R.* 3, 56), von der Inversion mitteilt.

<sup>3</sup> In der Vorrede dieser Schrift erklärte Wegelin ausdrücklich, "dass es ihm überhaupt genug wäre, sich denen verständlich zu machen, die ihn verstehen sollten." Hamann hat die Abhandlung in der *Königsberger Zeitung* vom 4. Mai 1764 recensiert (vgl. *R.* 3, 279 ff.).

zurückgehende Redensart, die Herder auch sonst noch gebraucht (1, 443), begegnet in Hamanns Schriften öfters (vgl. *R.* 1, 8; 2, 71; 6, 36). Überhaupt bildet die Bibel für den Bilderreichtum der beiden Schriftsteller die reichste Quelle. Hamann schreibt an Lavater: "Die Bibel ist zu mediis terminis und Gleichungen unbekannter und unendlicher Grössen ergiebiger, als alle Symptome und Hypothesen alter und neuer Philosophie" (*R.* 6, 58). Wie Winckelmann durch die Charakteristik einzelner antiker Denkmäler seine Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen und über das Wesentliche der Kunst erläutert, so stellt auch Herder jetzt eine Anzahl zeitgenössischer Originalschriftsteller auf, um an diesen grossen Mustern zu zeigen, was er bisher theoretisch über Sprache und Stil ausgeführt hatte. Er beginnt mit einer begeisterten Anerkennung Winckelmanns, dessen Werke "der Unsterblichkeit würdig und der Name unseres Jahrhunderts sind" (1, 219; vgl. Hamann, *R.* 2, 13). "Hagedorn hat der Göttin der Gemälde einen Altar von weissem Marmor errichtet und mit vieler Annehmlichkeit um ihn Blumen zu streuen gewusst: das ganze Werk zeigt vielen Geschmack des Künstlers, noch mehr Kenntniss des Werkmeisters und die feinste Kritik der Costume. . . . Der Verfasser verrät viele Bekanntschaft in den Kunstsälen von hohem Geschmack und in den Malerakademien nach dem Üblichen" (*SWS.* 1, 219). Bei Hamann findet sich eine längere Ausführung über den Begriff "Costume das Übliche," den F. K. Gadebush, Bürgermeister zu Dorpat, in seinen "Zusätzen zu Johann Leonhard Frischens Deutschem Wörterbuch" (*Gelehrte Beiträge zu den Rügischen Anzeigen*, 1763–67) erklärt.<sup>1</sup>

Die Reihe der grossen Muster schliesst Herder mit einer Würdigung der schriftstellerischen Bedeutung seines Freundes Hamann. Er sucht ausdrücklich die Urteile der *Literaturbriefe* über denselben zu richtigerem Verständnis hinüberzuleiten. Mit grossem Sinn weiss er die Erscheinung dieses Mannes

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. hierzu die Anmerkungen Suphans *SWS.* 1, 537 und 538.

zu fassen und treffend sein Hauptwerk zu charakterisieren. "Wer ihn nicht als Gestirn betrachten will in unserer Litteratur, sehe ihn als Meteor an; ein Phänomenon bleibt er doch immer fort. Der Kern seiner Schriften enthält viele Samenkörner von grossen Wahrheiten, neuen Beobachtungen und einer merkwürdigen Belesenheit" (1, 227 f.). Herder glossiert nun eine Stelle aus Hamanns Schriften (*R.* 2, 307): "Der Rhapsodist hat gelesen, beobachtet, gedacht, angenehme Worte gesucht und gefunden, treulich ausgeführt, gleich einem Kaufmannsschiff, seine Nahrung weit hergeholt und von ferne gebracht" (vgl. *SWS.* 1, 227 ff.).

In dem letzten Abschnitt der *Fragmente* 'Über das Ideal der Sprache' gibt Herder eine kurze Übersicht über den Inhalt sämtlicher vorangegangenen Abhandlungen. Die Ursache, dass eine Sprache durch Übersetzung viel verliert, liegt oft an dem Schriftsteller selbst, der "als Erfinder der Gedanken auch zugleich ein gewisses Haus- und Herrenrecht über den Ausdruck hat, in dem selten ein Übersetzer ihm nachfolgen kann und darf" (*SWS.* 1, 238).

Ähnlich sagt Hamann: "Wer in einer fremden Sprache schreibt, der muss seine Denkungsart wie ein Liebhaber zu bequemen wissen. Wer in seiner Muttersprache schreibt, hat das Hausrecht eines Ehemannes, falls er dessen mächtig ist" (*R.* 2, 130). In einem Briefe an Scheffner (*Lebensbild* I, 2, 89) verlangt Herder von dem Übersetzer, man müsse bei der Vergleichung mit dem Originale sehen, "dass er über die Idiotismen das Recht eines Hausherrn und Ehemannes gehabt hat." Ähnlich *SWS.* 1, 405, wo auch der Ausdruck "Haus-herr" wiederkehrt.<sup>1</sup>

Das Muster eines echten Kunstrichters, wie es Herder im Eingang der zweiten Sammlung der *Fragmente* aufstellt, scheint aus dem Geiste Hamanns entworfen zu sein (vgl. dessen Flug-

<sup>1</sup> Dasselbe Schlagwort pflanzt sich von Hamann durch Herder auf den jungen Goethe fort. Dieser notiert sich den Gedanken in sein Strassburger Tagebuch: "Wer in einer fremden Sprache schreibt oder dichtet, ist wie einer, der in einem fremden Hause wohnt." (Vgl. *Minor a. a. O.*, S. 39).

blätter: 'Schriftsteller und Kunstrichter' *R.* 2, 377 ff., und 'Leser und Kunstrichter,' *R.* 2, 395 ff.). Nach Herder hat der Kunstrichter seine Wirksamkeit zu richten "gegen Leser, gegen Schriftsteller und gegen das ganze Reich der Litteratur überhaupt. Dem Leser sei er erst Diener, dann Vertrauter, dann Arzt (d. h. er bilde sein Gefühl, seine Einsicht, seinen Geschmack); dem Schriftsteller sei er erst Diener, dann Freund, dann Richter" (1, 246). Ähnlich hatte auch Hamann sich ausgedrückt: "Leser und Autor sind der Herr, oder vielmehr der Staat, dem ein Kunstrichter zu dienen sich anheischig macht" (*R.* 2, 381). Statt "krüppelhafte und tote Gerippe von Auszügen" zu geben, fährt Herder fort, soll der Kunstrichter ein Buch "bis auf Herz und Nieren zergliedern und ein Pygmalion seines Autors werden." (Derselbe Gedanke unter demselben Bilde bei Hamann: *R.* 3, 76). Wörtlich an Hamann anklingend ist folgende Stelle: "Die Brille eines Compendiums oder das Fernglas eines Systems in der Hand, nähert er jetzt diese Wahrheit, jetzt entfernt er jene: er wird seinen Lesern so unentbehrlich, als die Zeichen und Wetterpropheten im Kalender den Tagwählerinnen sind" (1, 249). Vergleiche damit bei Hamann: "Die Unverschämtheit der Miethlinge wird niemanden überreden, dass ihre Brillen die Gabe zu lesen und die Stelle der Augen vertreten; unterdessen duldet man die Missbräuche der Zeitungsschreiber im Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit, wie man die Zeichen der Tagwählerinnen in den Kalendern beibehält, weil der gemeine Mann ihrer nicht entbehren kann" (*R.* 2, 382). Der ganzen Literatur sei er "Schmelzer oder Handlanger oder Baumeister, ein Mitbürger im Reiche der Wissenschaften." Ein Muster solchen Kunstrichtertums legt Herder sogleich vor; er fragt nach der Möglichkeit der Nachahmung fremder Dichter und handelt zuerst von der Nachahmung der morgenländischen Dichter. Die Hauptanregung zu diesem Abschnitt hat er von Johann David Michaelis erfahren (vgl. Haym I, S. 148). Aber manches verdankt er auch Hamann. Dieser schon hatte gesagt: "Wodurch sollen wir aber die ausgestorbene Sprache der Natur von



den Todten wieder auferwecken? . . . Durch Wallfahrten nach dem glücklichen Arabien, durch Kreuzzüge nach den Morgenländern" (*R.* 2, 293). Durch Hamanns Umgang wird Herder im Allgemeinen ein lebhaftes Interesse für orientalische Philologie, Sinn für die Eigenart des Orients und dessen Poesie gekommen sein. Herder führt aus, dass wir für unsere Dichtung nur wenig von der Dichtung einer fremden, abgelegenen Nation 'rauben' können. Die schöne Natur des Orients ist nicht die unsere; fremdartig sind uns die Vaterlandsgeschichte der Morgenländer, ihre 'Nationalvorurtheile' (d. h. ihre poetisch-mythologischen Anschauungen und Vorstellungen), der Geist ihrer Religion und ihrer Sphäre und Sprache. Er zeigt an der Hand der morgenländischen Dichter, wie es anzufangen sei, uns zu 'Schilderern unsrer eigenen Natur auszubilden;' er muntert auf, das poetische Material in der Vergangenheit der eigenen Heimat zu suchen, den 'Wahn und die Sagen der Vorfahren' zu studieren und sie dem poetischen Geiste der Zeit anzupassen. 'Wer es beklagen möchte, dass keine morgenländische Invasion nicht auch bei uns den Samen poetischer Fabeln gestreut, dem rathe ich, diese dichterische Schweisstropfen der Cultur seines Bodens zu widmen. Er durchreise als ein Prophet in Ziegenfellen die Mythologien der alten Skalder und Barden sowohl, als seiner eignen ehrlichen Landsleute. Unter Seythen und Slaven, Wenden und Böhmen, Russen, Schweden und Polen gibt es noch Spuren von diesen Fussstapfen der Vorfahren. Würde man, jeder nach seinen Kräften, sorgsam sein, sich nach alten Nationalliedern zu erkundigen, so würde man nicht blos in die poetische Denkart der Vorfahren dringen, sondern auch Stücke bekommen, die, wie die beiden lettischen Dainos (von den Literaturbriefen citiert), den oft so vortrefflichen Ballads der Britten, den Chansons der Troubadoren, den Romanzen der Spanier, oder gar den feierlichen Sagolinds der alten Skalder beikämen; es möchten nun diese Nationalgesänge Lettische Dainos, oder Cosakische Dummi, oder Peruanische oder Amerikanische Lieder sein' (*SWS.* 1, 266). Hier weist Herder zum ersten Mal

auf das Volkslied hin. Den Anstoss hierzu gab ihm sicherlich Hamann. In Hamanns Schriften ist vom Volkslied und von Volksdichtung nur ein einziges Mal die Rede, jedoch in einer Weise, die schliessen lässt, dass der Verfasser mehr über diesen Punkt nachgedacht hat, als er darüber mittheilt. Im Anschluss an die Beurtheilung des Klopstockschen Versmasses heisst es: 'Es gibt in angeführten Gegenden (Kurland und Lievland) gewisse Striche, wo man das lettische oder undutsche Volk bei aller ihrer Arbeit singen hört, aber nichts als eine Cadenz von wenig Tönen, die mit einem Metro viel Ähnlichkeit hat. Sollte ein Dichter unter ihnen aufstehen, so wäre es ganz natürlich, dass alle seine Verse nach diesem eingeführten Maassstab ihrer Stimmen zugeschnitten sein würden. Es würde zu viel Zeit erfordern, diesen kleinen Umstand (ineptis granum fortasse—qui volunt illa calamistris inurere) in sein gehöriges Licht zu setzen, mit mehreren Phänomenen zu vergleichen, den Gründen davon nachzuspüren und die fruchtbaren Folgen zu entwickeln'—(*R.* 2, 306). "Mit einem Gedankenstrich von literar-historischer Bedeutung bricht Hamann ab" (*Minor a. a. O.*, S. 45).

Die ganze Abhandlung schliesst mit einer Kritik des Klopstockschen *Messias*, 'des erhabensten deutsch-orientalischen Werkes,' die in die Form von Wechselreden zwischen einem Christen und einem Rabbi eingekleidet ist. Herder hat diese Redeform auch sonst noch in den Fragmenten verwendet, auch Hamann benutzt sie (vgl. sein Werk 'Wolken. Ein Nachspiel Sokratischer Denkwürdigkeiten.' *R.* 2, 51 ff., wo er von der dramatischen Form nur die Akteinteilung beibehält).

Von den Morgenländern wendet sich Herder zu den Griechen. Das Programm einer Geschichte der griechischen Dichtkunst, wie es Herder hier entrollt, ist mit geringen Abänderungen der Winckelmannschen Vorrede zur Kunstgeschichte entlehnt (vgl. *SWS.* 1, 294, mit *WW.* 3, x f.).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herder trug sich selbst mit der Hoffnung und dem Vorsatz, ein zweiter Winckelmann zu werden: 'Welch ein Wunsch wäre es, in Weisheit und Dichterei der Griechen nur selbst das sein zu können, was Winckelmann in Absicht auf die Erklärung ihrer Kunst geworden!' (*SWS.* 4, 216).

‘Man untersuche nach ihrem Wesen die Dichtkunst der Griechen, ihren Unterschied von den übrigen Völkern und die Gründe ihres Vorzugs im Griechenland: hier würde sich ein Ozean von Betrachtungen darbieten. Man zeige uns das wahre Ideal der Griechen in jeder ihrer Dichtarten zur Nachbildung . . . die verschiedenen Zeiten der griechischen Poesie, wiederum mit einer pragmatischen Anwendung auf unsere Zeit. Ein Ozean von Betrachtungen, in den sich bloß ein Kenner der Alten, ein Weltweiser, ein geschmackvoller Kunstrichter, und ich möchte beinahe sagen, selbst ein Dichter wagen kann: ein Ocean, aus dem die meisten unserer Weisen nur Tropfen kosten’ (*SWS.* 1, 294 f.). Der Vergleich erinnert an Hamann: ‘Ein Weltmeer von Beobachtungen, die ein gelehrter Philosoph auf einfache Grundsätze und allgemeine Klassen bringen könnte’ (*R.* 2, 122; vgl. noch: “ein ganzer Ocean von Empfindung,” 4, 51, 57, 58). Auch Herder liebt den Vergleich mit dem Meer: “Aber welch ein grenzenloses Meer sehe ich hier vor mir!” (1, 5). Wieder zeigt sich der Schüler Hamanns, wenn Herder betont, dass eine solche Erkenntnis der griechischen Dichtkunst uns von den elenden Nachahmen der Griechen befreien und uns zur Nachahmung unsrer selbst aufmuntern würde (*SWS.* 1, 294). Hamann sind die Griechen ‘durchlöchernte Brunnen’ (*R.* 2, 289). Wozu sollen wir Kopisten werden, da wir Originale sein können? (*R.* 2, 197). Vgl. noch die Ausführung *R.* 2, 220 ff.

Mit Hamann berührt sich Herder in dem Vergleich Bodmers und Klopstocks mit Homer. ‘Noah (Bodmer) mag heiliger sein, er mag moralisch sein; ich finde doch nicht Antrieb, ihn in irgend etwas mit Homer zu vergleichen. Wo hat K(lopstock) ein Homer sein wollen? Nach seiner Abhandlung von der heiligen Poesie scheint er mehr vom Virgil zu machen und ist auch eher Virgilianisch als Homerisch’ (*SWS.* 1, 296). Hamann behauptet: ‘Bodmer und Klopstock haben beide den Homer gewiss studiert; sie haben ihn aber nicht anders als im Kleinen, im Detail verstanden nachzuahmen’ (*R.* 3, 6). Den Satz Hamanns: ‘Homer zu fühlen, ist nicht jedermanns

Ding; ei, Homer zu verstehen . . .' (*R.* 3, 109), entwickelt Herder in den Bemerkungen, dass Homer ebenso wenig von allen Griechen verstanden worden sei, wie Klopstock von allen Deutschen.

In dem folgenden Abschnitt macht Herder den Versuch, das Wesen des Dithyrambus aus der Geschichte seiner Entstehung zu ermitteln. Sein Urteil hat die Anschauung von den Lebensschicksalen aller Poesie zur Voraussetzung. Das Dithyrambische ist ihm das Produkt einer noch ganz rohen und wilden Zeit. Der Gesang der Wilden war 'voll von der tierischsinnlichen Sprache des Weins, und der Wein erhob sich wieder zu einer gewissen mystischsinnlichen Sprache der Götter: ein heiliger Gesang in doppeltem Verstande. Die Priester, zugleich Dichter und Staatsleute, webten aus Nationalsagen eine Mythologie zusammen, die sich zu ihren rauhen Gesängen bildete' (*SWS.* 1, 310). Auch hier arbeitet Herder im wesentlichen mit Hamannschen Gedanken (vgl. *R.* 2, 258 ff.).

Die dritte Sammlung der Fragmente sucht auf einen grossartig entworfenen Geschichtshintergrunde das Eindringen und die Ausbreitung des römischen Geschmacks in Deutschland zu verfolgen. Manche Züge zu diesem Bilde scheint Kant geliefert zu haben (vgl. Hartenstein II, 279 f.). Die Renaissance hat weniger den Geist der Alten als dessen äussere Schale erneut; seit dem 16. Jahrhundert erlag vollends das Denken der Gelehrsamkeit, das Erfinden dem Nachahmen. Der "ganze Zuschnitt" der Wissenschaften, der Literatur, der Sprache, der Bildung 'war römisch und ist es noch' (*SWS.* 1, 371). Zunächst verweilt Herder bei dem Verderben der deutschen Sprache, wie dieselbe gegen das Latein zurückgesetzt, latinisiert und französisiert worden sei. Er rühmt statt dessen die ältere deutsche Sprache und weist zurück auf die Verdienste des Opitzens, Lohensteins und vor allem Luthers auf die deutsche Sprache. "In Deutschland hat Luther unendlich viel Verdienst. Er ist's, der die deutsche Sprache, einen schlafenden Riesen, aufgeweckt und losgebunden; er ist's, der die scholastische Wortkrämerei, wie jene Wechselertische, verschüttet;

er hat durch seine Reformation eine ganze Nation zum Denken und Gefühl erhoben' (1, 372). In dieser Verehrung Luthers und seiner Sprache hat Herder Hamann zu seinem Vorgänger. Dieser bedauert, 'dass wir von diesem grossen Manne nicht nur in der deutschen Sprache, sondern überhaupt nicht so viel gelernt, als wir hätten sollen und können' (*R.* 2, 22). Ferner: 'Was für eine Schande für unsre Zeit, dass der Geist dieses Mannes so unter der Asche liegt' (*R.* 1, 343; vgl. noch: 1, 347; 2, 299). Die deutsche Sprache muss zurückgeleitet werden zum 'Urbilde ihrer selbst'; der deutsche 'Bücherstil' muss umgebildet werden durch Erforschung der älteren Zeitalter in ihrer 'nervenvollen Stärke.' (Auch Hamann will veraltete Worte aus der alten deutschen Kernsprache wieder in die Schriftsprache aufgenommen wissen). Das wahre Deutsch 'unserer Väter geht auch zu sehr von dem Latein ab, als dass sie neben einander sein könnten. Unsere Seele bauet, mit Montague zu reden, diese Stockwerke über einander, und welches soll das unterste von allen und die Grundlage sein?—Eine fremde oder die Muttersprache?' (*SWS.* 1, 378). Diese Anspielung auf Montague hat auch Hamann. 'Jede Sprache fordert ein Denkungsart und einen Geschmack, die ihr eigentümlich sind: daher prahlte Ennius mit einem dreifachen Herzen, fast wie Montague mit einer Seele von drei Stockwerken' (*R.* 2, 130, Anm.). Der verderbliche Einfluss der lateinischen Sprache erstreckt sich auch auf die Erziehung, die Schulen, auf die ganze Bildung. Das junge Genie wird durch den gelehrten Pedantismus gehemmt. Die richtige Erkenntnis der Sprache muss schon in der Erziehung der Jugend wirksam sein. 'Es kommt auf den ersten allmächtigen Eindruck an: ist dieser verfehlt, so ist alles verloren: verloren der erste unerklärliche Scharfsinn, der nie durch Geduld und Fleiss ersetzt wird: verloren das grosse innerliche Gefühl eines Bewusstseins, dass man das Ganze habe: verloren das Hausherren- und Eigenthumsrecht (das Hamannsche Schlagwort), mit diesen Begriffen schalten und walten zu können' (1, 380).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ähnlich noch *SWS.* 1, 6, 50, 400, 401.

Die Befehdung des lateinischen Geistes der Schulen erinnert an ähnliche Äusserungen Hamanns. Vgl. 'Der Blick des Jünglings wird mit dem grammatischen Scepter, wie mit einem glühenden Eisen geblendet. Seine Wange wird zu Runzeln eines grammatischen Sophisten gewöhnt, Falten, die er äusserst ungern annimmt und die nachher nie völlig und ohne Merkmal verschwinden. Die erste Farbe, die unsrer Denkart aufgetragen wird, verliert sie nie; wehe uns! wenn sie uns unangenehm oder gar verunzierend ist; die erste junge Lust wird ermüdet, die erste frische Kraft zurückgehalten, das Talent in den Staub gezogen, das Genie aufgehalten' (*SWS.* 1, 380) mit Hamann: 'Der Unterricht in Schulen scheint recht dazu ausgesonnen zu sein, um das Lernen zu verekeln und zu vereiteln; dem Knaaben vergeht Hören und Sehen über dem Cornelius Nepos, er memoriert stumpf und exponiert sich schläfrig' (*R.* 2, 423 f.). Auch in den "Kern der Wissenschaften" ist der lateinische Geist eingedrungen. Latein war Jahrhunderte lang das einzige "vehiculum"<sup>1</sup> der Scholastik; diese hat eine wissenschaftliche Schulsprache, eine systematische Terminologie ausgebildet, in der Wort und Begriff sich in einander verwebt haben, so dass dem Denken damit ein schädliches Joch auferlegt war, denn statt Sacherklärungen begnügte es sich fortan mit Worterklärungen. Thomas Abbt hatte das einen 'Aktienhandel mit Worten' genannt; er hatte im 271. Literaturbrief den glücklichen Ausdruck geprägt, 'dass 100 Gedanken am Ausdruck selber haften und kleben.' Diesen Ausdruck eignen Hamann und Herder sich alsbald an, und Herder knüpft nun daran seine geniale Auseinandersetzung über das Verhältnis von Gedanke und Ausdruck.<sup>2</sup> 'Bei den sinnlichen Begriffen, bei Erfahrungsideen, bei einfachen Wahrheiten und in der klaren Sprache des natürlichen Lebens, überall klebt der Gedanke am Ausdrücke' (*SWS.* 1, 392). Daraus ergibt sich für den Dichter, dass sich für ihn Gedanke zum Ausdruck verhalten soll

<sup>1</sup> Ein Lieblingswort Hamanns: *R.* 3, 82, 108, 126; auch oft bei Herder.

<sup>2</sup> Welchen Anteil Kants analytische Methode an diesen Ausführungen hat, kann man bei Haym (*Herder* I, 42 ff.) nachlesen.

nicht wie der Körper zu einem Kleide, sondern 'wie die Seele zum Körper.' Die Empfindung schafft sich den Ausdruck, wie der Geist sich den Körper baut.<sup>1</sup> In beredter Weise verfolgt er diesen Gedanken in Bezug auf die Aufgabe des Dichters. 'Der ganze Verfall der Dichterei' beruht darauf, dass man sie 'der Mutter Natur entführte, in das Land der Kunst brachte und als eine Tochter der Künsteler ansah' (*SWS.* 1, 396). Daraus ergibt sich dann, dass man nur in der Muttersprache dichten, nur eine Sprache vollkommen beherrschen kann; der echte Originalschriftsteller ist immer ein Nationalautor, und auch jeder fremde Dichter muss als solcher genommen, erklärt und genossen werden (*SWS.* 1, 402 ff.). Was Herder nun über die rechte Art der Auslegung der Alten sagt, erinnert an Hamanns Bekenntnisse über seine Art, die Alten zu lesen. 'Da ich bloss dem Geist der Alten nachspüre und mir mehr an dem Genie als der Grammatik der griechischen Sprache gelegen: so geht mich das Schulmeistergesicht nichts an, womit G(esner) und E(rnesti) die Versionen ihren Zuhörern verekeln. Ich will sehr damit zufrieden sein, wenn ich nur mein Griechisch ungefähr so verstehe, wie Überbringer dieses seine Muttersprache . . . zur Leibesnahrung und Notdurft . . . mehr durch den influxum physicum meiner Wärterinnen, als durch die harmoniam praestabilitam gelehrter Aristarche' (*R.* 2, 213 f.). Deutlicher hat Herder denselben Gedanken ausgesprochen: "Ich wollte gern einen Commentar über Horaz lesen und mit ganzer Seele durchstudieren, wo er nicht als ein classischer Autor behandelt, sein Gedanke langweilig und ungefähr bestimmt, sein Ausdruck abgetrennt vom Gedanken zergliedert und verdolmetschet, wo er mit den Regeln neuer Aristarche verglichen wird, die man doch aus ihm abgezogen, die oft eigensinnig genug sind und nie seine Schönheiten erschöpfen oder sichtbar machen. Einen Commentar wollte ich wünschen, wo man ihn als einen lebenden Dichter betrachtete' (*SWS.* 1, 410).

<sup>1</sup> Es ist bekannt, wie hinreissend diese Ausführung auf den jungen Goethe wirkte.

In der Abhandlung 'Vom neuern Gebrauch der Mythologie' bekämpft Herder den kritiklosen Gebrauch der alten Mythologie in der neuern Dichtung. Der Dichter darf zwar die Mythologie brauchen, aber nicht als entlehnten äusserlichen Schmuck, als 'todte, gelehrte Bilderkrämerei,' sondern 'mit einer neuen schöpferischen, fruchtbaren und kunstvollen Hand.' Herder warnt vor der Mythologie, die durch einzelne Bilder spricht (1, 441), dagegen rät er, sich ihrer in Handlungen zu bedienen. Die Mythologie der Alten ist ihre grösste poetische Leistung. 'Was für eine griechische Einbildungskraft gehörte dazu, um starke Bauerknechte zu Herkules, zu Halbgöttern zu erheben, sie in allen den Reichthum der poetischen Würde zu kleiden; die Fahrt der Argonauten, die Belagerung von Troja, die Himmelsstürmerei und alle jene Fabeln, die in der Geschichte ihren Ursprung haben (vgl. Hamann, *R.* 2, 441), so schöpferisch in poetische Leiber zu hüllen und ihnen dichterischen Geist einzuhauchen. Was ist Skamander und Olymp und alle die heiligen Örter der Geschichte, die der Stoff zu ihrer Mythologie ursprünglich gewesen? Ich besehe sie in den Reiseschreibungen, ich ziehe in der alten Geschichte ihren poetischen Schmuck aus, was sind sie?—Himmel, das habe ich alles in meinem Lande, in meiner Geschichte, rings um mich liegt der Stoff zu diesem poetischen Gebäude; aber eins fehlt: poetischer Geist. Bewundern müssen wir euch, ihr Alten, und die Augen niederschlagen; ihr erhebt Kleinigkeiten aus dem Staube zu einer glänzenden Höhe; wir lassen die ganze Schöpfung um uns öde und wüst trauern, um euch nur zu plündern und das Geplünderte elend anzuwenden' (*SWS.* 1, 442). Was daraus folgt, hatte schon Hamann angedeutet: 'Mythologie hin! Mythologie her! Poesie ist eine Nachahmung der schönen Natur—und Nieuwentyts, Newtons und Buffons Offenbarungen werden doch wohl eine abgeschmackte Fabellehre vertreten können? . . . Freilich sollten sie es thun und würden es auch thun, wenn sie nur könnten.—Warum geschieht es denn nicht?—Weil es unmöglich ist, sagen eure Propheten' (*R.* 2, 280). Was Hamann hier in ziemlich orakelmässig klingenden Worten



ausgesprochen hatte, wurde von Herder in treffende Mahnungen gefasst. Man 'belausche die Griechen, wie ihre dichterische Einbildungskraft zu schaffen, wie ihre sinnliche Denkart abstrakte Wahrheit in Bilder zu hüllen wusste, wie ihr starrendes Auge Bäume als Menschen erblickte (vgl. *R.* 2, 71), Begebenheit zu Wundern hob und Philosophie auf die Erde führte. . . . Statt dass ihr nach jenem ekelhaften Gemälde, das, was Homer gespieen hat, euch belieben lasset: so stärkt euer Haupt, um aus dem Ocean der Empfindung (vgl. *R.* 2, 122) und Besonderheiten zu trinken' (*SWS.* 1, 443). An der Mythologie der Alten als einer unvergleichlichen 'poetischen Heuristik' lerne man, selber zum Erfinder zu werden.<sup>1</sup>

Die letzten Abschnitte der dritten Sammlung ergeben für unsern Zweck nichts Neues. Wenn auch hier Nachklänge aus Hamann zu bemerken sind, so finden sie jedoch keine Anknüpfungen von erheblicher Bedeutung, die nicht in dieser Arbeit bereits ermittelt sind.

Berger (*a. a. O.*, S. 42) hat den Standpunkt Herders, wie ihn die erste Auflage der Fragmente vertritt, mit dem Kernwort bezeichnet: 'Winckelmann berichtet durch Hamann.' Richtiger wohl wäre der Standpunkt ausgedrückt durch das Wort: Hamann geführt von Winckelmann. Hamann hat die Gedanken, die in den Fragmenten erörtert werden, angeregt, Winckelmann aber die Methode geliefert, sie zu entwickeln. Auch auf die Schreibweise Herders in den Fragmenten hat Hamann einen starken Einfluss ausgeübt; doch würde ein solcher Nachweis eine eigene stilgeschichtliche Untersuchung erfordern. Für den Kenner ist die Hamannsche Sprachfärbung deutlich zu spüren, wenn auch der urkundliche Nachweis oft mühsam zu gewinnen ist.

Es ist also nicht zu verwundern, dass Hamann, als er die Fragmente las, 'alte verbleichte Begriffe' wieder in sich auf-

<sup>1</sup> Herder spricht hier zuerst den Gedanken an die Möglichkeit einer ganz neuen Mythologie aus. Wie derselbe später von Fr. Schlegel und Schelling weiter ausgeführt und schärfer zugespitzt wurde, hat Haym (*Die romantische Schule*, S. 648 f. und 692 f.), klar dargelegt.

leben fühlte und an seinen Freund Hartknoch berichtete: 'Es ist wahr, einige meiner Samenkörner scheinen sich durch Herders Fleiss und Feder in Blumen und Blüthen verwandelt zu haben; ich wünschte aber lieber Früchte und reife' (*R.* 5, 101).

In den in dieser Arbeit betrachteten Jugendwerken ist Herder von Hamann mehr als von irgend einem andern Schriftsteller abhängig. In den späteren Schriften des jungen Herder aber, ja schon in der zweiten Auflage der *Fragmente*, treten die unmittelbaren Beziehungen auf Hamann mehr und mehr zurück, dagegen macht sich der Einfluss Lessings bemerkbar. Diesen Nachweis hoffe ich in einem späteren Aufsatz zu liefern.

J. F. HAUSSMANN.

MADISON, WIS.

## OLD ENGLISH MAMMAL NAMES.

THE present study is made up of those Old English mammal names which have no place in Jordan's *Die altenglischen Säugetiernamen*, Heidelberg, 1903. The general names such as *nȳten*, *feoh*, and *orf* he did not choose to consider; others he apparently overlooked. I have sought to make the list of examples as exhaustive as possible and to that end have looked through the entire body of Old English literature. In the examples no attempt has been made to normalize the spelling or to insert the proper marks of quantity. It seems unnecessary to furnish a key to the abbreviations; for the most part they are identical with those used in Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* and are familiar to Old English scholars everywhere. For the poetry the references are to the line-numbering in Grein-Wülker's *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*; for the prose the references are to page and line, with the exception of the Biblical references which are to chapter and stanza.

*Cēap*, m., cattle; since cattle were the principal objects of sale in the OE. period, the word also signifies 'property,' 'price,' 'sale,' 'market.' The ME. *chep*, *cheap*, *cheep* signifies 'barter' or 'price.' In Mod. E. *cheap* (cf. *Chapman*) is used only as an adjective. Cf. OE. *ceapian*, to buy. Cognate words are Du. *koop*, Swed. *köp*, Dan. *kiøb*, G. *kauf*, all meaning 'purchase'; Icel. *kaup*, bargain; Goth. *kaupon*, to trade; OHG. *coufōn*, MHG. *koufen*, G. *kaufen*, to buy. All of these words are probably derived from the Lat. Cf. Lat. *caupo* (MHG. *choufo*) huckster; *copa*, barmaid; *caupona* inn.

*Lchd.* 3. 56. 6, 8, 11; 60. 9; *Ben. R.* 94. 11; 95. 11; *L. In.* 57. 5; 60. 10. *L. Edg. S.* 116. 47, 48: *ceap*. *L. In.* 55. 13: *his meahgebures ceap*. *Chr.* 897; *Erl.* 94. 31: *ceapes cwild*. *Bl. H.* 199. 4: *ðæs oðræs ceapes*. *Lchd.* 3. 56. 8; *L.*

*Ed.* 68. 32: *ceapes*. *Nap. OEG.* 124. 4838; 161. 227; *L. In.* 55. 14, 56. 2; *L. Edg.* S. 116. 42, 44; *Ben. R.* 94. 12; *Æ. H.* 1. 412. 12, 13; 524. 9: *ceape*. *Bl. H.* 199. 7: *to ðern ceape*. *L. E. I.* 484. 40: *ðam landbuendum is beboden ðæt ealles ðæs ðe him on heora ceape gerweaze, hig Gode ðone teoðan dæl agyfen*. *Gen.* (poet.). 1747, 1772, 1877: *ceapas*. *Lchd.* 1. 390. 18: *ceapa*. *Bl. H.* 199. 2: *on manigfealdum ceapum*.

**Cwicæht**, *cwyceāht*, f., live-stock, cattle; < *cwic*, living + *æht*, property, < *āgan*, to possess, pret. *āhte*. With OE. *æht*. compare Goth. *aihts*, Icel. *ætt*, *ätt*, OHG. *ēht*.

*L. Alf.* 33. 3: *gebete on cwicæhtum* [MS. B. *cwyce*].

**Dēor**, *dīor*, n., animal (usually wild); rarely deer (see *Oros*. I. 1). ME. *deor*, *der*, *deer*. The original sense of 'wild animal' is preserved in most of the cognates: Du. *dier*; Dan. *dyr*; Icel. *dýr*; Goth. *dius*; OHG. *tior*; G. *thier*; Lat. *fera*; Gr. *θήρ*. Its origin is undetermined; cf. MacLean's *OE. and ME. Reader*, p. 148: Germ. \**deuzso* = Ind. G. \**dheusó* < \**dhus*, *breath*.

WW. 118. 35: *unicornis*, vel *monoceros*, vel *rinoceros*: *anhyme deor*. 319. 33: *unicornis*: *anhyrned deor*. 118. 32: *bellua*: *reð deor*. *Nap. OEG.* 125. 4900: *bestiam*: *deor*. *Æ. L. S.* 1. 112. 401; 114. 405; 224. 88; 294. 162; 2. 56. 35, 49, 53, 304, 1366; *Bibl. Pr.* 3. 63. 277, 279; *Lchd.* 1. 326. 11; 3. 200. 1, 2, 11; *Wulfst.* 200. 9; *Cri.* 257; *Æthelst.* 64; *Gn. Ex.* 148; 177; *Run.* 2; *Sal.* 470; *Æ. H.* 1. 160. 33; *Ex.* 166; *Az.* 145; *Bt.* 72. 8; 116. 23; *L. Ecg. P.* 381. 28; *Mart.* 10. 20; 26, 4; *Hexam.* 14. 29; 16. 8; *Ps. Met.* 148. 10: *deor*. *Hexam.* 24. 33; *Æ. H.* 1. 536. 11, 15: *reðan deor*. 2. 492. 10, 15: *hreðe deor*. *Pa.* 12: *is ðæt deor pandher haten*. 19: *ðæt is wrætlíc deor, hiwa gehwiles*. *Gen.* 1. 24: *læde seo eorðe forð . . . deor after heora hiwum*. 1. 25. *God geworhte ðære eorðan deor æfter hira hiwum*. 1. 26: *uton wirecan man to andlicnesse, and to ure gelicnesse, and he sig ofer ða deor*. *Oros.* 18. 10: (*Ohthere*) *hæfde, ða he ðone cyninge sohte, tumra deora unbebohtra syx hund. Ða deor hi hatað hranas*. *Bt. Met.* 27. 24; *Bt.* 73. 1, 3; 101. 28: *dior*. *Nap. OEG.* 67. 2471: *bestig*: *deores*. *Lchd.* 1. 328. 15; 3. 42. 15; *dcores*. *Lamb. Ps.* 91. 10; 77. 69: *anhynedes deores*. *Ps.* 25: *swa ðæs deores hiw*. *Cant. Ps.* 28. 6: *anhynedes diores*. *Bt. Met.* 26. 87; *Bt.* 116. 22: *diore*. *Æ. L. S.* 2. 56. 56; 58. 60; *Ex.* 322; *Dan.* 662; *Cri.* 983; *Seel.* 82; *Crafts.* 38; *Pa.* 5; *Jul.* 125; *Ph.* 125: *deora*. *Oros.* 20. 33: *ðæt gafol bið on deora fellum*. *Cri.* 983: *ðonne wihthe gehwylce deora and fugla deaðleg nimeð*. *Met.* 26. 92: *diora*. *Æ. H.* 1. 544. 30; *Dan.* 558; *Ps. Met.* 73. 18; 78. 2: *deorum*. *Bt. Met.* 27. 11; *Bt.* 121. 15; 124. 8: *diorum*. *Deor* is also found in several place-names.

**Dēorcynn**, n., race of animals.

*Æ. H.* 14. 14, 6. 5: *Hexam.* 14. 27: *deorcynn*. *Lchd.* 3. 234. 14: *on ðam*

*sýxtan dæge God gescop eall deorcynn. Æ. H. 1. 20. 34; 102. 5: deorcynne. Bt. 116, 20: sume wurdon to ðam deorcynne ðe mon hat tigris. 116, 21: to mistlicum deorcynnum.*

**Hēadēor**, stag, deer; < *hēa(h)*, high + *dēor*. Cf. *hēador-hund*.

*Hexam. 16. 3: headeor. Chr. 1086; Erl. 222, 29: swa swiðe he lufode ða headeor swilce he wære heora fæder.*

**Meredēor**, sea-animal; < *mere*, sea + *dēor*. Cf. OHG. *merithier*, OLG. *meridier*, water-fowl.

*Beo. 558: mihtig meredeor.*

**Rāhdēor**, roe, roebuck; < *rā(h)*, roe + *dēor* (see *rā*).

*WW. 119. 16: capreus: rahdeor. 320. 37: capreolus: rahdeor. Hexam. 16. 8: rahdeor. Lchd. 3. 2. 25: rahdeores mearh.*

**Sædēor**, sea-animal. Icel. *sjödýr*.

*Beo. 1510: hine swencte on sunde sædeor monig. Lchd. 3. 180. 17: gif hit on Frigedæig ðunrige, ðæt tacnað sædeora cwealm. Shrn. 133. 11: hy mon wearp in sædeora. 54. 27: he het his agene men hine scendan on ðone se, and ða sædeor hine sona forswulgon.*

**Wægdēor**, sea-animal; < *wæg*, wave, sea + *dēor*.

*Cri. 987: wægdeora gehwylc werig swelteð.*

**Wilddēor**, *wildēor*, *wildīor*, *wildedēor*; *wilder*, *wildor*, *wild* beast. Icel. *villidýr*.

*WW. 118. 31: 319. 29: fera: wilddeor. Lchd. 1. 330. 7: ðis wilddeor well fremað. Gen. 31. 39; 37. 20: swa hwæt swa wilddeor abiton. Dan. 505, 512; Th. Ps. 49. 11; 67. 13, 27; 103. 19; Cant. Ps. 67. 30; Mart. 46. 12; 148. 6; Wulfst. 3. 6; Gen. 2. 20; 37. 20; Exod. 22. 13; 23. 11; L. Alf. 24. 39; Greg. Dial. 258. 20; WW. 92. 9, 14; 93. 9; Vesp. Ps. 49. 10; 79. 14; 103. 11, 20; 148. 10; Vesp. Hy. 8. 15; Bd. E. H. 230. 22; 554. 24; Æ. L. S. 2. 50. 775; 52. 780; Bl. H. 95. 16: wildeor. WW. 319. 29: fera: wildeor. Sal. 285: ne mæg hit wæter ne wildeor beswican. Gen. 31. 39: swa hwæt swa wildeor abiton. Lev. 26. 6: ic afyrre yfel wildeor. Kent. Gl. 40. 989: leena: wildior. Rit. 117. 4. wildeor. Bt. 117. 2: netena oððe wildor. Beo. 1430: wyrmas and wildeor. WW. 92. 15: hwylce wildeor swyðost gefehst ðu? Lchd. 1. 202. 13: ealle yfele wildeor. Mart. 28. 21; Wulfst. 183. 14; wildedeor. Guth. 52. 20; Æ. H. 1. 486. 27; Æ. L. S. 2. 202, 203; WW. 360. 17: 543. 25; Jul. 597; Gen. (poet). 202, 1516; Dan. 389, 577; Gu. 247, 879; Ps. Met. 79. 13; Bt. Met. 27. 20; Bt. 124. 11; Wulfst. 199. 20: wilde deor. Bibl. Pr. 3. 63. 276; 64. 290; Mart. 28. 23: wildan deor. Greg. Dial. 195. 7; Æ. L. S. 2. 50. 774: wilddeores. 195. 13; wildan deores. Cant. Ps. 103. 20: wilddioræ. WW. 408.*

21 : *ferarum* : *wilddeora*. 187. 1 : *wilddeora holl and denn*, lustra. *Mart.* 148. 5 ; *Dan.* 572, 622, 624 ; *Sal.* 305 ; *Seel.* 82 ; *Cant. Ps.* 78. 2 ; 148. 10 ; *Oros.* 105. 21 ; *Greg. Dial.* 195. 6 ; *Vesp. Hy.* 7. 49 ; *Æ. L. S.* 2. 12. 182 ; 36. 532 ; *Guth.* 46. 21, 23 ; 48. 12 : *wildeora*. *Bt.* 116. 15 : *weorpan hi an wildedeora lic*. *Mart.* 176. 11 : *wildra deora*. *Dan.* 650 : *wilddeorum*. *Hexam.* 18. 16 : *anweald ofer wilddeorum*. *Mk.* 1. 13 : *he mid wilddeorum wæs*. *Gu.* 713 ; *Vesp. Ps.* 73. 19 ; 78. 2 ; *Æ. L. S.* 1. 200. 85 ; 2. 204. 239 ; *Gen.* 9. 5 ; *Greg. Dial.* 264. 16 : *wildeorum*. *Æ. H.* 2. 434. 2, 7 : *ðin wunung bið mid wildeorum*. *Bt.* 122. 14 : *wildiorum gelicran ðonne monnum*. *Mk. L., R.* 1. 13 : *wilddeorum*. *Pa.* 43 : *ðurh ðæs wildres muð*. *Exod.* 22. 31 : *ðæt flæsc, ðæt wildro abiton*. *Pa.* 9 ; *Dan.* 663 : *wildra*. *Met.* 26. 76 : *weorpan on wildra lic*. *Oros.* 18. 9 : *spedig man on wilddrum*.

**Fēdels**, m., fat beast. Probably related to *fēdan*, to feed.

*WW.* 120. 36 : *altile* : *fedels*. 190. 4 : *altilis* : *fedels*.

**Feoh**, *fioh*, *fēo* (WS., Kent.) ; *fēh* (Merc.), n., cattle ; like *cēap* it also signifies 'property,' 'money,' 'price' ; it stands as well for the rune *F*. sg. gen. *fēos* ; dat. *fēo* ; pl. gen. *fēona* (Sievers' *Old English Grammar*, § 242, note 3). ME. *feoh*, *feo*, *fee* ; Mod. E. *fee*. OE. *feoh* is cognate with Goth. *faihu*, Icel. *fē*, O. Sax. *fehu*, Du. *vee*, Dan., Swed. *fä*, OHG. *fihu*, *fehu*, MHG. *vihe*, G. *vieh*, all with the meaning of 'cattle' or 'property.' The Germ. stem *\*fehu* is derived from Ind. G. *\*pēku* whence Lat. *pecus*, cattle, property, Skt. *paçu*, cattle.

*Lchd.* 1. 384. 7, 8, 15 ; 392. 9 ; *Sal.* 154 ; L. Alf. 33. 27 : *feoh*. *Sal.* 23 : *feoh butan gewille*. *Rid.* 35. 2 : *wiht seo ðæt feoh fedeð*. *Lchd.* 1. 384. 4 : *ic ðence ðis feoh to findanne*. *Seel.* 81 : *feldgangene feoh*. *Gn. C.* 47 : *feoh sceal on eorðan tydran and tyman*. *Gen.* (poet) 1299 : *feoh and fuglas*. 1517 : *heofonfuglas and wilde deor and eacen feoh*. 1650 : *feoh and feorme*. 2719 : *ic sealde him gangende feoh*. L. Alf. 24. 42 : *gif ðe becume oðres monnes giemeleas fioh on hand*. L. Ethb. 10. 2 : *fioh*. *Gen.* (poet) 2659 : *ðu sweltan scealt mid feo and mid feorme*. *Beo.* 1380 : *feo*. The word also occurs once as a place-name.

**Geoc**, *geoh*t, n., yoke of oxen. OE. *geoc* is cognate with Icel. *ok*. Goth. *juk*, OHG. *joh*, G. *joch*, Lat. *jugum*, Gr. ζυγόν, Skt. *yuga*, yoke, pair. Germ. *\*yuka* < Ind. G. *\*yuga*, yoke, < root *\*yug*, to join.

L. In. 61. 2 : *se ceorl hæfð oðres geoh* [*geoc*. B. *oxan*] *ahyrod*. 61. 1 : *be hyrgeoh* [*hyrgeoce*. B. *hyroxan*].

**Hæðstapa**, m., an animal that wanders over heaths ; lit. 'heath-stalker' < *hæð* + *stapa* < *stæppan*, to step, (cf. *stapa*,

an insect). The word is found only in poetry as an epithet of the wolf and stag.

*Beo.* 1368: *ðeah ðe hæðstapa hundum geswenced heorot holtwudu sece.* *Man. Wyrð.* 13: *wulf har hæðstapa.*

**Hattefagol**, hedgehog. The origin is not known.

*Spl. Ps.* 103. 19: *stan gener hæreanfagol (?)* [MS. M. *hattefagol*] *petra refugium herinaciis.*

**Healfhunding**, m., a creature having a dog's head; < *healf*, half + *hund*, dog + ending *-ing*. The Lat. gloss *cenocephalus* (for *cynocephalus*) signifies 'a dog-headed ape.'

*Nar.* 34. 30; 22. 15: *cenocephali, healfhundingas.*

**Nēat**, n., beast; also ox, cow, neat; pl. cattle. OE. *nēat* (ME. *neet*, Mod. E. *neat*) is cognate with Icel. *naut*, OHG. *nōz*, MHG. *nōz*, *nōss*, cattle. It is derived from *nēat*, pt. of *nēotan*, to use; hence the meaning is 'used,' 'domestic.' OE. *nēotan* and its cognates Icel. *njōta*, OHG. *niozan*, G. *geniessen*, to use, enjoy, Goth. *niutan* are from Germ. base *nut*, corresponding to Ind. G. base *nud*, whence Lith. *naudā*, usefulness.

*Lehd.* 2. 156. 25; 3. 46. 16, 20; *Mart.* 198. 12; *Bt. Met.* 20. 189; *El.* 357; *L. Alf.* 22. 44; 35. 9; *Past.* 173. 20; 256. 11, 14; *Cant. Ps.* 8. 8; *Vesp. Ps.* 35. 7; 49. 10; 72. 23; 77. 50; 106. 38; 134. 8; 144. 16: *neat.* *Mart.* 68. 25: *hi on ðæm monðe ðriwa on dæge mycledon.* 182. 7: *dumbe neat.* *Bt.* 114. 25: *ne meahst ðu hine na mid ryhte nemnan man ac neat.* *Th. Ps.* 72. 18: *ic eom anlic anum neate (jumentum).* 77. 48: *sealde heora neat hæglum.* 148. 10: *deor and neat, bestiae et universa pecora.* *An.* 67: *ða dumban neat.* *Sal.* 218: *foldan neat.* *Seel.* 80: *fugel oððe fisc on sæ oððe eorðan neat, feldgongene feoh butan snyttro.* *L. Alf.* 35. 9: *gif neat mon gewundige, weoðe ðæt neat to honda oððe fore ðingie.* *Bt.* 102. 7: *man neat nyste nænne andan to oðrum.* *Past.* 157. 1: *ne ligeð he eallinga on ðære eorðan sua ða creopendan wuhta, ac bið hwætwugu upahæfen sua ðæt neat from eorðan.* *Vesp. Ps.* 77. 48: *net.* *Past.* 80. 25: *ða breost ðæs neates.* *Lehd.* 1. 328. 13: *neate.* *Bd. E. H.* 175. 5; 342. 25; *Mart.* 120. 21; *Bt.* 57. 14; *Bt. Met.* 13. 34; 20. 249; *Dan.* 390; *neata.* *Bd. E. H.* 597. 9: *to neata scypene.* *Bt.* 32. 22; 58. 6; 146. 17, 26; *Vesp. Ps.* 48. 13, 21; 103. 14; 146. 9; *Bd. E. H.* 178. 8; *Past.* 194. 18: *neatum.* *Bd. E. H.* 474. 32: *nænig mann scypene his neatum ne timbreð.* *Bt.* 30. 5: *ðam monnum ðe beoð neatum gelice.* *Cant. Ps.* 146. 9: *nietenum.*

**Slegnēat**, beast for slaughter. Cf. Icel. *slaga*, OE. *slihtswīn*.

*Chr.* 852; *Erl.* 67. 39: *he geselle eghwelce gere tua slægneat* [*Th. slegneat*].

**Nicor**, m., hippopotamus. *Nicor* usually signifies 'water-sprite,' 'sea-monster' (*Beo.* 845, 848, etc.), but in two cases it stands for hippopotamus. The modern form is *nick* in the expression 'Old Nick.' Icel. *nykr*, sea-goblin, hippopotamus; OHG. *nichus*, crocodile, G. *nix*, water-sprite. The root is unknown.

*Nar.* 20. 29 : *him wæron ða breost gelice niecres breostum*, hippopotami pectore.  
11. 11 : *nicoras*, hippopotami.

**Nȳten**, *nȳten*, *nēten*, *nieten*, *nēoten*, *nēaten*, n., beast; also cattle. Formed on same stem as *nēat*. *Nȳten* is a dimin. of *nēat*; cf. Sievers' *Old English Grammar*, § 99.

*WW.* 118. 29 : animal : *alc cuce ðinc*, vel *nyten*. 236. 21 : *feralis bestia* : *reðe nyten*. 321. 14 : *pecus* vel *jumentum* : *nyten*. *Æ. L. S.* 2. 104. 566 ; 192. 46 ; *L. E. I.* 466. 44 ; *Æ. H.* 1. 138. 19, 20 ; 2. 196. 29 ; 380. 12 ; 434. 7 ; *L. Ecg. C.* 359. 22, 27 ; *Met.* 31. 21 ; *Az.* 145 ; *Lchd.* 3. 10. 10 ; 76. 20 ; *Gen.* 2. 19 : *nyten*. *Æ. Gr.* 58. 13 : *hæc pecus* : *ðis nyten*. 14. 4 ; 18. 17 ; 38. 5 : animal : *nyten*. *Spl. Ps.* 72. 22. *swa nyten geworden eom*. *Lchd.* 1. 326. 11 : *sum nyten is ðe we nemnað broc*. *Lk.* 10. 34 : *he hine on his nyten sette*. *Bl. H.* 29. 4 : *geðencean we eac, gif oðer nyten wære to haligienne*. *Met.* 20. 191 : *neten*. *Cant. Ps.* 72. 23 ; *Sal.* 22 : *nieten*. *Æ. Gr.* 14 : *istius animalis* : *ðyses nytenes*. *Bl. H.* 71. 5 : *folan ðæs nytenes*. *L. Alf.* 23. 31 ; *Æ. L. S.* 2. 284. 1048 ; *Æ. H.* 1. 16. 8 : *nytene*. *WW.* 100. 21 : *animalia* : *nytenu*. *Gen.* 1. 28 ; 2. 20 ; *Exod.* 9. 6 ; 9. 25 ; *Æ. H.* 1. 14. 14, 28 ; 16. 4, 14 ; 118. 15 ; 138. 28 ; 206. 28 ; 246. 21 ; 302. 16 ; 536. 12 ; *Oros.* 29. 30 ; *L. Ecg. C.* 358. 43 ; *Lchd.* 3. 164. 25 ; *Cant. Ps.* 134. 8 ; *Æ. L. S.* 1. 224. 86 ; 334. 210 ; 490. 34 ; 2. 68. 42, 46 ; 70. 53, 54. 61 : *nytenu*. *Hexam.* 14. 26 : *cucu nytenu*. *Bl. H.* 21. 13 : *ðis leoht we habbað wið nytenu gemæne*. 245. 26 : *hit acwealde heora bearn and hyra nytenu*. *Æ. H.* 1. 118. 14 : *ða nytenu forrodedon on heora meoze*. *Hexam.* 18. 22 : *forðam is se mann selra ðonne ða sawul leasan nytenu*. *L. Ælfc. C.* 449. 53 : *gif mys oððe nytenu ðurh gymeleaste hit etað*. *Æ. H.* 1. 276. 3-6 : *nytenu and deor, fixas and fugelas* God geseop on flæsce butan sawle. *ða nytenu he let gan alotene, and he forgeaf ðam nytenum gærs*. *Exod.* 9. 19 : *men and nytenu sweltað*. *WW.* 100. 21 : *swa stunte nytenu*. *Æ. H.* 1. 18. 26 : *clæna nytenu*. *Bt.* 42. 1 ; 70. 16 ; 81. 19 ; 117. 3 ; 146. 5, 18 ; *Greg. Dial.* 266. 20, 22 ; *Lchd.* 3. 198. 9 ; *L. Ælfc. P.* 459. 42 ; *Wulfst.* 223. 6 ; *Bt. Met.* 28. 51 ; *Vesp. Ps.* 8. 8 ; 67. 11 ; 103. 25 ; 148. 10 ; *Vesp. Hy.* 8. 15 : *netenu*. *Gen.* 7. 8 : *nitenu*. 1. 24 : *læde seo eorðe forð cuce nitenu*. *Cant. Ps.* 106. 38 ; 148. 10 ; *Past.* 109. 7-9, 22, 24 ; 155. 15, 23 ; 349. 23, 25 : *nietenu*. *Cant. Ps.* 49. 10 ; 103. 14 : *nietenæ*. *Æ. H.* 2. 430. 23 ; *Greg. Dial.* 264. 17 ; 266. 19 ; *Hexam.* 14 ; *Æ. L. S.* 2. 280. 990 ; *Bt.* 32. 20 ; 146. 20 ; *Æ. L. S.* 1. 62. 220 ; 332. 81 ; 334. 204 ; 2. 12. 182 ; 198. 146 ; *Oros.* 105. 21. *Nap. OEG.* 207. 29 ; *Isid. Con. Jud.* 27. 6 ; *Oros.* 29. 36 : *æt fife wæs hyra nytena cwealm*. *Bt.* 82. 5 ; *Gen.* 7. 21 ; 8. 1 : *netena*. *WW.* 67. 2 ; *jumentorum suorum, his netena*. *Past.* 152. 22 ; 154. 14 : *nietena*. *Vesp. Hy.* 6.



2: *netna*. *Bt.* 31. 31: *ða ungesceadwisan neotena*. *Lehd.* 1. 330. 4; *Gen.* 1. 30: 9. 9; *Lev.* 1. 2; *Bt.* 30. 4; *Hexam.* 20. 6; *Æ. L. S.* 1. 226. 95; 2. 72. 83; *Æ. H.* 1. 96. 11; 302. 21; 2. 430. 21; 578. 6: *nytenum*. *Bl. H.* 89. 9: *unwisum netenum gelic*. *Gen.* 7. 2: *nitenum*. *Lehd.* 2. 140. 2: *netnum*. *Cant. Ps.* 48. 13; *Lehd.* 2. 196. 18: *nietennum*. *Bt.* 30. 5: *ða mon [nu] ðe beoð neatennum gelice*.

**Nýtencynn**, n., kind of cattle.

*Æ. H.* 1. 16. 5: *nytenecynn*.

**Orf**, n., cattle, live stock. *Orf* is undoubtedly to be connected with *yrfe*; see *yrfe*.

*Gen.* 47. 18; *Deut.* 23. 31; *L. O.* 76. 26-33; *L. O. D.* 151. 3; 152. 4; *Æ. H.* 2. 192. 29: *orf*. *Gen.* 46. 16: *drifað hider eowre orf*. *Æ. H.* 2. 150. 31: and his *orf læswode*. *L. Edg. S.* 116. 51: *cuce orf*. *Exod.* 12. 38: *ælces cynnes orf*. *Jos.* 8. 2: *habbað ðæt orfeow gemæne* *Chr.* 1064; *Erl.* 196. 5: *hi namon eall ðæt orf ðe hi mihton to cuman, ðæt wæs fela ðucend*. *Hexam.* 20. 20: *ælce geara byð orf acenned, and mennisce menn to mannum acennede, ða ðe God gewyreð swa swa he geworhte ða ærran*. *Æ. H.* 1. 502. 8: *orfes*. *Chr.* 1044; *Erl.* 169. 7: *swa mycel orfes wæs ðæs gearas forfaren, swa nan man ær ne gemunde*. *Gen.* 47. 17; *Chr.* 1085, *Erl.* 218. 33; *Æ. H.* 1. 138. 17; 2. 192. 28; 196. 6; 456. 35: *orfe*. *Gen.* 12. 16: *he hæfde on orfe micle ahte*. *Crr.* 1052; *Erl.* 183. 22: *he nam him on orfe and on mannum and on ahtum swa him gewearð*.

**Orfcynn**, n., cattle.

*Cod. Dip.* 4. 275. 7: *næs orfcynnes nan mare buton VII hruðeru*.

**Sæwiht**, f., sea-animal. The second member *wiht* (ME. *wigt*, *wight*, Mod. E. *wight*) is cognate with Du *wicht*, Icel. *vættir*, G. *wicht*, Goth. *waihts*. The Germ. base is *\*weg*, which appears in OE. *wegan*, to move; hence the original signification would seem to be 'something moving.'

*Bd. E. H.* 473. 15: *ðeos eorðe is berende missenlicra fugela and sæwihta*.

**Slyht**, m., animal for slaughter; < *slēan*, to slay. Cf. Icel. *slätr*, butcher's meat, *slätra*, to slaughter cattle; cf. OE. *sliht-swīn*.

*L. R. S.* 187. 6: *gafolswane gebyreð ðæt he sylle his slyht be ðæm ðe on lande stent*. On *manegum landum stent ðæt he sylle ælce geara XV swyn to sticunge*.

**\*Tēoma**, f., beast of burden. The word is found only once in gen. case in the Rushworth MS. The corresponding form in the WS. gospel is *assen*.

*Mt.* 21. 5: *teoman*.

**Yrfe**, *irfe*, *ierfe*, *ierfæ*, n., cattle; it also signifies 'inheritance,' 'property,' (cf. also *ceap* and *feoh*), and this seems to be the meaning common to the cognate words: Goth. *arbi*, O. Sax. *erbi*, OLG. *ervi*, Du. *erf*, OHG. *erbi*, *arbi*, MHG. *erbe*, G. *erbe*, Icel. *arfr*, *erfð*. Cf. Gr. ὀρφανός, Lat. *orbus*, orphaned.

Æ. L. S. 1. 512. 419; L. A. G. 67. 4: *yrfe*. Chr. 910; Erl. 100. 14: *ægðer ge on mannum ge on gehwelces cynnes yrfe*. 1010; 143. 28: *menn and yrfe hi slogon*. Lchd. 1. 386. 3: *sing ymb ðin yrfe ælce æfen*. Bl. H. 199. 6: *eft hwyrfe ðe wæs to ðæm yrfe and to ðæm ceape and to heora gesetum*. Ezod. 8. 17: *gwaettas wæron gewordene on mannum and on yrfe*. 10. 24: *for an eowre yrfe sceal beon her*. Dip. Angl. 162. 26-163. 24: *ða ðæt land ærest min laford mæ to læt, ða wæs hit ierfeleas . . . and ic sælf ðæt ierfe to gestrunda . . . ðonne is ðær nu irfæs ðæs ðæs stranga winter læfæd hæfð nigon eald hriðru, and feower and hundendlæftig caldra swina*.

CHARLES HUNTINGTON WHITMAN.

RUTGERS COLLEGE, March, 1907.

ON CHAUCER'S VERSION OF THE DEATH OF  
CROESUS.

IN the Chaucer Course at Columbia University during the Summer Session of 1904, the attention of the students was called to Chaucer's peculiar version of the death of Croesus by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, whose interest in Persia led him to comment on points connected with Cyrus and the Lydian king.

The story of Croesus is found in Herodotus, *Hist.*, 1. 85, *seq.* (C. Rawlinson's Transl., 1858, vol. 1, p. 225, *seq.*), Plutarch. *Solon*, 27 (Transl. by Stewart and Long, pp. 154-156), Boethius (short allusions in *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, lib. 2. 2, line 32), and in many other authors down to Boccaccio (*De Casibus virorum illustrium*, lib. 3. 20). Although the versions vary considerably in the amount and character of the details that are given, they always agree on one point (for exception, see note 8; below), namely, that Croesus, though condemned to death, was not actually executed, but his life was saved by some intervention. Chaucer, however, represents him as dying on the gibbet after having escaped the pyre which was to have been his fate. In his translation of Boethius (*Boece*, 2, line 310, Pollard, Globe edition), Chaucer does not add anything to the brief allusion he found in his source.<sup>1</sup> But in the *House of Fame*, book 1, line 103, and in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, line 4326, he alludes to the death of Croesus on the gibbet, and in the *Monk's Tale*, line 3917, he gives a full account of the monarch's death.

<sup>1</sup> Boethius (Teubner), lib. 2, 2, line 32. "Nesciebas Croesum regem Lydorum Cyro paulo ante formidabilem mox deinde miserandum rogi flammis traditum misso caelitus imbre defensum."

As the gibbet version is found in Jean de Meung's *Roman de la rose*,<sup>1</sup> of which we know that Chaucer made a translation,<sup>2</sup> it is likely that the poet came across the story there. But the question is next, to determine from what source Jean de Meung himself drew his material. M. Ernest Langlois in his notes on the *Roman de la rose*,<sup>3</sup> says that this particular version of the fate of Croesus, and especially of the rôle of Phania, the daughter of Croesus, is to be found only in the mythographers discovered by Cardinal Angelo Mai, and published at Rome in 1831.<sup>4</sup> Prof. Skeat, in his *Notes to the Canterbury Tales*,<sup>5</sup> states that the version is given in the 13th century by Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale*.<sup>6</sup> Vincent de Beauvais mentions Eusebius<sup>7</sup> as his authority for the date of the fall of

<sup>1</sup> Jean de Meung took over Guillaume de Loris' work at verse 4070 (see ed. Méon); the Croesus episode is spun out from verse 6513 to 6646. *Le roman de la rose*, ed. Méon, Paris, 1814.

<sup>2</sup> See Skeat, *Complete Works of Chaucer*, Vol. 1. *Introduction to Romaunt of the Rose*.

<sup>3</sup> *Origines et sources du roman de la rose*, par Ernest Langlois, Paris, 1891.

<sup>4</sup> *Classicorum Auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum*, tomus III, curante Angelo Maio, Romae 1831.

<sup>5</sup> Skeat, *Complete Works of Chaucer*, Vol. 5. *Notes to the Canterbury Tales*, p. 246.

<sup>6</sup> Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, Strassburg ms. 1473, lib. 4, 17; some other MSS. lib. 3, 17. When Vincent de Beauvais says that Croesus was taken prisoner three times, he probably understood the several versions from which he quotes as referring to different captivities: thus he says that Justin and Orosius tell about the first captivity.

<sup>7</sup> In *Eusebii Pamphili Chronicorum*, lib. 2 (S. Hieronymo interprete), *Patrologiae Latinae*, tomus 27 (ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1866), we find the two statements mentioned by Vincent in connection with the columns of the names and dates of the Lydian kings. Eusebius also briefly refers here to the oracle of Apollo, on the ambiguity of which he speaks more fully in his *Praep. Evang.* 5, 20. This episode we meet in several of the versions of the fate of Croesus in which he survives the overthrow of his kingdom. Though the second book of Eusebius's *Chronicles* is undoubtedly based upon the first one (see A. Schöne, *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius in ihrer Bearbeitung durch Hieronymus*, Berlin, 1900), we find opposite the name of Croesus: *Croeso interfecto*, *Cyrus Lydorum imperio finem imposuit*. In the Armenian-Greek-Latin text (Venice, ed. J. B. Ancher, 1818) the Latin wording is: *Croesum Cyrus perimens, Lydorum imperium sustulit*.

the Lydian kingdom, giving Eusebius's own words and also the citations from the other sources to which he refers, such as Boethius, Justin,<sup>1</sup> Orosius,<sup>2</sup> and, at the end of the paragraph, Solinus.<sup>3</sup> After referring to Justin once more, and before he comes to Solinus, Vincent gives the version which Prof. Skeat quotes, beginning with the words: *Alii Historiographi warrant quod in secunda captione iussit eum Cyrus rogo superponi.*

The rôle of the Lydian king's daughter is contained in the version, which is indeed very similar to the one underlying Jean de Meung's (minus the French poet's elaboration), and it resembles the version of the mythographers, except in two particulars. In the first place there is nothing in Jean de Meung about Croesus being placed on the pyre in his second captivity. In the next place Jean de Meung gives the daughter's name as Phania, which is not mentioned in Vincent de Beauvais. Now in both these points, namely the absence of any reference to a captivity prior to the one with the pyre episode, and in the mention of the daughter's name as Phania, the story as given by the mythographers,<sup>4</sup> agrees both with Jean de Meung's and with Chaucer's version and differs from the one given by Vincent de Beauvais. This would naturally lead us to consider whether the version given by the mythographers has not a greater claim to our attention than the only one that has yet been mentioned by Chaucer scholars, namely, the Vincent de Beauvais narrative, and it is

<sup>1</sup> *Justinus, Trogi Pompei Historiarum Philippicarum Epitome*, lib. 1, 7, lines 1-13. (Teubner.)

<sup>2</sup> *Paoli Orosii Historiarum adversos paganos*, lib. 2, 6, 7. (Teubner.)

<sup>3</sup> *Caii Julii Solini Polyhistor*. Ex Editione Claudii Salmasii, Lipsiae, 1777. Cap. 1, 106.

<sup>4</sup> About Cardinal Mai's mistake concerning the names and dates of these mythographers, see Teuffel-Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, vol. 1, 42, 10, and also O. Rossbach, in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Jahrgang 131, pp. 408 to 410. According to Rossbach, all we can say about the first and earliest of the mythographers, is that he lived after Isidorus, who died in the year 636 A. D. The second mythographer seems to have borrowed almost word for word from the first. The value of these mythographers consists mainly in containing sources which have not been preserved anywhere else.

peculiar that it has not yet found a place among the possible sources of Chaucer's version. I shall therefore give it in full as found in the first and in the second mythographer, quoting from the edition which I have already mentioned.

MYTHOGRAPHUS I, 196.

HISTORIA CROESI REGIS LYDIAE.

Croesus rex Lydorum aliquando a rege Persarum Cyro captus, rogo est suppositus. Subito tanta pluvia exorta est, ut ignis extingeretur, et ipse occasionem inveniret fugiendi. Hoc cum prospere sibi evenisse gloriaretur, opum etiam immensitate nimium se iactaret, dictum est ei a Solone, uno de VII sapientibus non debere quemquam in divitiis et prosperitate gloriari, cum nesciamus quid superventura pariat dies. Eadem nocte vidit in somnis, quod Juppiter aqua eum perfunderet, solque extingeret. Quod cum filiae suae Phaniae nuntiaret, illa ut res se habuit prudenter resolvit dicens, quod cruci esset affigendus, et aqua perfundendus et a sole siccandus. Quod postea ita contigit: nam rursus captus a Cyro et crucifixus est.

MYTHOGRAPHUS II, 190.

DE CROESO.

Croesus rex Lydorum aliquando a Cyro rege Persarum captus, rogo superponi est iussus. Subito tanta pluvia facta est, ut ignis extingueretur et ipse occasionem fugiendi inveniret. Hoc cum postea prospere sibi evenisse gloriaretur, et opum immensitate se iactaret, dictum est ei a Solone uno de VII sapientibus non debere quemquam in divitiis et prosperitatibus gloriari, cum nesciamus quid eventura pariat dies. Eadem nocte vidit in somnis quod Jovis eum aqua perfunderet et sol extingeret. Quod cum filiae suae Phaniae nuntiaret, illa ut res se habuit prudenter interpretabatur, dicens quod in cruce esset affigendus, imbre perfundendus, sole siccandus. Quod postea ita contigit: nam rursus captus est a Cyro et suspensus.

It will be evident from what has been given above that Chaucer's version of the death of Croesus resembles the story told by these mythographers more closely than the one found in Vincent de Beauvais. Yet no mention of these mythographers has thus far been made in this special connection by any commentator on Chaucer, and I hope that this note may not be without interest, for that reason, to students of our first great poet.

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## REVIEWS.

*A History of English Literature*, by William Vaughn Moody and Robert Morss Lovett, Assistant Professors of English in the University of Chicago. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. vi and 433.

*A First View of English Literature*, by William Vaughn Moody and Robert Morss Lovett. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905. Pp. vi and 386.

*A Student's History of English Literature*, by William Edward Simonds, Professor of English Literature in Knox College. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1902. Pp. v and 483.

*American Literature*, by Julian W. Abernethy, Principal of the Berkeley Institute, Brooklyn. New York: Maynard, Merrill and Company, 1902. Pp. 4 and 510.

*American Literature*, by Alphonso G. Newcomer, Associate Professor of English in the Leland Stanford Junior University. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1901. Pp. 7 and 364.

*A Manual of American Literature*, by James B. Smiley, Assistant Principal of Lincoln High School, Cleveland, Ohio. New York: American Book Company, 1905. Pp. 4 and 336.

During the last few years, several school histories of English and of American literature have been added to an array already imposing. Two of these are from the pens of the same authors, Professors Moody and Lovett of the University of Chicago. Their first volume, *A History of English Literature* appeared in 1902, and

was followed three years later by the second, *A First View of English Literature*. The authors evidently expected that the earlier volume would satisfy the needs both of high school and of college students, for in the *Preface* they expressed themselves as follows: 'An attempt has here been made to present the history of English literature from the earliest times to our own day, in a historical scheme simple enough to be apprehended by young students, yet accurate and substantial enough to serve as a permanent basis for study, however far the study is pursued.'

Experience demonstrated, however, that the book was too difficult for high school use, and the result was the preparation of the second volume, a modification of the first.

It is gratifying to observe that the need of different histories of literature for high school and for college has at last been frankly recognized by a publishing house. Most of our histories, in attempting to meet the demands of both classes of students, fail to satisfy those of either. How could it be otherwise, with such a difference in the maturity of the students?

The college student should be furnished a text that will treat the literature as an organism, and show its evolution as subjected to forces from within and without: a treatment genetic and cumulative. He is ready to be taught, for example, that the 'terms mediævalism and Renaissance do not stand so much for two periods of history as for two tendencies, two hostile forces, which in half-hearted truce or open warfare have always co-existed, and must always co-exist, in the heart of man, and consequently in his literature and art,' and to be guided in the interpretation of these tendencies as they ebb and flow, and act and react upon one another through all the extent of our literature. If the student does not appreciate that Vaughn is nearer to Ælfric and Cynewulf than is Chaucer, and that Chaucer is as near to Shakespeare as is Spenser, he is not mastering his subject. Again, the criticism should be mature, vigorous and acute, and stimulate the students' best powers of perception and discrimination. Furthermore, while the emphasis should be placed upon the philosophy of literature and upon criticism, the college student may reasonably be asked to acquire those many facts of literary record with which every cultured man should be conversant.

On the other hand, the history of literature prepared for high school use should be much more elementary. Above all, it should



be rigidly schematic : the broad general characteristics of each period should be carefully stated, and the successive authors of the period be constantly referred back to them. Each author should be made to appear interesting as a man, in order to insure a later derived interest in his writings. Criticism, while of course discriminating, should be simple, avoiding subtle analysis and fine distinctions.

If then the fundamental requirement of a college text be a masterly exposition of the genesis of the literature and of its growth as affected by influences external and internal, showing how each individual author is affected by the ideals of his age, and how he in turn modifies those ideals, Professors Moody and Lovett's more advanced book is by no means adequate. The criticism of individuals as individuals is invariably discriminating and satisfying, but there is no vigorous exposition of the forces at work influencing a whole school of writers. For example, the chapter on *The Reign of Classicism* does not even define *classicism*, much less analyze it, explain why English Literature had a classical period, or demonstrate the extent to which the ideals of classicism affected Swift, Steele, and Addison, and to which they modified those ideals. Would it not have been more scholarly, as prefatory to discussing Addison's mission or Swift's satire to explain why didacticism and satire are inherent in classicism?

This weakness in interpreting the *time-spirit* is the weakness of the whole book. Its strength is its criticism, which, though subjective, is sensitive and vigorous, and at times brilliant. The discussion of *Hamlet* closes with the following keen interpretation : 'It is one of the ironies of circumstance that Hamlet has come to stand in most minds for a type of irresolution. This misunderstanding of the character is largely due to the exaltation of excitement in Hamlet, which causes his mind, even in the moment when he is pursuing his purpose with most intentness, to play with feverish brilliancy over the questions of man's life and death ; which makes his throbbing, white-hot imagination a meeting-place for grotesque and extravagant fancies ; and which leads him, so to speak, to cover the solid framework of his enterprise with a wild festoonery of intellectual whim, to envelop it in fitful eloquence, swift and subtle wit, contemptuous irony, and mordant satire. Yet this is merely the by-play of his mind, the volatilized substance which escapes under

the heat of excitement. In the midst of it he remains perfectly master of himself and of his means, a supremely rational, competent, and determined being, a prince and master of men, dedicated irrevocably to ruin in the moral chaos where the "cursed spite" of his destiny has thrown him. With a miraculous art, Shakespeare has depicted this character, not fixed in outline, but changing and palpitant as life itself ; so that it constantly eludes our definition, and seems forever passing from one state of being into another, in the passion of its struggle.'

The *First View of English Literature* is in many respects an admirable text-book. Though only one sixth of the volume is devoted to the Old and Middle English Literature—for the modern literature is rightly regarded as having more interest for immature students,—this is presented in a manner that can hardly fail to attract boys and girls. The authors have first given lively and enthusiastic pictures of the life of the times, and have then shown how this life is reflected, sometimes ideally, sometimes realistically, in the contemporary writing. To this end, such poems as the *Beowulf* and *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* are reproduced at length, and over all is thrown the fascination of romance. I know of no other school history that has treated the early literature so well ; most histories offering a profitless chronicle that quite confuses and discourages the novice.

The chapters on the modern literature cannot be praised so highly. The authors have wisely disregarded the minor writers, and they have shown a good deal of skill in getting a hearing for the men whom they discuss. Yet this advantage is more or less annulled by the criticism, much of which is beyond high school pupils, for though the authors have tried to be simple, they do not appreciate the limitations of immature youth. What does such a passage as the following mean to a high school lad? 'In 1642 appeared his first work, *Religio Medici*, a confession of his own personal religious creed. It is in essence a mystical acceptance of Christianity. "Methinks," he says, "there be not impossibilities enough in religion for active faith . . . I love to lose myself in a mystery ; to pursue my reason to an *O Altitudo*." This sense of solemn exaltation, this losing of himself in a mystery, is Browne's characteristic mood.'

The book might be curtailed to advantage. Thus, the historical introductions to the chapters are meaningless to a pupil who has not studied English History, and for one who has studied it a few allusions would suffice. Again, some authors are discussed in greater detail than their place in the high school curriculum requires or warrants. The pages on Browning illustrate this.

Finally, the volume is not sufficiently schematic, and cannot leave in the pupil's mind the definite impressions that should be left. In this respect it is much inferior to the earlier history written by Halleck.

Professor Simond's history is uneven ; at times the author goes very fully into details, and again he neglects matters of importance. He lacks a fine sense of what is pertinent, and, which is a corollary of the latter, lacks synthesis.

The details are usually of a biographical nature. Now acquaintance with the life of an author undoubtedly quickens our appreciation of his work, but what end is served by a biographical digest crowded into a few lines, or, at the most, into a paragraph? To take an illustration, the group of metaphysical poets is introduced as follows : 'A peculiar phase of the poetical art is found in the compositions of a little group of versifiers who are frequently described as the *metaphysical poets*.' Then follow two pages devoted to Donne, Herbert, Quarles, Crashaw, and Vaughn. We are informed that Herbert was born in Wales, took his university course at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1630 became Vicar of Bremerton, near Salisbury ; that Quarles studied at Christ's (Milton's) College, and was later secretary to Archbishop Usher, that Crashaw was educated at the Charterhouse School and at Cambridge, and that Vaughn was a Welsh physician. Unquestionably this is the truth, but would it not have been better to define metaphysical, and to explain the genesis of such poetry, rather than to confront the student with this discouraging array of profitless biography? Biographical brevities will be forgotten as quickly as read, but if the student is led to see in our literature a living thing, which like man's life, is subject to growth and decay, and if he comes to appreciate the causes which produced the wild freedom of its childhood, the daring and supple strength of its youth, and the penetration and sincerity of its cultured maturity, he has incorporated something vital into his life.

Again, some literary movements of importance are altogether ignored in this history. Thus, there is not only no attempt to trace the growth of lyrical poetry in England, but one could not gain from the book even a crude notion of the extent and nature of the English lyric. Not only does the author pass in silence the mediæval lyrics, the sweet hymns to the Virgin and Christ, and the gay songs of spring and country life that were on the lips of the English folk for centuries, but he even neglects the Elizabethan song-lyric, the most exquisite lyrical expression in any modern literature. There is the same neglect of the court-lyric, and this is the more surprising as, from his previous work in this field, one would expect Professor Simonds to be enthusiastic over this interesting and important chapter in the history of our poetry. But after the discussion of Wyatt and Surrey, the court lyric is dropped, save for bare mention of the *Astrophel and Stella*, the *Amoretti*, and the sonnets of Shakespeare. The lyrics of the Fletchers, Daniel, Lodge, Constable, and William of Hawthornden receive no attention.

In justification of the charge that this book lacks a fine sense of what is pertinent, let us compare its discussion of the *Arcadia* with that in Moody and Lovett's longer history. This is a detail to be sure, but I think it may be called representative of the treatment as a whole. Professor Simonds says : ' Besides this group of passionate love sonnets, Sir Philip Sidney left an elaborate pastoral romance entitled *Arcadia*. This voluminous work, which may be taken as typical of numerous efforts in the field of prose fiction belonging to this time, was never designed for publication. In the year 1580 Sidney had begun its composition solely for the diversion of his sister, the Countess, charging her to destroy the manuscript as it was read : but four years after Sidney's death *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* was published at London. It became the most popular romance of the day, inspiring many imitators, and, like Lyly's *Euphues*, even setting a model of conversational form among the ladies and gentlemen of Elizabeth's court.' In the other history, the *Arcadia* is treated as follows :

' Sidney's chief literary adventure was the *Arcadia*, which he began in 1580, when, in consequence of a quarrel with the Earl of Oxford, he was in temporary disgrace and banishment from court. The writing of the *Arcadia* was merely a summer pastime, undertaken to please the Countess of Pembroke, Sidney's sister. The

form of the work was suggested by romances, popular in Italy and in Spain, in which the scenes are laid in a pastoral country like the ancient Arcadia. The prose tale is interrupted at intervals by passages of verse, or eclogues, in which the shepherds sing of love and the delights of rural life. This form of literature had an immense charm for countries which were becoming a little weary of the activity of the early Renaissance ; and Sydney himself, in his banishment from court, doubtless felt the influence of this mood. It was, however, a passing one, for Sidney was essentially a man of action ; and his story, which begins in thoroughly pastoral fashion, quickly changes to a kind of romance of chivalry set in an arcadian landscape.

‘In his attempt at enrichment of style, Sidney worked as consciously as Lyly. He frequently uses the antithesis and other mechanical devices, but his chief resource is in prodigality of ornament and elaboration of figure. For example, one character is besought “to keep her speech for awhile within the paradise of her mind.” Others are said to be “getting the pure silver of their bodies out of the ore of their garments.” This boldness of metaphor is characteristic of the spirit of the book. Sidney spins his tale with a pure love for it, with the enthusiasm that he might have thrown into a buccaneering expedition to the Indies, if fortune had been kind to him ; and this is the real source of such pleasure as we feel to-day in reading the *Arcadia*. His delight in his work is perfect, and gives to the book its exuberance, its fulness, its color. His style is whimsical and moody, epigrammatic and exhaustive by turns ; now conscientious and dull, again full of the daring and passion of poetry.’ It is not hard to tell which of these accounts would attract and arouse it.

The style of the author leaves much to be desired, for though the expression is sometimes lucid and graceful, it is often monotonous or clumsy. Thus, on pages 23–25 is a long paragraph composed entirely of short, declarative sentences, often not more than fifteen words in length, and the effect is choppy and metallic. The following sentence from page nineteen not only is cacophonous, but demands a second reading to be understood : ‘Communities of devotees, where both men and women piously inclined gathered for religious fellowship and a consecrated life, were established, and in time became seats of learning as well as centres of religious zeal.’

If the above criticisms are just, this is not a book to be put into the hands of college students. It has not a fine sense of relative values, it is not synthetic and comprehensive, and though it deals much in details, the details are not significant. Nor is this a book for high schools. Its minutiae would discourage the pupils, and throw them out of sympathy with the subject.

Dr. Abernethy's history is hardly worthy of extended criticism, for it violates the canons both of taste and of scholarship. The author has no discriminating and well-defined standards of judgment, and therefore his criticism is not just and measured. His writing lacks discernment and insight, and is grossly exaggerated: the blackbirds and ground sparrows are all larks. A few sentences from the pages on Lowell—because of his unevenness an excellent author by whom to test the critical faculty—will illustrate the provincialism, immoderateness and rhetorical crudeness of this book. 'From a campaign song in dialect to a learned essay on Dante, an elegant exchange of compliments with royalty, or a poem expressing the profoundest experiences of the soul, he could pass with equal and masterly ease . . . . . Quite as characteristic, however, as his wit and humor, is the background or contrast of serious thought. His fancy plays upon the surface of deep waters. Both verse and prose are heavily freighted with the rich stores of scholarship and thinking, and for this reason Lowell can never be popular in the sense in which Irving and Longfellow are popular . . . . . The amplitude of learning is sometimes bewildering, and the rapid prismatic flashings of new thoughts are followed with a kind of breathless despair. The richness of expression is often an embarrassment, it is so prodigal and profuse; the sentences are packed with meaning, the humor evasive, the language learned, the allusions bookish and remote. Yet there is no pedantry. He scatters wise and witty epigrams up and down his pages, like one who sows from the sack instead of from the hand; his style is diffusive, uneven, at times running to waywardness and caprice. But objections have little force in the presence of such scholarly ease, and such a gracious and winning personality. He merely exercises the right of genius to be natural, without regard for the law.'

In gratifying contrast is Professor Newcomer's history, a volume which is the product of exact scholarship, catholic sympathy regu-

lated and tempered by refined taste, and a nice appreciation of the province of an elementary history of literature.

Three 'large and well-defined periods' are recognized : I. *The Beginnings*, extending from the founding of the colony at Jamestown in 1607 down to about 1800 ; II. *The Creative Impulse*, extending from the first decade of the nineteenth century to the civil war ; III. *The Period of Later Activity*, extending from the civil war to the present time. The author justifies this simplicity of grouping on the ground that 'there can be no elaborate time-division of a literature that has but one era of high accomplishment.' The sub-divisions are correspondingly reasonable : thus, Part II. is divided into chapters on *The New Environment*, *Romance*, *The Transcendental Movement*, and *National Life and Culture*. Professor Newcomer has wisely avoided the temptation to recognize a large number of schools in the mid-century period, appreciating that to classify the authors as Cambridge scholars, anti-slavery agitators, and the like, is to work confusion. He is content to show how such varied personalities as Webster, Clay, Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, Julia Ward Howe, Warner and Whitman were 'co-workers toward the one end of upbuilding a modern nation of political unity and of continuous moral and intellectual growth.' Having no uncertain categories to defend, the relation of each one of these authors to the national life can be carefully traced.

The criticism is in all respects admirable, and shows a keenness of insight and a resourcefulness and flexibility of definition unequalled in any history of American literature, not excepting certain more pretentious works. The following passages are selected from the pages on Lowell, and offer interesting comparison with the criticism quoted above. 'Mr. Stedman has somewhere said, speaking of poetry, that "Lowell has sprinkled the whole subject with diamond dust."' So he has sprinkled everything : to be spendthrift is his function. But while we envy him his brilliant gifts we cannot help wishing that he had learned and exercised greater restraint, or that he had cultivated more sedulously certain finer qualities. Now and then he curbs his high spirits and tempers his exuberance with a quiet, pensive strain. But in general the temptations to adornment and to mirth are too strong for him. The result shows in that want of fine texture and harmonious tone for which his work is often criticised. Nothing, for example, could well be better than the

first paragraph of the essay *On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners*; and, so far as a sense for harmony of style is concerned, few things could be worse than the fourteenth paragraph of the same essay. The balances of dignity, refinement, grace, pathos, and all the qualities that make for beauty and elevation, are too often wanting. In these things the great English humorists of his century, Lamb and De Quincey, are both his superiors.

'Somewhat similar defects attach to the substance of his essays. The discursive essays, those that pretend to little beyond entertainment, make some of the most delightful reading in modern letters. It is impossible to resist their varied charms, all going back to the author's magnetic personality. And much the same is true of the more serious essays. But these latter suffer in their lack of centrality, of a guiding principle and a definite purpose . . . . Only perhaps, in one or two addresses of his last years, like *Demoeracy*, is it possible to discern behind the written or spoken utterance the kind of consecration that has lifted into such clear light the names of Carlyle, Emerson, Ruskin, and Arnold. His criticism at its best is constantly in danger of degenerating into witticism; at its worst it is unsympathetic and unsound, as when it confronts certain pet aversions like Petrarch, Swinburne, or Thoreau.

If we will accept him for what he is, a kind of eighteenth century critic fortified with nineteenth century learning, browsing in the fields of literature when and where he pleases, resolved to like with a zest and to dislike with a zest, and even to trample under foot what is not to his taste, we shall get our profit from him.'

Mr. Smiley's manual is an indifferent piece of work. Each author is accorded an execrable wood-cut; a chronological table; a brief narrative; an 'estimate,' usually borrowed; and a short bibliography. One may well ask what possible use it can serve. It is a *manual* only in the sense of being a hand-made rather than a brain-made product.

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*Zur Schärfung des Sprachgefühls.* 200 fehlerhafte Sätze mit Verbesserungen geprüft von einem Ausschusse des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins. Mit einer einleitenden Abhandlung: Was ist Sprachgefühl? Warum soll es geschärft werden? von Hermann Dunger, Zweite Auflage, Berlin, 1906. Verlag des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins. Pp. viii, 137.

This book will doubtless prove interesting and valuable to a large number of teachers and students of German. The ideas on language questions presented in it represent the views of a number of distinguished German scholars. The editor, Mr. Hermann Dunger, collected the materials from the actual literature of the language and submitted them to a number of scholars for endorsement or rejection, and later prepared the results for publication. The treatment is in general broad and scientific and the decisions will for the most part be generally adopted. There is, however, occasionally in the patriotic glow of the editor an excess of zeal which leads him to struggle for immediate definitive forms where a scientific view would promptly suggest that these must be left to the future development of the language. Modern feeling resents tampering of any kind. A wide-awake people cannot afford to leave the making of its language to even its greatest scholars. Such a language would have all the limitations of a few choice but one-sided men, while the natural speech of a great people has an unfailing source of strength and varied beauty. In a number of cases the definitive forms desired by Mr. Dunger will probably come about in due time, but the present forms need not be placed in such an ugly light. Mr. Dunger illustrates often the improper usage in question only by quotations from obscure newspapers, warnings put up in public buildings, patent-medicine advertisements, etc. Some of these tabooed forms, however, have been used by the greatest and most representative Germans, as Goethe, Bismarck, Jakob Grimm, Hermann Paul, Wilhelm Raabe, and many others, and are in fact the lingering survivals of a once common usage. The German language is fortunately in a state of healthy development and

these older forms are being gradually replaced by more serviceable expressions. If, however, such an older form is to be finally dismissed scientific reasons should be advanced and never should it be summarily rejected by the words "hässlich" or "falsch." It might at least be given a certificate of honorable dismissal. Any disregard of the historical element places the whole question in a wrong light. Some of the forms censured by Mr. Dunger are new, but conspicuous writers have employed them and it might be worth while to try to *interpret* the phenomena of our time instead of making war blindly upon all that is new. It is, however, only just to say that Mr. Dunger has assumed an interpretative attitude in a number of interesting cases, so that we are truly sorry that he has not uniformly viewed his facts in a spirit of investigation and with an eager desire to see and learn. "Der Allgemeine Deutsche Sprachverein" should not desire to instil in its members a spirit of blind confidence in its official decrees, but should earnestly endeavor to lead them to study all linguistic phenomena in the light of historical development and to interpret liberally present usage in the light of the growing needs of the present and the future.

The following detailed criticism presents concrete cases of the general objections offered above and moreover discusses a number of minor points treated by Mr. Dunger.

On page iii Mr. Dunger makes the statement that the German people does not study its language with the affectionate care that characterizes other peoples. This statement has often been made by German scholars, but the reviewer regards it as a fiction. He knows no people that studies its literary language and its numerous dialects with as much sacrificing devotion as does the German people. The countless fluctuations in present usage thruout the German-speaking territory of Europe do not indicate a deplorable neglect but rather the wonderful wealth of form in the German language and its present healthy and vigorous development. The Germans are to be congratulated upon the present state of things. May in this formative period their wealth of thought and feeling find a still more complete and accurate formal expression in their plastic language! We only wish that the scholar may not

succeed in getting more than his share of influence at this important time. We foreigners distrust the language of the German scholar. It is so clumsy and hard to understand that we know nothing harder to comprehend among modern languages. We have, however, great confidence in the power and beauty of the German spirit as reflected in the language of its great literary men and we hope that this form of the language may give the decisive turns to its future development.

On page 11 Mr. Dunger charges South Germans with the common fault of treating separable verbs as inseparable, as in *Ich anerkenne das* instead of *Ich erkenne das an*. Mr. Dunger, like many other German grammarians, is fond of representing evils in present usage as S. G. By glancing at the reviewer's German grammar (hereafter referred to by the contraction *Gram.*), pp. 339-40, it will appear that this usage is also found in the North. Since the publication of his book the reviewer has found a large number of additional examples from all parts of Germany, some of them even from distinguished German scholars and literary men. On this same page Mr. Dunger has also represented as S. G. the use of *sein* in *Ich bin gestanden*. The question is, however, not so simple as represented. This usage was formerly found also in the North and, as can be seen in *Gram.*, pp. 291-2, still lingers there. The whole question is worthy of a historical explanation.

On pp. 15 and 50 Mr. Dunger calls attention to the omission of *worden* in the perfect passive, as in *Gestern ist der Verbrecher verhaftet*. It is represented as N. G. usage principally found in newspapers. In *Gram.*, p. 300(a) examples are given from two scholars, the former of whom is one of the greatest philologists of our time. A usage supported by such authority might be worthy of a little study. In M. H. G. this was the usual form for the perfect passive, but in the present period *worden* has been added to denote an *act*, while the old form is retained to denote a *state*. Thus a beautiful shade of meaning has been acquired which often cannot be expressed in English. This shade is worth preserving and in general is carefully observed, but older usage lingers on and will naturally continue for some time yet. This is not a sign of linguistic slothfulness, but an instructive illustration of the tenacious-

ness of a construction that has been rooted in feeling for centuries. It is interesting to note the tenaciousness of the older form in the perfect passive *infinitive*, where it is probably more common than the new form: Es wird als neuerlicher Amerikanismus bezeichnet . . . sollte es vielleicht von Deutschamerikanern geprägt sein? (Krüger's *Syntax der englischen Sprache*, p. 139). The new form, however, is naturally employed where it is necessary to the thought: Eine Zeitung kann in einem Bezirk verbreitet worden sein, ohne dort verbreitet zu sein (*Kölnische Zeitung*, 30. Mai 1902).

On pp. 18 and 65 Mr. Dunger condemns the use of the perfect *active* participle of verbs which are conjugated with *haben*, as in *die bereits zur Ruhe sich begebenen* (or *sich begeben habenden*) *Waldsänger*. In *Gram.*, p. 270, examples of both of these forms are given. Many more have been collected in the last three years. Among the sources represented are Goethe, Jakob Grimm, Gutzkow, Bismarck, Storm Jensen, Raabe, Lillencron, Baumbach, Professor Litzmann, and a large number of periodicals and newspapers. The shorter form—*das den Grafen befallene Unglück* (Goethe)—does not seem to be so common now as the longer form—*an die Stelle der sich überlebt habenden historisch-heroischen Tragödie* (Litzmann's *Das deutsche Drama in den literarischen Bewegungen der Gegenwart*, p. 31). The shorter form has become well established in a large number of cases: *abgelebt* (formerly an intransitive conjugated with *haben*) *deceased*, *abgesagt* (ein abgesagter Feind), *gelernt* (ein gelernter Schuhmacher), etc. The Latin has the same difficulties here as German and has also coined perfect passive participles with active meaning: *cēnātus*, *prānsus*, *pōtus*, etc. In German there is a formidable list of such participles formed from reflexive verbs: *ausgeschlafen*, *bedacht*, *beflissen*, *bemüht*, *bescheiden*, *bestrebt*, *betrunken*, *eingebildet*, *entschlossen*, *erfahren*, *erkältet*, *überlebt* (ein überlebter Brauch), *verbissen*, *verkrochen* (ein verkrochenes Wiesenblümchen), *verirrt*, etc. These formations have resulted from two tendencies which at first operated with united strength—the desire to bring out clearly the force of the perfect active and the general fondness for the attributive form of statement which is also noticeable elsewhere. In a large number of these words the

attributive force has become more prominent than the verbal, so that the forms have now merely the force of adjectives. Grammarians now generally recommend the use of only the words with adjective meaning, but the two original tendencies described above manifest themselves still and produce formations with the force of both a verb and an adjective. If "Der Allgemeine Deutsche Sprachverein" deems it best to suppress the employment of such participles it might at least call attention to the honorable past of the construction and its many survivals in present usage. Mr. Dunger disposes of the long form very tersely: "Für teilgenommene Truppen müßte es heißen teilgenommen habende Truppen, eine Form, die nicht zulässig ist." It is to be regretted that this valuable book is disfigured by such unscientific and misleading utterances. This long form is comparatively new, but it is not at all infrequent in the best speakers and writers. Some dispose of it by simply remarking that it does not belong to the living language, but is a "proper" word, *i. e.*, occurs only in the written literature. Bismarck, however, who is regarded by these same grammarians as a great natural orator, employs it in his speeches. It seems after all rooted in the desire to give more emphasis to the *verbal* idea. The simple participle, as in the many formations given above, is felt as an adjective, and hence to impart verbal force to the participle is given the form of the perfect tense of the verb to which adjective case-endings are added. If it is desired to suppress also the long form cogent reasons should be advanced. At least its use by prominent authors and speakers ought to be explained. It is interesting to note that the long form is absolutely impossible in English. At first thought it seems strange, for English is very fond of the terse perfect participle, as in *Having finished my work I went home* = *As I had finished my work I went home*, or *After I had finished my work I went home*. The English prefers here the participle, altho it is frequently somewhat unclear, while the German usually employs the full clause to bring out clearly the adverbial element of *time* or *cause*. The English uses this participle so much to express the adverbial relations that it cannot be employed to denote the adjective relation. This could only be done if the participle might precede the noun, but this word-

order is quite foreign to the English idiom. As this word-order is in German quite common here, German has at this point a natural advantage over English. Another formal difficulty often prevents the use of the short form in English. It could in accordance with the English word-order often only follow the noun, but this is usually impossible in case of weak verbs, for it would be taken for a past indicative. Hence it cannot often be used even where the attributive form is common in German : ein auf den Baum gestiegener Knabe, *a boy who had climbed up the tree*, not *a boy climbed up the tree*.

On page 72 Mr. Dunger censures the use of the inseparable form of *durchkos'ten* in the following sentence : "Im groszen und ganzen ist das geist = und gedankentiefe Buch jedem denkenden Leser, der das Leben durchkos'tet hat, nur bestens zu empfehlen." He doubts whether the inseparable form is used at all. He might, however, before printing his book have taken the trouble to look up the point in the dictionary, where he could easily have seen that this form is employed by good authors. In his commentary upon this word Mr. Dunger says that the separate compounds with *durch-* indicate thoroness, while inseparables give expression to the idea of superficiality, lack of thoroness, hence the inseparable is out of place in this sentence, for the context evidently points to the idea of thoroness. Mr. Dunger has forgotten the passage in "Iphigenie" where Thvas says : "Dann geht, durchsucht das Ufer scharf !" Surely the king does not desire Arkas to do this important work carelessly. Moreover, Gutzkow in his "Zaub.", 2, 158, uses this same verbal form which Mr. Dunger criticizes, and the context clearly shows that the verbal action is thoro : "Den Wein vorher gründlichst durchkostet und kennerhaft geprüft." The reviewer embraces this opportunity to try to outline the meaning of *durch-* in compound words more accurately than Mr. Dunger has done.

When the separable compound is intransitive and the inseparable is transitive the former often denotes haste, lack of thoro verbal activity, while the latter indicates thoroness : "Er reiste durch" *He traveled right thru*, but "Er durchreiste die Gegend" *He traveled all over that part of the country*. "Er ist durch das Dickicht durchgedrungen," but "Das Öl hat das

Holz durchdrungen." On the other hand, the separable verb often, especially when both forms are transitive, emphasizes the idea of completeness or thoroughness, while the inseparable form calls attention to the activity itself or some attendant circumstance. Thus to indicate completeness we say: "Ich tanzte die Nacht durch," but "Ich durchtanzte die Nacht" to indicate the *manner* in which the night was spent. To denote thoroughness we say "durchgebackenes Brot," but "mit Rosinen durchback'enes Brot" to indicate an attendant circumstance. "Die Frage musz erst noch durchgesprochen werden." *The question must first be thoroly discussed*, but "Diese Frage musz durchsproch'en werden" *We must discuss this question orally* (not by letter.). Of course the form is inseparable if one activity is compared with another: "Er hat es mehr durchstürmt' als durchle'sen." Here belongs the sentence quoted above from Gutzkow. Also the sentence criticized by Mr. Dunger comes under this head. The author of the sentence in question did not mean to say that the book was only to be recommended to those who had tasted of *all* the experiences of life, but that it would be enjoyed by those who had *tasted* of real life in contrast to those who had only *dreamed* about life. There is thus a contrast present in the language and in the thought of the author. The reviewer is a foreigner, but he is real sure of his point. Even tho Mr. Dunger and other distinguished scholars have condemned this sentence it is not necessarily wrong, for other distinguished Germans have employed the same form. Mr. Dunger might have sought to *interpret* the thought of the author. It would be a great pity if "Der Allgemeine Deutsche Sprachverein" should proceed vigorously in this same autocratic way in the future and try to ride down the natural feeling of men and then attempt to establish in its stead the ironclad decrees of a few scholars. It would then soon forfeit the confidence of the public and consequently lose a great opportunity for useful service.

GEORGE O. CURME.

*The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany*,  
by A. F. J. Remy, Ph. D. Columbia University Germanic  
Studies. Volume I. No. IV. New York : The Columbia  
University Press, 1901.

Dr. Remy comes to his study of the influence of India and Persia with an excellent preparation upon the side of the Oriental languages with which he has to deal, and a native ability in German of no mean order. This book shows great care, and a marvelously wide bibliographical knowledge of the field. In the main the dissertation is a historical outline of the Oriental movement from its beginning, through Herder who, says Dr. Remy, failed because he laid too much stress upon the didactic side. After him the development goes through von Hammer to whom is due the impulse which started the so-called Hafidian movement; this comes out most strongly in the poetry of Rückert and Platen. The chapter on Rückert is particularly careful and suggestive, and indeed the main merit of Dr. Remy's book lies in its suggestiveness. In a way, it is rather a skeleton, but at the same time, any one of a number of phases of the dissertation might in itself be expanded into a book, and it is to be hoped that some day the author will amplify the work which he has begun.

Dr. Remy's data can only lead us to the belief that the Oriental influence on Germany seems to have been mainly a matter of surface things, of poetic ideas, and of forms, rather than of deep-seated operation upon the thought and culture of the poets, and through them upon the people of the land. The influence comes in as mediating, as auxiliary to an ideal "world-literature," but not in itself working upon the minds, or really upon the imaginations of the poets. Their fancy it certainly did touch. But even where it aroused the fancy, it does not strike further in below form, which in Persian poetry is so important an element, and with which those German poets who draw from the east, had so much to do. Where it penetrates still deeper into the image and its significance, as in Heine, it was not the eminent meaning of the east which was absorbed. Iran, as the home of the Rose and the Nightingale, of wine and of the tavern, of the moon and of the cup-bearer, of the Orient as a refuge from the hurly-burly of the Occident, for



Rückert goes as far as this, all these are the emphatic points. But the east as the land of desire and mystery, where the mental phenomena take precedence over the physical, the east as the home of the philosopher, and with this the strict application of philosophy to the ideal of daily life, these things found no exemplification. Nay more, they were even neglected. And so we can hardly help feeling that it was after all Herder who saw the true trend that the movement should take, and that what Dr. Remy refers to as his didacticum was really the germ of the right idea. The later poets went astray on matters of minor moment and we are forced to conclude that the time has not yet come when the ideas of India and Persia have really become current. It is still a matter of beginnings. But this surely can be said: the imagery of the Orient has been taken up into German poetry and that fully, even if its great philosophy has been neglected, and the sources of his imagery Dr. Remy has conclusively shown. His citations and parallels are always apt; he has escaped the tendency so often noticeable, of making one word the basis for a supposed influence. His criticisms, moreover, are always sane and just, especially in the chapters of Platen and Bodenstedt, and if, of course, he has been able to add but little new material on Goethe, he has at least brought out, here as well as in the chapter on Heine, many interesting points. The whole work is suggestive and scholarly, and the author's style is remarkable, for one to whom English is not a native idiom.

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*The English Dialect Grammar*, comprising the Dialects of England, of the Shetland and Orkney Islands, and of those Parts of Scotland, Ireland and Wales where English is habitually spoken, by Joseph Wright, London, Oxford, 1905.

In this Grammar, which is the latest fruits of Professor Wright's extensive studies in English dialects, the characteristic features of all English dialects are presented, the aim having been 'to furnish philologists and others interested in the subject with a concise and

systematic account of the phonology and accidence' (Preliminary Announcement). Professor Wright has undoubtedly done very timely work in the compilation of *The English Dialect Dictionary*<sup>1</sup> and the present *Dialect Grammar*; in the former particularly he has built for himself an enduring monument in the domain of English Philology. Pure dialect forms have been yielding with remarkable rapidity to standard speech during the last two or three decades. The younger generation even now use the literary forms along with their purer dialect forms; another generation will probably witness the complete obscuration of genuine dialect phonology. So great indeed has the admixture already become that the author has found it difficult to distinguish in each case between the genuine dialect development and the cases in which the dialect pronunciation has been influenced by the literary language (Preface, p. iii). This being the case, the task would be practically impossible to anyone who beside the necessary philological qualifications did not himself possess a practical (speaking) knowledge of a dialect pure and simple. It is fortunate that the directing of English dialect study has come into the hands of one who so admirably combines this double qualification. As he himself informs us (Preface, p. vi), Professor Wright did not learn to read until he was practically grown up,<sup>2</sup> so that he possesses the knowledge of one particular dialect before it was influenced by the literary language. A grammar of that dialect he has presented in *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill* (Oxford, 1892).<sup>3</sup>

Contrary to what we should have expected to find, the material of this *Grammar* is based not upon words characteristic of the dialects, but for the most part upon words which occur both in the literary language and in the dialects. I cannot but regret this limitation. It is undoubtedly in words that are not found in the literary language that we should have the dialect phonology in its purest form. And would not this be especially the case in

<sup>1</sup> Begun 1896, completed 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Wright was born and reared in Windhill, West Riding, Yorkshire.

<sup>3</sup> Among other recent special dialect studies may here be mentioned: Alex. Hargreaves, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Adlington* (Lancashire), Heidelberg, 1904; John Kjederquist, *The Dialect of Pewsey*, London, 1892-4; E. Kruisinga, *A Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset*, Bonn, 1905.

dialects that are in such a state of transition as English dialects at the present? The author's method, however, certainly has its great value in the elucidation of the form of literary words.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty of this selective method, however, is that of finding words which extend throughout all or most of the dialects. Thus the preterite of *blow* is not *blew* but nearly everywhere *blowed*; and for the noun *brook* different words are used in the different localities as *beck*, *burn*, etc. (p. iv). This difficulty applies especially to the preterite and the past participle of verbs for here one has to deal so extensively with new formations (analogy, loss of strong forms) and not at all regular developments from Middle English.

Some of the general characteristics of English dialects are: Initial *h* before vowels is omitted as in standard speech as far north as North Cumberland and Northumberland (p. 2). Here, however, as in Scotland, Shetland, Orkney and Ireland it remains. In England, south of Cumberland, etc., words originally beginning with a vowel often have an *h* prefixed when the dialect speaker wishes to give strong emphasis to the word. Older *hit* (*it*) is retained (?) in the Shetland and Orkney Isles and in Scotland. The word 'how' is *fū* (< OE. *hwū*) not only in Perth, Forfair, etc., Scotland, but also in Caithness, Shetland and Orkney (p. 254). Otherwise, initial *hw* > *f* is a ne. Scotch characteristic, which occurs occasionally in Caithness and in Central Scotland. Initial *kn* seems to have been preserved only in Shetland, Orkney and parts of northern Scotland. Initial *wr* has become *vr* in ne. Scotland and in so. Forfairshire (Gaelic infl.?). In Scotland final *f* does not become *v* in the plural, hence *leafs*, *thiefs*. 'At' is the regular relative pronoun in Scotland, Shetland, Orkney, generally also in northern England, interchanging, however; here sometimes with *as*; in the North Midlands *as* is the regular relative (rarely *at*). In the South and East *as* occurs exclusively. *At* is used as the sign of the infinitive extensively in no. England, but is obsolescent. The omission of the sign of the genitive when one noun qualifies another is general in English dialects down to and including the North Midlands. The disjunctive pronouns *hisn* (izn), *hern* (ern), *yourn*, etc., are used generally in southern

<sup>1</sup> Though of course etymologically clear dialect words, even if exclusively dialectal, have the same value for the literary language.

England as far north as and including the North Midlands. The 1st pers. sing. pres. indic. often ends in *n* in *han*, *liven*, *bin*, and *shan* (shall) in the North Midlands. South of Cheshire and in southern Cheshire *he* is generally used for all persons of the pres. indicative (pp. 7, 8, 9). In southern England, however, as Hants-shire, Somerset, and in the Isle of Wight, *am* is used in combination with a personal pronoun for *are*. In Devonshire and Somerset the older generation of dialect speakers often use the ending *th* in the 3rd pers. sing. and plur. of the pres. indicative. It is an exceedingly interesting fact that the pres. plur. indic. of verbs still ends in *en* (ən) in so. Lancashire, Cheshire, Flintshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, and in Stratford. The verb *have* takes *n* in the plural in nearly all the Midland counties. In the same localities *n* is also often added in the plural of the preterite. The so-called 'euphonic' *r* (idear) is Southern, Eastern and South Midland in its distribution.

Germanic *a* which in O. E. is *æ* or *a*, according as it occurs in closed<sup>1</sup> or open syllable, has everywhere in the dialects developed as the open vowel (*a*), i. e., the latter has been generalized (§ 21). For old *a* Scotland and north and central England have *a*, southern England *æ* and *e*, the three existing side by side in many localities, now *a* now *æ* prevailing, certain words being preferably pronounced with *a* certain others with *æ*. It would seem to be difficult to ascertain the extent of London influence here in cases of variation in the southeast Midlands. The condition with reference to such words as *after* *bath*, *path*, *class*, *glass*, *calf*, *fast* and *past* may be briefly summarized as follows: In the words *after* and *path* *æ* occurs even in *a* territory, as central and south Scotland, also in Dublin, which is *a* territory, as *bæth* beside *bath*. *Āfter* is extensive locally in the Midlands and East and South, *æfter* is southern, as Kent, Wiltshire and East Somerset but also found in Leicestershire; *bāth* rarer but locally in Oxford and southern England as Devonshire and Kent, *bæth* in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. *Pāth* prevails in the same localities but more extensively than *bāth*; *pæth* is heard in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, and also in Dorset and Somerset. *Fāst* is almost limited to southern

<sup>1</sup> Or in open syllable followed in the next syllable by *e*, as dative *dæge*. Cook's Sievers, *Grammar of Old English*.

localities but occurs in East Norfolk; *fāsten* occurs only in southern Oxford and southeastern Kent. When standing before *st* or *ss* *a* has been lengthened to *ā* in the South Midlands, the eastern and southern counties, and to *æ* in the southwestern counties, but the sound varies in different words; *grāss* is more common than *glāss*, *cāstle* is rare (as in southeastern Kent and Devon). *Fast* is more common, being also heard in Somerset and Suffolk and even in northeast Norfolk; *lāst* is slightly more common than *fāst*,<sup>5</sup> being also heard in Dorset and Herford. *Cālf* is furthermore heard in such Midland localities as north Worcestershire, West Warwick and South Oxford; *cālf* is extensive in purely southern localities (along with *cōlf*). *Hālf* is found in all parts of southern Midland and southern territory, as South Oxford, Buckingham, Suffolk, Surrey, Dorset, Somerset, etc.; *hālf* in the South but rarer.

West Germanic *o* in closed syllable, where not influenced by neighboring sounds, has generally remained (p. 73). The American short *o* (= *a*, as not) occurs only in Scotland and southeastern Kent, but when the vowel is followed by *p* the change to *a* extends over a considerable area. This word *bottom* has *a* in E. Devon. In Scotland the words *croft* and *loft* have *a* as also in south Stratford and *ā* in Gloucester and Somerset. *Frost* and *lost* also have *ā* in southern localities, as in Kent and Dorset. *Box* and *cot* have *a* in southeastern Kent, *follow* has *a* in northern Ayrshire. The words *broth*, *cross*, which in America do have *ō*, have *ā* very extensively in the South and also in the southern Midlands; *dog*, however, has *ā* only in southeastern Kent. The word 'holiday' (*o* < OE. *ā*) has short *a* in many counties in northern England. *Ask* is specifically No. English, Scotch and Shetlandic, *āsk* appearing in Norfolk and Dorset, *æsk* in Wiltshire, but the general form is that with *ks*, *ask*, *æks*, *eks* or *as*, *ast*, etc. There is great variation, however, in this word.

Initial *n* in such words as *nadder*, *napron* and *nauger*, has generally remained, but has been added from the article or the possessive very commonly in *nawn*, *naunt*, *nawl*, *nif*, *noration*, *nuncle*, *negg*, *nidiot*, *nounce*, and *neam* (< OE. *eam*), 'uncle.' This inorganic *n* seems most common in the Midlands and the South. The acoustic change of *cl* to *tl* appears to be very general. The author says: This change of *cl* to *tl* is not confined to dialect speakers. It occurs as an individualism among educated people in all parts of

England. North. Scotch or Irish dialect has changed *el* to *tl* (§ 335).

Under the Accidence, I merely wish to note here the fact that English dialects have preserved the gender classes of nouns, though in a somewhat simplified and often irregular form. The use of the substitutory pronoun shows that there is grammatical gender of the names of inanimate objects. In Scotland, Ireland and the northern counties of England the feminine personal pronoun prevails; in Shetland the general substitutory pronoun is the masculine. In the Midlands and in the southern counties there is more of variation (p. 266), that is, I take it, the old gender classes have been better preserved. Particularly interesting is the condition in the southwestern counties. Here inanimate objects are divisible into two classes. The first or personal class consists of formed, individual objects, as a tool, a tree; the masculine and the feminine pronouns are used. The second class contains the impersonal class of unformed objects, as water, dust, for which the neuter form of the pronoun is used. There are then two main categories, but the first class has two sub-classes, some nouns here requiring the masculine and others the feminine form of the personal pronoun (or is this used indiscriminately masculine or feminine in class one?), so that there are actually in these dialects three genders as determined by the substitutory pronoun required.

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## SWEDISH LITERATURE.

## DURING THE PERIOD 1865-1890.

The year 1865 may in a certain measure be said to form a landmark in Swedish literature. Important political events took place at that time, and they were not without influence upon the literature of the period. During the years 1840-1850 the "Scandinavian" idea had become more and more firmly fixed in the minds of the people. The national movements, which arose in the beginning of the century, had led to a closer study of northern antiquity; in it was rediscovered a culture that was common to the Scandinavian peoples, a common language among the various peoples—Swedes, Danes, and Norsemen—hardly showing anything more than dialectical differences, and finally a common mythology. In a word, the three nationalities rediscovered here their near kinship. The general European nationalistic movements, which became especially pronounced in the stirring year 1848 also operated toward the same result. The struggle for unification in Germany and in Italy found its analogy in the endeavors toward a Scandinavian union. In reality there was more of kinship—and is still—between Swedes, Danes and Norwegians than between *e. g.*, Pomeranians and Barbarians or between Lombards or Sicilians. The Scandinavian idea found expression first and foremost in the student conventions, where students from the various universities of the North gathered now in one country, now in another, and by speeches, song, and mutual exchange of ideas worked for the idea of fraternalization. There were also held other meetings of a general Scandinavian character as *e. g.*, by scientists and political economists, and there appear even gatherings of a wholly popular nature.

The object of the Scandinavian idea was more especially to bring about community of culture, and it accomplished a

great deal in this respect. Not only in that it gave direct expression to itself in poetry ; Swedish literature during this period shows even more immediately the influence of the poetry of the other two peoples. But the so-called 'Scandinavianism' also had a political purpose : namely, the union of the three countries into one political state. The manner in which this was to be accomplished had not yet been thought out clearly, but it was regarded as a matter of course, that the Scandinavian North was to make common cause in defense against foreign foes.

And so when war broke out in 1864 between Denmark and Prussia-Austria, the Danes expected that Sweden-Norway would hurry to their assistance. In Sweden there existed indeed among the people strong support of such policy, and a large number of volunteers hastened to place themselves under the Danish banners. But the government held back, and wisely enough, for, as became clear later, Russia would have attacked Sweden, the very moment that country should have entered actively into the Danish-German war. But this was not generally known at the time, and the Scandinavian idea received a severe blow through Sweden's neutrality. Was not all that had been said, sung and promised merely empty, meaningless words ? As a movement of ideas and sentiment, which filled the minds and directly bore fruit in literature, the Scandinavian idea was now a thing of the past. But it was not on that account dead, for since then it has been productive of many practical results, such as a common monetary system, common maritime laws, etc. And the influence which the literature of the different countries has received from one another was never greater than during the period following.

Another important event in Swedish history was that of the reform in the method of representation, made in 1865.

From time immemorial the Swedish Riksdag had been made up of four classes, the nobility, the clergy, tradesmen and peasants. The movement for liberty, which overspread Europe and appeared in pronounced form in the revolutions of 1830 and 1840, found expression in Sweden, especially from the forties, more particularly in an effort to change the method of representation, by which the legitimacy of membership in



the Riksdag which was founded on birth and official position—in the nobility and the clergy—was to cease and the representation to be made up by general elections.

This liberalism also put its stamp on much of Swedish literature during the years from 1830-1860. The rights of the individual as over against the advantages which birth, office, and social position bestow is an idea which comes to the surface everywhere, especially in the novel. Degenerate (*utlefvade*) and poorly gifted noblemen and officers, penurious and lethargic preachers, bureaucratic and selfish government officials are types which are often met with as accessory figures by the side of the hero, the man of the people, who by his own power carves his way in life and wins the beautiful heroine, who is often wealthy and of noble descent. It is the third and fourth estate, the tradesmen and the peasants, who now invade Swedish literature. And at the same time they are preparing to take over into their own hands the political power, and that is accomplished by the change in the representation which took place in 1865.

Liberalism had now gained its object, and the ideas which it had bequeathed to poetry lost their vitality. Politics became a struggle for power between the "Intelligence" party on the one side—represented by former burghers, officials and those of academic training—and on the other the rural party, the former peasantry; and the questions at issue are almost exclusively economic in their nature and therefore little suited to influence the literature. The latter therefore comes to stand apart from the struggles and the questions of the day for a decade and a half. The new generation of writers, which makes its appearance in the sixties, is inspired almost exclusively by aesthetic interests. The poetry of the period is almost all lyric, and in its nature an afterbloom of the old romanticism. It is not until the latter part of the seventies that a new tendency appears. Now new social interests have come into the foreground and these seek to call attention and give expression to themselves, the immediate demands of reality assert themselves. It is the era of the problem literature, the period of realism and naturalism.

There was also another cultural element, which had a con-

siderable influence on Swedish literature in the sixties and seventies, namely, the philosophical views which at this time became prominent in the Universities and in the conception of life among the cultured classes. The author of these new views was K. J. Boström (1797-1866), Professor of Philosophy in Upsala during the years 1842-1863. Even his predecessors, Biberg and Grubbe, had, as adherents of Kant and Fichte, laid the foundation for a philosophical system, idealistic in character, which was further developed and systematized by Boström, and influenced also in part by Plato's doctrine of ideas. The keynote of Boström's system is that true reality is spiritual, eternal and perfect, it constitutes a system or an organism of ideas or personalities in which each and every idea enters negatively or positively into all the others, just as in the numerical series every number enters into all the higher numbers and in itself includes all the lower numbers. The highest idea of personality in which thus all others enter, and which itself includes all lower ideas, is God. The world we perceive with our senses, the sensuous world, the world of phenomena, presents itself to us as something that is material, finite and imperfect ; this is due to the fact that only the absolute—God—can perceive all things as they in their reality are, and further that man conceives himself as both a rational and sensuous being. Man's mission consists in actualizing his reason, *i. e.*, in elevating himself to identity with his ideal, as this enters into God and thus realizing God's Kingdom on Earth, making the world of ideas an actuality also in all temporal relations.

It was a profoundly ideal doctrine which Boström proclaimed. It was promulgated in lectures before admiring pupils more than through published writings, and it was developed and applied by him to various domains of philosophy. Its consistent idealism contributed in a high degree to a nobler conception of life within the cultured classes of Sweden, large numbers of whom have through it freed themselves from the bondage of the doctrinal faith of the church, at the same time preserving their faith in ideals and the power of ideals. But since, according to Boström's teachings, the sensuous world was only the semblance of a world the existence of which was conditioned by our own imperfections, this doctrine was not

calculated to develop a literature which should concern itself with questions of real life. The aesthetic side was probably also the weakest part of the doctrine. Here the symptoms of Hegel-Vischer continued to prevail.

During the period from 1865-1879, there was then no political or social questions to occupy the minds and give expression to themselves in literature. A philosophical system bearing the impress of the most pronounced idealism prevailed at the Universities and in the consciousness of the cultured class. And the poets of the time sought in a more abstract manner, away from the cares, the joys and the trials of everyday life, to realize "the beautiful." Almost all the poetry of the period was lyric.

## II.

Boström's philosophy left an imperishable monument in Swedish literature in Viktor Rydberg. Rydberg, to be sure, was not Boström's pupil, but he embraced his ideas and, in several respects, developed them independently. A man of great power and versatility, he exerted an influence in philosophy, the history of religion and mythology, and in the history of art and culture, and he left works in all these fields which bear the stamp of profound and comprehensive studies and of independent views ; they are characterized by an ideal spirit and masterly form.

He is everywhere the thinker who wishes to see the casual relation in the changing phenomena of life and the times, the enduring element in these changes, the power in the evolution and the goal towards which it is leading. But above all, he is the poet who knows how to formulate his profoundest thoughts into living images, eloquent in their appeal to fancy and feeling, be it in prose or poetry. And he is everywhere the master of language who fashions and moulds his sentences into an adequate, resonant and beautiful expression of the thought and image. No Swedish poet has better than he been able, in poetic form, to mould the Swedish language into such exquisite harmony and artistic expression.

Born in 1828 in Jönköping of poor parents, whom he lost

early, he was forced to struggle against need throughout all his childhood and youth. He entered Lund University in 1851 but on account of poverty he was soon obliged to give up his studies in order to earn his living as a private tutor and by occasional contributions to literary publications. In 1855 he received employment with Göteborg's *Handels och Sjöfartstidning*, the publisher of which, S. A. Hedlund, became to him a valuable friend and helper. For more than twenty years he worked here as a newspaper man. In the meantime, however, he had carried on extensive private studies. Viktor Rydberg was therefore a self-educated man, a fact which will help to explain his way of differing from writers who had had academic training, and of looking at so many things from his own point of view.

It was as a journalist that he published his first work. In *A Freebooter in the Baltic* (1857) he gives a picture from the 17th century and in *Singoalla*, sketches from the 13th century.

In 1859 appeared his most noted novel, *The Last Athenian*, a picture of the age of Julian the Apostate, portraying the struggles between ancient religion and philosophy on the one hand and christianity and the christian church on the other. Rydberg had made extensive studies in the culture of the classical world and the early history of the christian church. In plastic figures and scenes he reproduces the decay of the old world, the severely formal faith of the christian sects, their violent civil strifes over dogmas and forms, which no one understood, together with the persecutions practised against each other and against the pagans, prompted by differences in faith and the desire for power. Over and above them towers the neo-platonic philosopher Krysanteus, and his noble daughter Hermione, who have embodied in themselves that which was best in the ancient life and teachings, and in an exalted world-conception combined the teachings of the Greek philosophers with the myths of the pagan religion. The idea intended to be conveyed is not, however, that christianity as such is a retrograde step in history. What Rydberg attacks is only the blind faith in the letter, that intolerance and the spirit of persecution which has obscured recognition of the fact that christianity is life as well as doctrines, and that above all it is the religion of

love. For there even appears in his work a representative of the genuine christianity, a christian minister, and he and the philosopher understand one another perfectly, respect each other, and are able to work together. But both suffer a tragic defeat before the victorious barbarians of the church. The fundamental idea of the book is that tragedy of history, that an advance such as was the victory of christianity, was only gained by the rejection of that which was good in antiquity as well as that which was base, by the destruction of that noble humanism, which antiquity had created and which was not to rise again until a thousand years after its destruction, when in and through the Renaissance it was restored to humanity.

A result of Rydberg's studies in ancient philosophy and the earliest history of the christian church was likewise the treatise on *The Teachings of the Bible Relative to Christ*, published in 1862. In this work he sought to show that the teachings of the church relative to Christ such as they had been developed at the ekumenical church diets was not that of the Bible. According to the Bible Christ is not God, but man's idea in God, the perfect man, as conceived by God, the ideal man, logos, "the word," which had "become flesh." In conformity with this Rydberg denies that the doctrine of the trinity is found in the Bible. It was an ingenious attempt on the basis of the words of the Bible itself to unite christianity with Boström's philosophy. This was made possible by its kinship with neo-platonism, which also had left its impress upon the Bible. The book called forth a violent opposition, in which Rydberg maintained with great ability his right as a protestant to interpret the Bible for himself independently of church diets and confessions of faith, and in several later pamphlets he developed his views more in detail.

In the year 1873 Rydberg made a journey to Italy, where he himself beheld the remains of the old world, which he had loved so much and pictured so brilliantly, and the early christian world, which he had studied so profoundly. He devoted himself particularly to the study of art, and he published several articles on the history of art which were later issued in his *Roman Days*. Among those may be ranked particularly *The Emperors of Rome in Marble*, in which the author attempts

to determine the character of those emperors from the images of them which have been preserved in sculpture, and through investigating the written sources of their history, which in many cases he finds are not impartial, he succeeds in giving an interesting and artistic character drawing of them.

In 1876 Rydberg was appointed lecturer in Göteborg, and he then gave up his occupation as a journalist. He was now able to devote all his time to his studies and to his literary work.

In 1881 he received a call to the professorship in the History of Culture in Stockholm Academy, and in 1889 he was made professor of the Theory and History of the Fine Arts, a position which he filled until his death in 1895.

During the seventies, Rydberg had published in periodical publications several poems. These were characterized by beauty of form and depth of thought, together with classical clearness of expression. They showed that the versatile scientist and writer of novels was also a poet of high rank. In 1882 he published his first collection of *Poems*. Here he presents often in the figures of myths, the sagas and history, the eternal question of the mission and the goal of the human race and of the individual. Dissimilar world-conceptions as in *Ahasverus* and *Prometheus* are pitted against one another, and the answer he gives to these questions is that the ultimate goal is a more and more complete attainment of the eternal ideals, the true, the good, and the beautiful, a more and more sublime development of the image of God in man through the ages. This may take place through the struggle of the individual against everything that tends to suppress the ideal, the thirst for gold, self-indulgence, violence and oppression. In his second volume of poems Rydberg gives evidence of being influenced somewhat by the new movement which asserted itself in Sweden in the eighties, according to which poetry should concern itself more directly with real life. In *The New Song of the Grotto*, based on the legend of the mill *Grotti*, which ground gold for King Frode, he represents this mill as an image of industrialism which without regard to the sacrifice of blood and tears, of higher humanity, merely seeks to transform society into a gold-mill and men into slaves who drive it, and in the process trample one another under foot.

Rydberg returned to the novel in *The Sword-Smith, Visions from the Period of the Reformation* (1891), which deals with ideas closely related to those he had embodied in *The Last Athenian*. The slavish belief in the letter of the confession of faith, with its narrow, intolerant love of power marches on victoriously, treading underfoot far-sighted humanism, true christian piety, the love of what the fore-fathers had loved and venerated ; and thereby the principal mission of the Reformation is forgotten, that of creating spiritual liberty. The underlying idea is again that an advance in history such as the Reformation was, could not be accomplished except by the loss of so much that was good, and which had been accomplished by the cultural work of preceding ages ; that, together with abuses and evils, there was rejected and destroyed so much of the best cultural fruits of the Middle Ages, that it would require the labor of centuries again to regain it.

Viktor Rydberg possessed a marked historical sense. The Old Norse asa-faith viewed the world in the image of a tree, the ash Yggdrasil, and on many of Sweden's farm-steads there stood guardian trees from generation to generation as a symbol of the life of the family, within which the estate descends by inheritance from father to son. The guardian tree and the family-tree are pictures, which the poet often employs, and he would have the human race and the family grow and develop like a tree. He is a liberal progressionist, but he desires continuity in the development, he desires evolution not revolution.

During the latter part of his life, Ryberg devoted himself to mythological investigations and published a large work under the title *Inquiries into Germanic Mythology*, in which he attempted to gather the scattered accounts of primitive Germanic myths into one grand and harmonious whole. The results at which he arrived have, however, not been accepted by other mythologists.

Viktor Rydberg exercised a profound influence on the intellectual life of Sweden. His collected works, together with his biography, have been issued by Karl Warburg ; his lectures on philosophy and the history of culture have also been published since the author's death.

## III.

Swedish literature during the period from 1865-1880, is closely bound up with the members of a literary student organization which was formed in Upsala in 1860, called N. S., that is, *Namnlösa Sällskapet* (the nameless society). The young Norwegian, Lorenz Dietrichson, for whom there had been no opening in Christiania University, and who had been appointed *docent* in Upsala, became the leader of the society. This organization actively opposed the influence which Tegner's metaphorical style still exerted on Swedish poetry, and the romantic flight to remote ages and the world of legend and fancy. They held that a poet should picture reality, but, to be sure, a beautiful and idealized reality. As pattern to be copied they set up especially the Swedish-Finnish poet, J. L. Runeberg.

Although they were students in the University where Boström himself labored as a teacher, some of the members of the society did not in all things accept his philosophy, which designated the reality which they wished to portray as unreality. But the idealistic world-conception which characterized them all is probably to be traced to his influence. Nevertheless, Boström had several pupils among the members of N. S. Among them Carl von Bergen, a prominent lecturer and writer on the philosophy of religion, Daniel Klockhoff, a promising investigator in philosophy and a lyric poet who died young, and particularly Pontus Wikner. The last was *docent* in Upsala University where, through his noble personality, he exerted a great influence on several generations of students. In his own development of Boström's teachings he laid special stress on the religious element. He failed, however, to secure a foothold for himself at the University on account of opposition on the part of Boström's faithful disciples. Broken in health he was later called to a professorship in Christiania. Besides his philosophical writings he also published several popular works and stories marked by an elevated tone and a classic form. In spirit he stands nearest to Viktor Rydberg among Swedish writers.

Of the poets of this circle Ernst Björck, a promising writer, died young ; P. A. Gödecke, produced an excellent translation



of the Poetic Edda from Old Icelandic ; Edward Bäckström, who died as editor of home and foreign news, became a lyric poet of high rank. He also wrote dramas, of which the comedy *Eve's Sisters*, and the tragedy *Dagvard Frey* are the best known ; C. R. Nyblom made excellent translations of a number of lyric poems from various literatures and published studies on the history of literature and art ; N. P. Ödman was the humorist of the society. He wrote in a humorous vein both in poetry and prose ; C. D. af Wirson, the romantist of the society, established a name for himself both as poet and critic and as literary historian. He has been for many years and still is secretary of the Swedish Academy. His first poems are characterized by excellence of form and a certain youthful vigor. He was most successful in his use of saga material. A christian-religious trait appeared more and more in his poems, which at last assumed a more conventional character. His position made him the legitimate poet on festive occasions of official nature. As critic he opposed with much severity the movement which penetrated Swedish literature about 1880. The most gifted poet among the members of N. S. was, however, Count Carl Snoilsky, one of the most prominent of Swedish lyricists during the 19th century. He had published his first collection of poetry as early as 1861, at the age of twenty, and before he became a member of the society, and in 1862 he issued a new collection. Neither of these evinced any special originality, but they foreshadowed the future master especially in technique. In these and in other works which he published during the first half of the sixties he gave fervent expression to the political ideals, which inspired the literature of the immediately preceding decades. In *Rouget de l'Isle* he celebrates the author of the Marseillaise. In 1863 Poland had rebelled against Russia and was fighting its last desperate battle against a superior force, a battle which was watched with the liveliest sympathy in Sweden. In several songs to Poland Snoilsky gave vent to his sympathy. And finally he dedicates poems full of poetic fervor to Denmark, which was engaged in a war with Germany in 1864-65. Snoilsky was, as nearly all Swedes at the time, a Scandinavianist. He had participated in a convention of Scandinavian students in Copenhagen, and had there formed several friendships with

Danes, in particular with the Danish poet Christian Winther. The latter's poetry later also had a definite influence upon Snoilsky's, especially by making it less abstract, more personal and direct.

Snoilsky's lyric blossoms forth in all its splendor in *Italian Pictures* (1865), impressions from a journey to Italy in 1864-1865. The *Introductory Song* represents in exquisite manner the character of these poems :

Jag bringar drufvor, jag bringar rosor,  
jag skänker i af mitt unge vin ;  
på alla stigar, på alla kosor  
jag slår den ljudande tamburin.  
Jag tröttor ingen utöfver höfva  
med tomma foster från drömmars hem ;  
jag sjunger endast hvad jag fått pröva  
med mina sinnen, de sunda fem.

I moget kloke, I öfversluge,  
Er har jag föga att bjuda på !  
Du varma hjärta på tre och tjuge,  
du vet jag säkert skall mig förstå.

They are portraits from actual life, from the peaceful and picturesque life of the Italian people, under the warm Italian sky, which revealed a wholly new world of joyous life and care-free happiness to the young poet, who had just come from the cold and gloomy north, to the youth who from the study and lecture rooms of the University had suddenly come out into life. He is not concerned in the study and cultural history of Italy. It is his old love for popular liberty and struggle for union which dominates him. In evident allusion to Garibaldi he sings :

Af gamla vaser i guld och lera,  
hvad stort, hvad nyttigt har du väl lärt ?  
Det simpla svärdet uppå Caprera  
är tusen gånger så mycket värdt.

As he stands on the spot where stood "Nero's golden house" it is to him merely a "hill, a heap of dust from which to view the landscape." He anticipates a new day for Italy in the prophecy that :

I morgon lämnar Sankt Peter  
med suckan sin Vatikan.  
Kring all naturen det heter :  
Nu vaknar den store Pan !

And he wishes to sweep away "the stupid figure from the column of Troy" and "erect another with a cap of Phrygian cut."

This collection of poems was followed by poems written during a journey in Spain. These are not characterized by quite the same direct and overflowing spirit, are more reflective ; they are, nevertheless, gems of the highest art. He employs here the sonnet in which he became the greatest master in the Swedish language.

In the next volume of poems Snoilsky published, *Sonnets* (1871), he appears somewhat changed. These poems are all masterly in form, but there is something peculiarly literary about them. That impulsive directness of giving expression to his feelings is no longer present, even though a poem here and there betrays the anguish within, which he would conceal. Significant is the sonnet *Noli me tangere*, in which occur the lines :

Jag torgför ej mitt hjärtas lust ock kval  
Att skrynklas ned af obekanta händer.  
Min fantasi dig bjerta lekverk sänder,  
Men känslans helgedom hålls aldrig fal.

Snoilsky had chosen the profession of diplomacy ; after having served in the embassies of Paris and Copenhagen, he became secretary and soon after, chief of the Bureau of Foreign Affairs in Stockholm. He had also married a woman of aristocratic family and seemed to have left for good the field of literature. His leisure hours he devoted to numismatics and bibliognosy.

In the spring of 1879 an event occurred which created something of a sensation. Count Snoilsky resigned his position, left his home, his country, secured a divorce from his wife, and settled down in a foreign country. His personal connections had become intolerable to him, and he obeyed what seemed to him a call to return to literature. He remarried and began again to write poetry. In 1881 appeared a new collec-

tion of *Poems* ; this was followed by others in 1883, 1887 and finally 1897. The poet had now returned to his native country, where he was appointed in 1890 chief librarian of the Royal Library.

This last period of Snoilsky's lyrics is distinguished by poise and maturity of content. Many of the poems are narrative, others are descriptive of nature and life, in most cases they are combined with an ingenious thought or some experience in life. A fervent but restrained feeling, musical, expressive language, where every word is adequate, together with a marvellous harmony of verse are all characteristic of these poems ; Snoilsky was exacting in his criticism of his own poems ; he did not publish anything which he did not himself regard as satisfying the requirements in every way. After his death (1903) his biographer, Karl Warburg, has published several poems, rejected by himself, which seem little inferior to those he himself had published.

Two classes of poems are especially to be noted in these collections. The one is the group which he himself called *Swedish Portraits*. The love of his native country early received expression in his poetry and became a distinguishing feature of it. Also in his *Italian Pictures* his thought turns back with longing to the home he had left ; and in his *Sonnets* he criticises severely that indifference to the welfare and security of Sweden, which seemed to obtain at the time they originated. Afterward, when he went into voluntary exile, his best thought remained with his own country, his own people and their history. In persons and scenes he has given us living and enduring portraits from the various periods of Swedish history, even from that of "Old King Gösta," Gustavus Vasa, the liberator and reformer, and down to Esaias Tegnér. It is ordinarily, however, not the figures which stand in the foreground of history that he portrays ; it is generally the common man, the workman, the peasant or a type of the middle-class, introduced into an action or a scene, showing how history in its grand outlines influences and is itself reflected in the weal or the woe of the individual.\* But in all these pictures it is not only the lines that are Swedish but they contain a connected flow of feeling

for and conception of that which has been peculiarly Swedish in the changes of time.

Another group of poems indicate how the poet was influenced by the movements of the time, which entered into Swedish literature, especially about 1880. It was more particularly the labor-movement which awakened Snoilsky's sympathy. A realization of the responsibility which attaches to the more fortunate members of society, who enjoy the benefits of culture, in their relation to the workman, whose labor creates these benefits, of which he himself may enjoy only a humble share, and in their relation to the poor who by hard work, are only able to gain the necessities of life,—this is the feeling which has inspired some of the best and most beautiful in these collections. Among these is *Aphrodite and the Grinder*, the writing of which was prompted by two statues in the Dresden Art Gallery, and in which he contrasts the life devoted to the pursuits of the beautiful with that of the slave with his face turned to the soil. In another poem entitled *In the Porcelain Factory*, the plain white glazed plate which, "frambär kraftigt hvardagsbröd till tjänst för hunger, ej för öfverflöd" is valued more highly than the finished work of art made of porcelain. And he gives expression to the wish that he

. . . . . kunde gifva dikten så  
den enkla form, som tusende förstå,  
den form, som frambär kraftigt hvardagsbröd  
till tjänst för hunger, ej för öfverflöd.

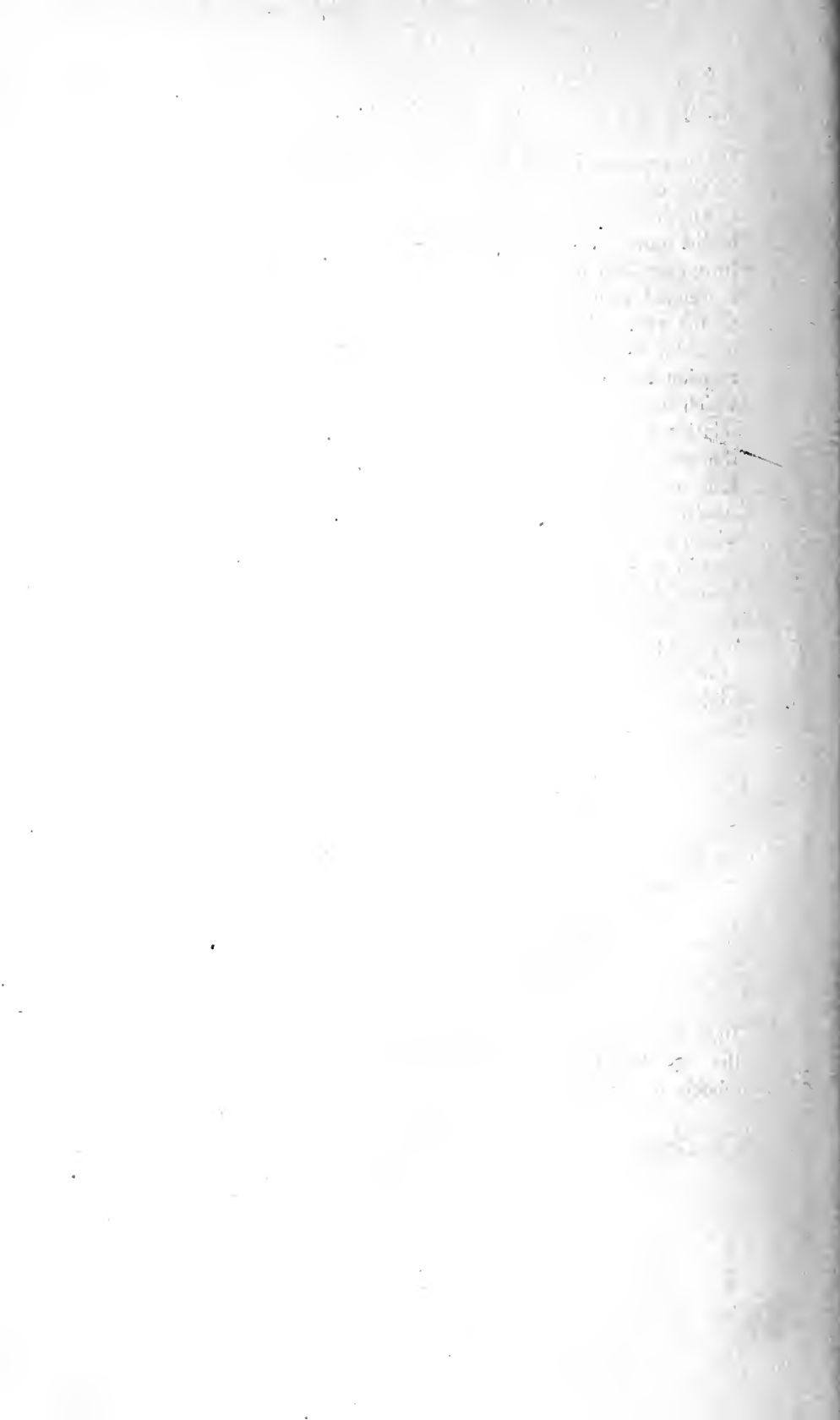
And finally the poet exclaims :

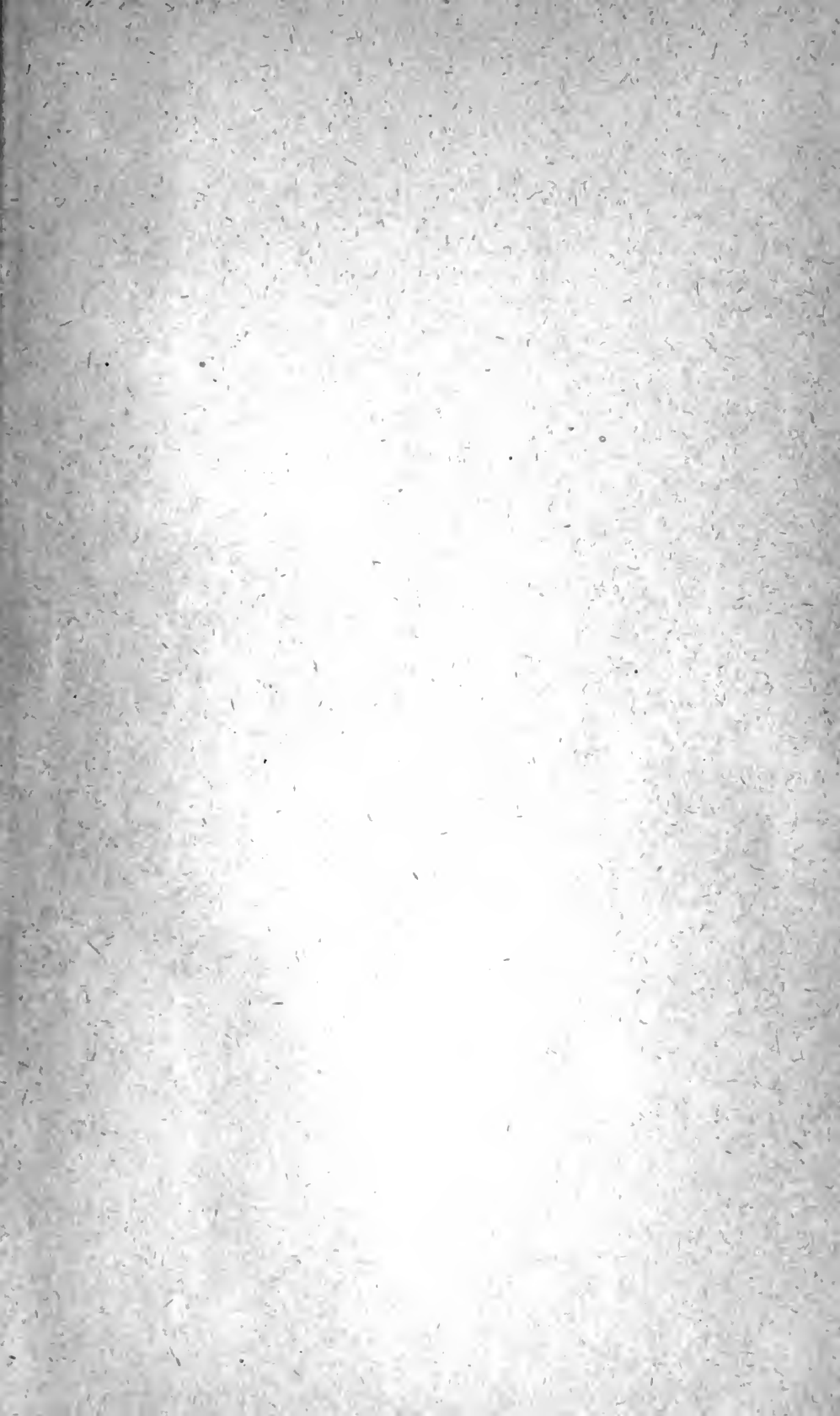
O tänk, att bilda i en lycklig stund  
den bögare, som anstår hvar mans mund,  
som fylls vid tidens djupa brunn en gång  
för tusenden, som törsta efter sång.

In a measure Snoilsky succeeded in becoming such a poet of the people. His *Swedish Portraits* is now read in all the schools of Sweden.

HANS EMIL LARSSON.

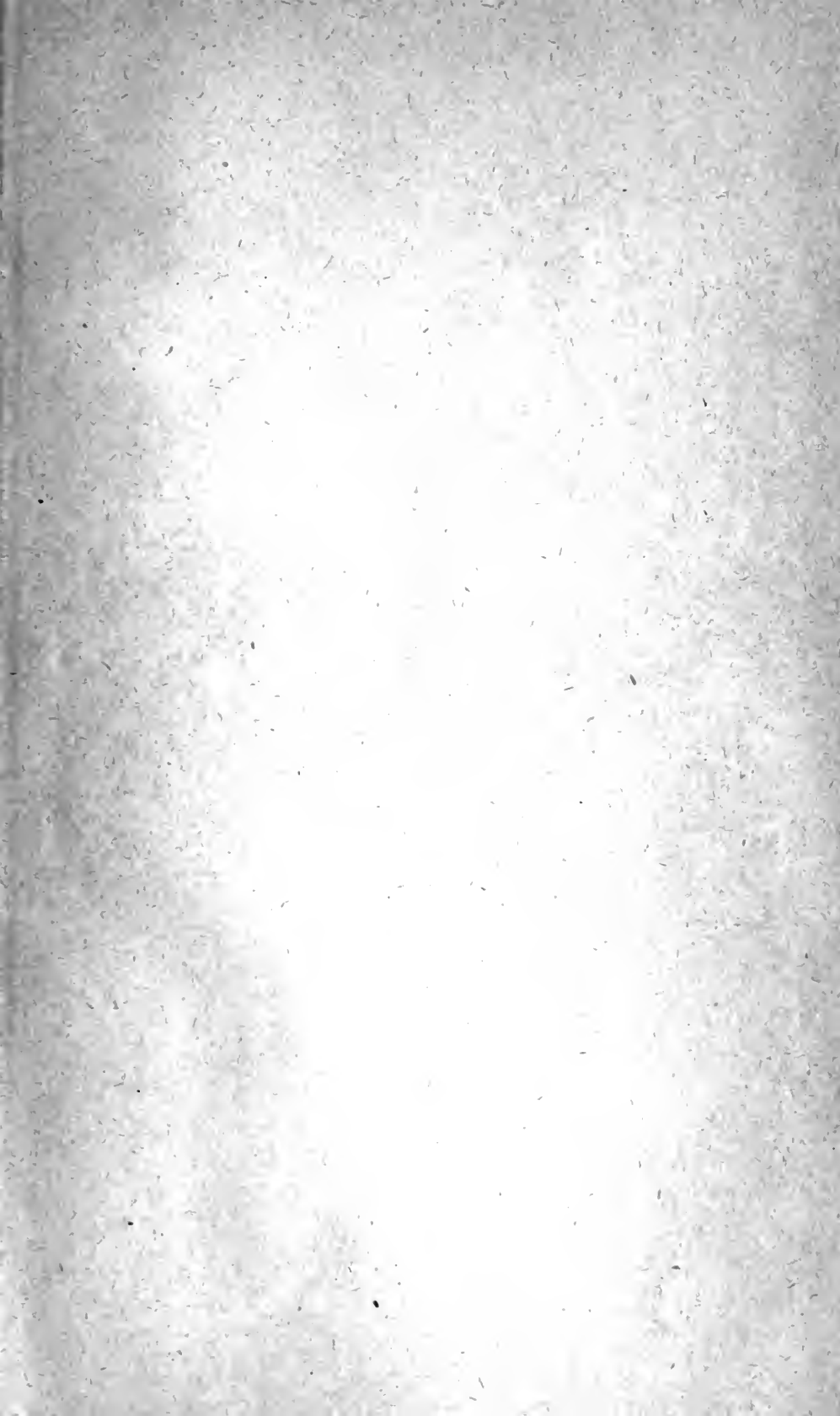
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